Canada's Residential Schools:

The History, Part 1
Origins to 1939

The Final Report of the
Truth and Reconciliation
Commission of Canada

Volume 1

Truth and
Reconciliation

Canada's Residential Schools

Volume 1 • Part 1

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Statement from the Chair, Justice Murray Sinclair

The residential school system established for Canada's Indigenous population in the nineteenth century is one of the darkest, most troubling chapters in our nation's history. While some people regard the schools established under that system as centres of education, they were, in reality, centres of cultural indoctrination. The most alarming aspect of the system was that its target and its victims were the most vulnerable of society: little children. Removed from their families and home communities, seven generations of *Aboriginal* children were denied their identity through a systematic and concerted effort to extinguish their culture, language, and spirit. The schools were part of a larger effort by Canadian authorities to force Indigenous peoples to assimilate by the outlawing of sacred ceremonies and important traditions. It is clear that residential schools were a key component of a Canadian government policy of cultural genocide.

That any Indigenous person survived the culturally crushing experience of the schools is a testament to their resilience, and to the determination of those members of their families and communities who struggled to maintain and pass on to them what remained of their diminishing languages and traditions. As each generation passed through the doorways of the schools, the ability to pass on those languages and traditions was systematically undermined. The schools and Canada's overall treatment of its Indigenous peoples have seriously affected Indigenous pride and self-respect, and have caused individuals and communities to lose their capacity to cope with the daily tasks of living. The evidence of that is seen in the serious social conditions that Canada's Indigenous people face.

Many children did not survive. Thousands of children died in the schools. Thousands more were injured and traumatized. All were deprived of a measure of dignity and pride. We, as a country, lost the opportunity to create the nation we could have been.

The legacy can be seen in the myths, misunderstandings, and lack of empathy many Canadians openly display about Indigenous people, their history, and their place in society. Canadians have been educated to believe in the inferiority of Indigenous peoples and in the superiority of European nations. This history and its aftermath, therefore, should not be seen as an *Aboriginal* problem; it's a Canadian one.

Ultimately, the schools became the focus of numerous lawsuits. Thousands of Survivors sued for their losses and mistreatment. The legal actions were joined into a massive class action, resulting in the largest legal settlement in Canadian history. The Settlement Agreement called for the creation of the Truth and Reconciliation

Commission. Despite many challenges, the Commission and the groups supporting us worked tirelessly to uncover and face the difficult truths of Canada's residential school system and its tragic legacy still felt today by Survivors, those close to them, and in communities from coast to coast to coast.

Starting in 2008, we collected millions of documents, visited more than 300 communities, and heard testimony from thousands of witnesses. We heard of the effects of over 100 years of mistreatment of more than 150,000 First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children placed in these schools.

The Survivors showed great courage, conviction, and trust in sharing their stories, which, collected here, are now a part of a permanent historical record, never to be forgotten or ignored.

The next chapter in this story, which begins with this report, is reconciliation. Reconciliation will not be easy and it will take time, but to make it happen, we must believe it should happen. Without a deliberate and thoughtful will for reconciliation, and the sustained action that manifests that will in meaningful, measurable change, we will not achieve the task the Survivors have given all the people in Canada: to repair the damage done to the relationship that was promised as far back as the Royal Proclamation of 1763.

Reconciliation also is not an Aboriginal problem. It is about creating a relationship of mutual respect as was promised in the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and in the assurances given at, and reflected in, the many Treaties signed between the Crown and Canada's Aboriginal people, most since Confederation. All people in Canada, including newcomers, have a role in this relationship-building process. While we may not all share a past connected to the residential schools, we share a future. We must all call for an ongoing process of reconciliation, regardless of political affiliation, cultural background, or personal history.

We must all accept the challenge of enacting effective solutions to the disproportionate cycles of violence, abuse, and poverty experienced by Aboriginal people. We must strive to become a society that champions human rights, truth, and tolerance by confronting, not avoiding, the history recounted in the following pages.

To achieve this, we must bear witness to the past and join in a vision for the future. Our Calls to Action, therefore, should not be viewed as a national penance, but as a second chance at establishing a relationship of equals. This final report marks not the close but the beginning of a journey towards a more just, fairer, and more courageous country. We all have the opportunity to show leadership, courage, and conviction in helping to heal the wounds of the past.

What we do now and in the years ahead matters not only for us today, but also for the generations to come and the spirit of those who are no longer with us. The words of truth and expressions of apology are vitally important, but there is still much work to do on the journey ahead.

During the course of our work as a Commission, we encountered thousands of Canadians who saw the wrongs of the past as an opportunity to do good for the future. Dozens of Honorary Witnesses joined us in listening to the stories of the Survivors and committed themselves to continue to bear witness into the future. The members of our Survivors Committee stood by our side as we went about this work, advising and supporting us as we listened. Cultural and health supports strove tirelessly to ensure we all worked in a safe and positive environment. We owe them a huge debt of gratitude.

My colleagues, Commissioner Chief Wilton Littlechild and Commissioner Dr. Marie Wilson, and I have approached this work as a sacred trust. Our families have supported us in every step of this very difficult journey. Our children and grandchildren have been our driving force and our daily reminder of the importance of what we do. I dedicate my work on this Commission to my wife Katherine, my children Misko-Gaagigibiness, Niigaanwewidam, Kezhiibaawgogiizhigokwe, Bishop Wahkeh Ozaa, and Gaabigaanisidbewak, and my grandchildren [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible].

Because of our families, we, as Commissioners, are committed to making this a better country. For the sake of yours, I hope you will join us.

Justice Murray Sinclair (Mizanay Gheezhik)
Chair, Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

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Statement from the Commissioner, Chief Wilton Littlechild

[illegible]

"When you work for our community, you must do everything you can to make it better, then pass it to the next one…." These were my late grandfather's (Chief Dan Minde) words to me in Cree as a twelve-year-old. I was and had been a residential school student for six years already. The true meaning of this instruction really took on full significance for me during these past six years. Thank you to my fellow Commissioners—Justice Murray Sinclair, Dr. Marie Wilson—and all those who helped me focus our work as a sacred trust. What a blessing it has been.

We have listened very carefully to many courageous individuals in our search for the truth. Through pain, tears, joy, and sometimes anger, they informed us about what happened. My gratitude and admiration of your strength and resilience to those who shared your views on how we can and how we must work together very hard for reconciliation going forward. The encouraging advice from one of my schoolmates was, "It starts with me, I need to make things right with our Creator, the Great Spirit."

The one recurring message for me throughout the public hearings was the necessity for the essential step of returning to spirituality through our languages, cultures, and land. We have all been guided in our journey by the seven universal gifts, sacred teachings towards having good relations or better relationships with mutual respect. In the many different ways we gathered stories in a safe setting, thank you to those who provided medical, cultural, and spiritual support. Also, to the many who prayed for us throughout the years, hai hai! Thank you.

While there are many significant highlights, for me, four solutions for "making things better" stand out. I believe Treaties are a solution. They are a basis for a strengthened partnership that calls on us to work together. I believe that the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, a global consensus, offers us a true framework for reconciliation. I believe the greatest opportunity for positive change is in lifelong learning, holistic education. I also believe these are best achievable if we work very, very hard on unity. We now know from many Survivors' testimonies that in building on the strengths of our people, the power is in family. Reconciliation will come through concrete action on these priorities.

Finally, let me conclude by extending the best I learned from fellow Survivors to my own and extended family for their sacrifice, patience, and being there for me: Helen, Megan, Neil, Teddi, and my grandchildren Shaynna, Cleveland, Summer, Keeshon, Neva, Jack, Ava, Jaylynn, and Konnar. The seven most powerful words: "I'm sorry, I love you, thank you."

W. Littlechild IPC

Chief Wilton Littlechild

Commissioner

Canada's Residential Schools

Volume 1 • Part 1

Introduction

For over a century, the central goals of Canada's Aboriginal policy were to eliminate Aboriginal governments; ignore Aboriginal rights; terminate the Treaties; and, through a process of assimilation, cause Aboriginal peoples to cease to exist as distinct legal, social, cultural, religious, and racial entities in Canada. The establishment and operation of residential schools were a central element of this policy, which can best be described as "cultural genocide."

Physical genocide is the mass killing of the members of a targeted group, and *biological genocide* is the destruction of the group's reproductive capacity. *Cultural genocide* is the destruction of those structures and practices that allow the group to continue as a group. States that engage in cultural genocide set out to destroy the political and social institutions of the targeted group. Land is seized, and populations are forcibly transferred and their movement is restricted. Languages are banned. Spiritual leaders are persecuted, spiritual practices are forbidden, and objects of spiritual value are confiscated and destroyed. And, most significantly to the issue at hand, families are disrupted to prevent the transmission of cultural values and identity from one generation to the next.

In its dealing with Aboriginal people, Canada did all these things.

Canada asserted control over Aboriginal land. In some locations, Canada negotiated Treaties with First Nations; in others, the land was simply occupied or seized. The negotiation of Treaties, while seemingly honourable and legal, was often marked by fraud and coercion, and Canada was, and remains, slow to implement their provisions and intent.[1]

On occasion, Canada forced First Nations to relocate their reserves from agriculturally valuable or resource-rich land onto remote and economically marginal reserves.[2]

Without legal authority or foundation, in the 1880s, Canada instituted a "pass system" that was intended to confine First Nations people to their reserves.[3]

Canada replaced existing forms of Aboriginal government with relatively powerless band councils whose decisions it could override and whose leaders it could depose.[4] In the process, it disempowered Aboriginal women.

Canada denied the right to participate fully in Canadian political, economic, and social life to those Aboriginal people who refused to abandon their Aboriginal identity.[5]

Canada outlawed Aboriginal spiritual practices, jailed Aboriginal spiritual leaders, and confiscated sacred objects.[6]

And, Canada separated children from their parents, sending them to residential schools. This was done not to educate them, but primarily to break their link to their culture and identity.

These measures were part of a coherent policy to eliminate Aboriginal people as distinct peoples and to assimilate them into the Canadian mainstream against their will. Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs Duncan Campbell Scott outlined the goals of that policy in 1920, when he told a parliamentary committee that "our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic."[7] These goals were reiterated in 1969 in the federal government's *Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy* (more often referred to as the "White Paper"), which sought to end Indian status and terminate the Treaties that the federal government had negotiated with First Nations.[8]

The Canadian government pursued this policy of cultural genocide because it wished to divest itself of its legal and financial obligations to Aboriginal people and gain control over their land and resources. If every Aboriginal person had been "absorbed into the body politic," there would be no reserves, no Treaties, and no Aboriginal rights.

Residential schooling quickly became a central element in the federal government's Aboriginal policy. When Canada was created as a country in 1867, Canadian churches were already operating a small number of boarding schools for Aboriginal people. As settlement moved westward in the 1870s, Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries established missions and small boarding schools across the Prairies, in the North, and in British Columbia. Most of these schools received small, per-student grants from the federal government. In 1883, the federal government moved to establish three, large, residential schools for First Nation children in western Canada. In the following years, the system grew dramatically. According to the Indian Affairs annual report for 1930, there were eighty residential schools in operation across the country.[9] The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement provided compensation to students who attended 139 residential schools and residences.[10] The federal government has estimated that at least 150,000 First Nation, Métis, and Inuit students passed through the system.[11]

Roman Catholic, Anglican, United, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches were the major denominations involved in the administration of the residential school system. The government's partnership with the churches remained in place until 1969, and, although most of the schools had closed by the 1980s, the last federally supported residential schools remained in operation until the late 1990s.

For children, life in these schools was lonely and alien. Buildings were poorly located, poorly built, and poorly maintained. The staff was limited in numbers, often poorly trained, and not adequately supervised. Many schools were poorly heated and poorly ventilated, and the diet was meagre and of poor quality. Discipline was harsh, and daily life was highly regimented. Aboriginal languages and cultures were denigrated and suppressed. The educational goals of the schools were limited and confused, and usually reflected a low regard for the intellectual capabilities of Aboriginal people. For the students, education and technical training too often gave way to the drudgery of doing the chores necessary to make the schools self-sustaining. Child neglect was institutionalized, and the lack of supervision created situations where students were prey to sexual and physical abusers.

In establishing residential schools, the Canadian government essentially declared Aboriginal people to be unfit parents. Aboriginal parents were labelled as being indifferent to the future of their children—a judgment contradicted by the fact that parents often kept their children out of schools because they saw those schools, quite accurately, as dangerous and harsh institutions that sought to raise their children in alien ways. Once in the schools, brothers and sisters were kept apart, and the government and churches even arranged marriages for students after they finished their education.

Despite the coercive measures that the government adopted, it failed to achieve its policy goals. Although Aboriginal peoples and cultures have been badly damaged, they continue to exist. Aboriginal people have refused to surrender their identity. It was the former students, the Survivors of Canada's residential schools, who placed the residential school issue on the public agenda. Their efforts led to the negotiation of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement that mandated the establishment of a residential school Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

The Commission's final report is divided into the following six volumes.

Volume 1: *The History*
Volume 2: *The Inuit and Northern Experience*
Volume 3: *The Métis Experience*
Volume 4: *Missing Children and Unmarked Burials*
Volume 5: *The Legacy*
Volume 6: *Reconciliation*

The first volume, *The History*, is divided into three sections and, due to its length, is being published in two parts. The first section places residential schooling for Indigenous people in historical context and examines the pre-Confederation roots of the Canadian residential school system. The second section describes the history and the student experience of residential schools from Confederation to 1939. This was the period in which the system was established and expanded. It was also the period of the most intense health crisis. By the end of the 1930s, government officials had come to question the value of the residential school system. The final section covers the years from 1940 to 2000, by which time the system had been brought to an end.

The volumes *The Inuit and Northern Experience* and *The Métis Experience* address topics that are often ignored in the discussion of residential schooling. The 1950s saw a dramatic expansion of residential schooling in northern Canada and the creation of a system in which Inuit children were sent to residences that could be hundreds of kilometres from their home communities. Constant changes in government policy meant that, at some times, Métis children were barred from residential schools, while, at other times, residential schools were the only schools that would accept Métis children.

The *Missing Children and Unmarked Burials Report* addresses three interrelated questions that were added to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's mandate: how many children died at the schools, what were the conditions that led to their deaths, and where were they buried? The report demonstrates that Aboriginal residential school students died at rates higher than non-Aboriginal students. It also demonstrates that the government failure to provide adequate funding, medical treatment, nutrition, housing, sanitation, and clothing contributed to this elevated death rate. In addition, the report makes it clear that the government had been advised of the implications of its policies and presented with options—which it chose to ignore—that would have reduced the school death rates.

The Legacy volume examines the devastating effects the residential school system has had on former students, their families, and on Canadian society as a whole. It explores the loss of language and culture suffered by Aboriginal people as well as the significant gaps they experience in health, education, and employment outcomes. *The Legacy* volume also analyzes in depth the dramatic overrepresentation of Aboriginal Canadians in the child welfare and correctional systems. In each of the volume's five sections, the Commissioners present a series of Calls to Action intended to redress the injustices and inequities that are the legacy of the residential school system and the long-standing policies of assimilation that gave birth to it.

The *Reconciliation* volume establishes guiding principles and a framework for advancing reconciliation in Canadian society. It identifies the challenges that must be overcome if reconciliation is to flourish in the twenty-first century and highlights the critical role that Aboriginal peoples' cultures, histories, and laws must play in the reconciliation process. The volume demonstrates that although apologies from Canada and the churches were important symbolic events, reconciliation also requires concrete measures to repair the damaged relationship between Aboriginal peoples and the Crown and to establish respectful relationships between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal peoples. Individual chapters in the volume examine the potential for Indigenous law, public education, dialogue, the arts, and commemoration, and Canadian society more broadly, to contribute to reconciliation. Based on these findings, the Commission makes specific calls to action that, when implemented, will ensure that reconciliation has a strong foundation in Canada, moving into the future.

1

The historical context for Canada's residential schools

CHAPTER 1

Colonialism in the Age of Empire

> The whole part of the residential school was a part of a bigger scheme of colonization. There was intent; the schools were there with the intent to change people, to make them like others and to make them not fit.
>
> And today, you know, we have to begin to decolonize.
>
> —*Shirley Flowers, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*

In 1931, an Anglican missionary described the All Saints School at Aklavik in the Northwest Territories as the "most northerly [illegible] school in the British Empire."[1] This proud claim is a reminder that Canada's residential school system was part of a global imperial process that brought [illegible] and Christian [illegible] together in a complex and powerful fashion. The men and women who established the schools celebrated this link between their work and the growth of European empires.

The spread of these empires, the modern age of imperialism, was set in motion in the fifteenth century when the voyages of maritime explorers revealed potential sources of new wealth to the monarchs of Europe. By the 1480s, the Portuguese had reached the Gulf of Guinea. Soon after, they were bringing slaves, gold, and ivory from Africa to Europe. The Spanish conquest of the Aztecs and the Incas gave Spain, and ultimately all of Europe, access to the precious metals of North and South America. This not only enriched the Old World; it also unleashed an unceasing wave of migration, trade, conquest, and colonization.[2] It marked the beginning of the creation of a European-dominated global economy. Although it was led initially by Spain and Portugal, this era of imperial expansion came to be directed by Holland, France, and, in the end, most spectacularly by Britain.[3]

The Age of Empire saw powerful European states gain control of other peoples' lands throughout the world. It was an era of mass migration. Millions of Europeans came as colonial settlers to nearly every part of the world. Millions of Africans were transported across the Atlantic Ocean in the European-led slave trade, in which coastal Africans collaborated. Traders from India and China spread throughout the

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the number of colonists was limited: usually, only little more than the military and the personnel needed to control and exploit the colony. After their term of service had expired, most often the colonists returned to the homeland.[25] In India, for example, the British presence did not exceed 10,000 in a colony of 300 million.[26] When many of these empires collapsed in the 1940s and 1950s, the colonized peoples proclaimed their sovereignty while most of the remaining colonists left.

These colonies of occupation can be contrasted to settler colonies such as Canada, the United States, Australia, and New Zealand. Although these colonies might have been initiated with an intention to simply exploit resources, over time, the focus shifted to large-scale, permanent migration of agricultural settlers. From 1830 to 1880, for example, European immigration to North America rose by 40%. Between 1815 and 1912, two and a half million people emigrated from the British Isles. So extensive was this migration that, by 1900, only a third of the English-speaking people in the world lived in Europe.[27] These immigrants frequently were driven by famine, religious or ethnic persecution, and the changes brought about by mechanization of agriculture and manufacturing.[28]

The increase in the number of colonists was often matched by dramatic decreases in Indigenous populations.[29] The Maori population dropped from 80,000 in 1842 to 42,000 in 1896.[30] The population of the Belgian Congo dropped by over nine million people in the wake of colonization.[31] In North America, the population decline began upon contact and continued until the twentieth century. Estimates of the rate of population decline for North America range from 53% for some groups to 95% for others. New and deadly diseases such as smallpox, measles, and influenza dramatically reduced Indigenous populations. Colonialism had rendered Indigenous people especially vulnerable to epidemics by disrupting their relationship to the environment. The poor living and working conditions often associated with colonialism not only left people prey to epidemics, but also made it far more difficult for Indigenous populations to recover from an epidemic.[32]

The reception that colonialism received from Indigenous peoples varied according to time and place, depending on respective interests and needs. The variables included the level of Indigenous interest in European trade goods and the colonists' need for Indigenous support and assistance for their very survival. The potential existed for co-operation and exchange. In comparing the French and English in North America, one group of Iroquois observed in 1754 that if one were to look at the forts established by the French, "you will see that the land beneath his walls is still hunting ground, having fixed himself in those places we frequent, only to supply our wants; whilst the English, on the contrary, no sooner get possession of a country than the game is forced to leave it; the trees fall down before them, the earth becomes bare, and we find among them hardly wherewithal to shelter us when the night falls."[33] The statement highlights the reasons not only for co-operating with the French, but also for resisting the English.

Conflict and resistance were common throughout the history of imperialism. Resistance could come from the Indigenous peoples: in 1577, when British explorer Martin Frobisher tried to take two Inuit hostages on Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin Island), the Inuit fought back, leaving Frobisher with an arrow wound in the buttocks.[34] Two hundred years later, in 1788, when British captain Arthur Phillips landed at Botany Bay in Australia, he was greeted by Aboriginal people chanting "Warra, Warra," which has been translated as "Go away."[35] An Elder on Vancouver Island told colonial official Gilbert Sproat that "we do not want the white man. He steals what we have. We wish to live as we are."[36] In other cases, the Indigenous people questioned the colonizers' claim to the land. First Nations leaders in the Nass River area of British Columbia told a government commission in 1887, "What we don't like about the government is their saying this: 'We will give you this much land.' How can they give it when it is our own? We cannot understand it. They have never bought it from us or our forefathers."[37] Resistance also came from the peoples who had been dragged away from their homelands: slaves on the British island of Trinidad, in preparation for a revolt, sang that "The bread we eat is the white man's flesh / the wine we drink is the white man's blood."[38] And, as the American War of Independence demonstrated, even settlers themselves could rebel, particularly if imperial policy attempted to curb the rate and speed at which they took the lands of Indigenous people.[39] Indigenous resistance continued after colonization, taking such varied forms as guerrilla warfare, strikes, and even refusal to assimilate. Such a refusal did not mean that colonized peoples rejected every aspect of colonial society, particularly if they were able to control the pace of change. In Canada, for example, Aboriginal people valued many of the goods they received through the fur trade and were able to exploit their position as the suppliers of furs to their economic benefit.[40]

In settler colonies, the mere presence of Indigenous people blocked settler access to the land.[41] Herman Merivale, a future British permanent undersecretary of the Colonial Office, noted in his 1840 *Lectures on Colonization and Colonies* that there were four basic approaches an imperial power could take in its relations with Indigenous people. It could exterminate them, enslave them, separate them from colonial society, or assimilate them into colonial society.[42] At one point or another, just about every colonial power experimented with each of these alternatives. Peoples who made their livings as hunters, fishers, and herders, who held land communally, or who lacked a strong and protective state were marginalized economically and socially.[43] To accommodate settlers, Indigenous people were separated from their land (and the source of their livelihood). Settlers felled forests, overfished rivers, and fenced and ploughed plains, effectively disrupting the economic base and asserting dominion over the land of Indigenous peoples around the world.[44] To separate Indigenous people from the land, settler colonialism negotiated Treaties where possible, waged wars of extinction, eliminated traditional landholding practices, disrupted families, and imposed new political and spiritual order that came complete with new values and cultural practices.[45] The outcome was usually disastrous for Indigenous people, while the chief beneficiaries of empire may well have been colonists in the settler colonies and their descendants. Many of the colonies they settled grew to be among the most prosperous societies in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century world.[46]

Settler colonies often went on to achieve political independence. In the case of Canada and the United States of America, these newly created nations spread across North America, creating land-based empires and continuing to colonize Indigenous peoples. Settler colonialism remains an ongoing process, shaping both the structure and the quality of the relationship between the settlers and Indigenous peoples.

The Doctrine of Discovery

At their height, the European empires laid claim to most of the earth's surface and controlled the seas.[47] Numerous arguments were advanced to justify such extravagant interventions into the lands and lives of other peoples. These were largely elaborations on two basic concepts: 1) the Christian God had given the Christian nations the right to colonize the lands they 'discovered' as long as they converted the Indigenous populations, and 2) the Europeans were bringing the benefits of civilization (a concept that was intertwined with Christianity) to the 'heathen.' In short, it was contended that people were being colonized for their own benefit, either in this world or the next.

The Roman Catholic Church, building on the traditions of the Roman Empire, conceived of itself as the guardian of a universal world order.[48] The adoption of Christianity within the Roman Empire (which defined itself as 'civilized') reinforced the view that to be civilized was to be Christian.[49] The fact that Christ was born during the reign of Augustus, the founding Roman emperor, was interpreted as a sign that the Romans had been preparing the way for Christianity.[50] Subsequently, a narrative was fashioned that claimed that the fourth-century Emperor Constantine donated the Roman Empire to the Pope, who in turn bestowed it upon the Holy Roman Emperor. This came to be known as the "Donation of Constantine," later demonstrated to be based on a forged document that had been created several hundred years after Constantine's death. The Donation of Constantine was used to buttress papal authority to bestow sovereignty over North and South America to the Portuguese and Spanish crowns.[51]

The papacy was already playing a role in directing and legitimizing colonialism prior to Columbus's voyages to the Americas in the 1490s. In 1433, Pope Eugene IV granted spiritual authority over a number of islands in the Madeira archipelago in southwest Portugal to the Portuguese Order of Christ, a religious and military body then led by Prince Henry of Portugal.[52] In doing so, Eugene claimed an interest in seeking the salvation of all the people of the world.[53] The papacy continued to legitimate and control imperial expansion through a series of papal bulls. (A papal bull is a charter issued by the Pope; it takes its name from the Latin word for the mould used to seal the document.) In 1455, Pope Nicolas V issued a bull (*Romanus Pontifex*) giving Portugal rights to the African coast from Cape Bojador (in the present-day Western Sahara) south. The bull also granted the Portuguese the right to reduce the inhabitants of Africa to slavery, in large measure as a result of the Portuguese exploration and possession of these lands.[54] A 1481 bull (*Aeterna Patris*) gave Portugal the rights to lands and islands yet to be discovered from the Canary Islands "toward Guinea" (in Africa).[55] With these bulls, the papacy was granting the lands of Indigenous peoples to the Portuguese Crown on the basis of discovery and conquest. These bulls helped shape the political and legal arguments that have come to be referred to as the "Doctrine of Discovery," which was used to justify the colonization of the Americas in the sixteenth century.

Portuguese King João sought to use the bulls, which gave Portugal the right to "lands yet to be discovered," to argue that the lands that Christopher Columbus had claimed for Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain actually belonged to him. For their part, the Spanish argued that the Portuguese had no claim to the lands in what is today known as the "Americas," since they were not "toward Guinea," as the 1481 bull had stipulated.[56] To keep the Pope's support, the Spanish made a number of promises. On the spiritual level, they promised Pope Alexander VI that the people Columbus had encountered would be converted to Christianity. Their efforts bore fruit. In 1493, Alexander issued the first of four bulls dealing with the Spanish claim to the Americas. The first bull (*Inter Caetera Divinae*) gave Spain the rights to any lands it had discovered (or would discover), provided they were not already in the possession of another Christian power and that the Spanish converted the Indigenous populations to Christianity. The second bull (*Eximiae Devotionis*) supported the Spanish claims, and a third (also named *Inter Caetera*) stated that Spanish dominion commenced at a line 100 leagues (a league was a unit of measure, approximately five kilometres) west of the Azores Islands. A fourth bull (*Dudum Siquidem*) further extended the Spanish claims. It also prohibited other Christian nations from trading in the waters granted to Spain without Spanish permission.[57] This division was intended to give much of North and South America to Spain, while allowing Portugal to claim Brazil and the south Atlantic as part of its rights to any of the land along the westward route to Asia from Europe. The bulls of 1493 and 1494 are often referred to as either the "Alexandrine Bulls" or the "Bulls of Donation."[58]

Subsequent conflicts with the papacy prompted a number of prominent Spanish writers and theologians to attempt to condone the conquest of the New World as the outcome of a just war. Arguing that a war was just if it was fought in self-defence or in defence of universal values, these authors held that Indigenous people were natural slaves and that they were committing crimes against nature, such as human sacrifice, for which they needed to be punished. War against Indigenous peoples in the New World was also just, they argued, because it would prevent the future sacrifice of innocents and spread Christianity to people whose souls would otherwise be condemned.[59]

While the bulls buttressed Spanish and Portuguese colonial ambitions, rulers who had been left out of the papally sanctioned scramble for empire did not accept them.[60] French kings such as Francis I and Henri IV also rejected the validity of the Bulls of Donation.[61] They argued that the Pope did not have jurisdiction over pagans and could not give away half the world, any more than he could give away their own kingdoms.[62]

Those who rejected the bulls or the authority of the papacy did not necessarily reject the Doctrine of Discovery—they simply modified it. To make a claim stick, the English argued, it was necessary to discover lands and take possession of them.[63] Harman Verelst, who promoted the colonization in the eighteenth century of what is now the southern coast of the United States, wrote that "this Right arising from the first discovery is the first and fundamental Right of all European Nations, as to their Claim of Lands in America."[64] As time went on, a theory about land in what is today America developed in Europe, whereby the right of discovery created the right of pre-emption; that is, the right to acquire title by purchase or conquest.[65]

Even at the time, some critics pointed out that the right of discovery presumably gave the Tahitians and the Japanese the right to discover and, therefore, lay claim to Europe.[66] The Spanish theologian Franciscus de Victoria (also referred to as Vitoria), in his 1532 lecture "On the Indians Lately Discovered," wrote that there was no justification for the Pope's granting the Americas to Spain and dismissed any right to establish by discovery, noting that "the barbarians were the true owners, both from the public and from the private standpoint."[67] Despite this, 300 years later, in *Johnson v. M'Intosh*, a case denying Native American land rights, United States Chief Justice John Marshall held that "all the nations of Europe, who have acquired territory on this continent, have asserted in themselves, and have recognized in others, the exclusive right of the discoverer to appropriate the lands occupied by the Indians."[68] The *Johnson v. M'Intosh* case, which is based on the Doctrine of Discovery, was still being cited in American courts in the twenty-first century, as is noted in a paper prepared for the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues.[69] The Canadian Supreme Court also cited *Johnson v. M'Intosh* in two Aboriginal rights cases, *R. v. Sparrow* in 1990, and in 1996 in *R. v. Van der Peet*.[70]

The Doctrine of Discovery was linked to a second idea: the lands being claimed were *terra nullius* (land belonging to no one) and therefore open to claim. On the basis of this concept, the British government claimed ownership of the entire Australian continent. There, the doctrine of terra nullius remained the law until it was successfully challenged in court in 1992.[71] Under this doctrine, imperialists could argue that the presence of Indigenous people did not void a claim of terra nullius, since the Indigenous people simply occupied, rather than owned, the land. True ownership, they claimed, could come only with European-style agriculture. Seventeenth-century British political thinker John Locke held that ownership of land belonged only to those who improved its productivity. When one considered the profit that a Native American received from the produce of a fertile acre of land in North America compared to what an English landlord received from an acre in England, it was clear, he wrote, that the American acre was not worth one-thousandth of the English acre. Given such a disparity, the North American acre under Aboriginal control was little more than waste. Under this logic, it was not only permissible to seize the Aboriginal land; it was virtuous if, by so doing, the land would be rendered more productive and therefore more profitable.[72] The legal writer Emeric de Vattel in 1758 argued that since the people of the Americas "rather roamed over them than inhabited them," the French colonization of their land was "entirely lawful."[73]

Underlying every one of these arguments was the belief that the colonizers were bringing civilization to savage people who could never civilize themselves. This argument was used in the seventeenth century to justify an intensification of the British colonization of Ireland, which was marked by widespread dispossession, religious persecution, and the settlement of British and Scottish landlords and farmers.[74] In 1610, Sir John Davies, who oversaw the colonization of Ireland, claimed that the Irish "would never, to the end of the world, build houses, make townships or villages, or manure or improve the land as it ought to be." To leave Ireland to the Irish meant the land would "lie waste like a wilderness." Since the British king was "bound in conscience to use all lawful and just courses to reduce his people from barbarism to civility," Davies wrote, he had little choice but to colonize Ireland.[75] Similar arguments were made by colonists around the world. In this way, colonizers convinced themselves they were spreading not only agriculture, order, and trade, but also civilization.[76]

The 'civilizing mission' rested on a belief of racial and cultural superiority. European writers and politicians often arranged racial groups in a hierarchy, each with their own set of mental and physical capabilities. The 'special gifts' of the Europeans made it inevitable that they would conquer the lesser peoples. Beneath the Europeans, in descending order, were Asians, Africans, and the Indigenous peoples of the Americas and Australia. Some held that Europeans had reached the pinnacle of civilization through a long and arduous process. In this view, the other peoples of the world had been held back by such factors as climate, geography, and migration. Through a civilizing process, Europeans could, however, raise the people of the world up to their level.

This view was replaced in the nineteenth century by a racism that chose to cloak itself in the language of science. This view held that the peoples of the world had differing abilities. For genetic reasons, there were limits on the ability of the less-developed peoples to improve. In some cases, it was thought, contact with superior races could lead to only one outcome: the extinction of the inferior peoples.[77] In 1910, Jules Harmand, who had helped oversee the French colonization of Indo-China, wrote:

> It is necessary, then, to accept as a principle and point of departure the fact that there is a hierarchy of races and civilizations, and that we belong to the superior race and civilization, still recognizing that, while superiority confers rights, it imposes strict obligations in return. The basic legitimation of conquest over native peoples is the conviction of our superiority, not merely our mechanical, economic, and military superiority, but our moral superiority. Our dignity rests on that quality, and it underlies our right to direct the rest of humanity. Material power is nothing but a means to an end.[78]

Attitudes of superiority gave rise to bold and sweeping generalizations: Islam was sterile; "Orientals," fatalistic, when not corrupt, lazy, or, in the case of the "Chinaman," simply inscrutable; the Japanese were liars, gifted but immoral; Africans, happy and carefree, even when bound in slavery, which freed them from the white man's burden of thought.[79] Speaking of the Zulus, among whom he was carrying out his missionary work, Presbyterian Daniel Lindley wrote, "In Africans the elements of improvement are, it seems to me, fewer and feebler than in any other portion of mankind. Their degradation is unfathomable—it has no bottom."[80]

This sense of superiority provided a powerful justification for intervening in the lives of others, since, it was argued, these people were not civilized enough to govern themselves and achieve civilization on their own.[81] On the basis of his involvement in the nineteenth-century wars fought to open China to the British opium trade, British admiral and explorer Sherard Osborn recommended in 1860 that the Chinese should be treated "as children; make them do what they know is for their benefit, as well as our own, and all difficulties with China are at an end."[82] Twelve years later, British historian and explorer Winwood Reade argued, "The great Turkish and Chinese Empires, the lands of Morocco, Abyssinia, and Thibet, will be eventually filled with free, industrious, and educated populations. But those people will never begin to advance until their property is rendered secure, until they enjoy the rights of man; and these they will never obtain except by means of European conquest."[83]

These ideas shaped global policies towards Indigenous peoples. In 1883, Britain's Lord Rosebery told an Australian audience, "It is on the British race, whether in Great Britain, or the United States, or the Colonies, or wherever it may be, that rest the highest hopes of those who try to penetrate the dark future, or who seek to raise and better the patient masses of mankind."[84] In that same year, the Canadian government opened its first industrial residential school for Aboriginal people at Battleford on the Canadian Prairies. The schools were a living expression of these ideas.

Lewis Henry Morgan, the leading American anthropologist of the nineteenth century and an advocate of the assimilation of Native Americans, wrote in 1877, "The

Aryan family represents the central stream of human progress, because it produced the highest type of mankind, and because it has proved its intrinsic superiority by gradually assuming the control of the earth."[illegible] Canadian politicians were not immune to these sentiments. In 1885, when denying the vote to people of Asian ancestry, Canadian Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald warned that if Asian Canadians had the vote, they would "send Chinese representatives" to Parliament, where they would enforce "Asiatic principles," which he described as "immoralities" that were "abhorrent to the Aryan race and Aryan principles."[illegible]

These views remained respectable and common well into the twentieth century. The commemorative book produced in 1926 after the British Prince of Wales's tour of Africa said that West Africans had "accepted the superficial attributes of civilization, but would straightway shed them and relapse and revert to primitive savagery if their white mentors withdrew."[illegible]

Imperialism and education

At the outset of the colonial era, there was no free public school system in Europe. Those schools that did exist were operated by either religious organizations or private instructors or groups. In most cases, parents had to pay if they wanted their children to attend these schools. Religious study, along with reading, writing, and arithmetic, constituted the curriculum. Children were trained primarily by their parents and they generally followed in their parents' occupations. However, during the nineteenth century, urbanization and industrialization so changed the world that, for many countries, public schooling became both a possibility and a necessity. The Industrial Revolution drove people off the land and into the cities. It was no longer the case that children would follow in their parents' occupations. Schools came to be seen as the solution to the needs of parents, who could no longer provide their children with the skills they required; of employers, who were looking for workers who could follow instructions and accept discipline; and of elites, who feared that without education the newly created industrial working class would not accept the existing social order and their place in that order.[illegible] The function of the public education system was to create a workforce that was productive and loyal to the existing political regime. In eighteenth-century Britain, charity schools were praised for teaching "Industry, Frugality, Order and Regularity."[illegible] In 1770, a British social reformer urged that four-year-old children living in poverty be sent to workhouses. There was, he wrote, "considerable use in their being, somehow or other, constantly employed at least twelve hours a day, whether they earn their living or not; for by these means, we hope that the rising generation will be so habituated to constant employment that it would at length prove agreeable and entertaining to them."[illegible]

The stated goal of education in the colonies was no different from the overall colonial goal of bringing Christianity and civilization to the colonized. In practice, colonial schooling was established to consolidate colonial rule, extend foreign domination, and enhance economic exploitation.[illegible] The type of education offered, if any, depended on whether the colonies were committed to policies of extermination, enslavement, segregation, or assimilation. In colonies of occupation, where the colonists depended on Indigenous labour to exploit local resources, a typical educational goal would be to provide students with the skills needed to be good farmers or artisans. In such cases, education might be offered broadly. Elsewhere, it might be provided largely to the children of local elites, who were expected to assist in the administration of the colony.[illegible] For example, while the British East India Company initially banned missionaries from India, educational services were extended to allow the colonial administration to staff the lower ranks of the civil service with Indians.[illegible]

Many settler colonies took steps to separate children from their parents while providing them with some measure of a Western education, usually with the goal of assimilating the children into a subordinate role within colonial society. Colonists at Jamestown, Virginia, were urged to take Native American children into their homes to educate them. Authorization was even given to the colonists to imprison Native American religious leaders, so as to prevent them from opposing the missionary work.[illegible] In the nineteenth century, authorities in Australia began separating Indigenous children from their parents, raising them in dormitories until they were fourteen, when they were to be found jobs as farm labourers or domestic workers.[illegible] In the twentieth century, the Soviet Union operated residential schools for members of the twenty-six so-called small nationalities, not with the goal of Christianizing and civilizing them, but with the Soviet equivalent of these goals: converting them to socialism and forcing them to settle in communities.[illegible]

Many colonists thought that, when it came to Indigenous people, a little learning was a dangerous thing. George Simpson, the Hudson's Bay Company's North American governor, wrote in 1822, "I have always remarked that an enlightened Indian is good for nothing; there are several of them about the Bay side and totally useless, even the half Breeds of the Country who have been educated in Canada are blackguards of the very worst description, they not only pick the vices of the Whites upon which they improve but retain those of the Indian to the utmost extent."[illegible] In 1873, the British colonial secretary issued an instruction that in West Africa, "I would have nothing to do with the 'educated natives' as a body. I would treat with the hereditary chiefs only, and endeavour as far as possible to govern through them."[illegible] The curriculum of French schools in Vietnam was similarly limited, for fear that the supposedly 'devious' Vietnamese would surely convolute and misconstrue their learning.[illegible]

The general attitudes of the colonizers shaped the curriculum. In the early twentieth century, the French, convinced that Africans had little capacity for abstract thought, provided only a basic education in the primary schools they operated in their West African colonies.[illegible] Indigenous languages were also judged as inadequate. Thomas Macaulay, a British politician, lawyer, and historian, served as the secretary of the Board of Control, the government agency that supervised the British East India Company. He took the lead in a campaign to make English, rather than Sanskrit and Persian, the language of education in government-supported schools in India.[illegible] His 1835 paper supporting this policy argued that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia." The languages of India, in his opinion, were irrational, giving support to barbaric and false beliefs. English, on the other hand, offered "access to all the vast intellectual wealth, which all the wisest nations of the earth have created and hoarded in the course of ninety generations." Although he was a gifted linguist, Macaulay managed to reach these conclusions without having bothered to familiarize himself with any of the languages he was judging.[illegible]

This attitude towards languages spread to culture. In school, the Vietnamese were taught that, compared to dingy, unhealthy, poorly ventilated houses of the Vietnamese, French houses were large and well planned. Colonialism itself was explained as arising from France's desire to protect the Vietnamese "from themselves and their own shortcomings such as gambling, excessive superstitions of all sorts and their love of chicanery which ruins both their savings and their health."[illegible] General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, the head of the Hampton Institute in Virginia, held similar views. He believed that the African American and Native American students who were sent to his manual training school in the 1880s were members of races that were a "thousand miles behind us in moral and mental development."[illegible]

Not surprisingly, it was not uncommon for this sort of education to breed self-hatred, alienation, and cultural instability.[illegible] In his book *Decolonising the Mind*, Kenyan writer Ngugi Wa Thiong'o argues that this education annihilates "a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement and it makes them want to distance themselves from that wasteland."[illegible] Writing of the North American experience, Mohawk activist Taiaiake Alfred describes how colonialism disconnected Indigenous people "from our responsibilities to one another and our respect for one another, our responsibilities and our respect for the land, and our responsibilities and respect for our culture."[illegible] Colonialism also impacted the colonizers. In 1857, the British executed those who had taken part in the Indian Mutiny by firing cannons at them at point-blank range. One young British soldier wrote to his mother, "You can't imagine such a horrible sight." A month later, however, he confided that "I … think no more of stringing up or blowing away half a dozen mutineers before breakfast than I do of eating the same meal."[illegible] Aimé Césaire, who led the anti-colonialist movement in the French colony of Martinique, called this colonization's "boomerang effect," arguing "that the colonizer, who in order to ease his conscience gets into the habit of seeing the other man as an animal, accustoms himself to treating him like an animal, and tends objectively to transform himself into an animal.[illegible]

Non-Indigenous people were taught to be proud of the empire. Henrietta Marshall wrote a series of history books that were used in schools throughout the British Empire. At the beginning of her 1908 history of the empire itself, Our Empire Story, she acknowledged, "The stories are not all bright. How should they be? We have made mistakes, we have been foolish, we have stumbled. We may own it without shame, perhaps almost without sorrow, and still love our Empire and its builders."[illegible] Throughout her works, Indigenous peoples are either savages or [illegible] children (although a Maori chief was "an ignorant savage, for the missionaries had taught him much").[illegible] In Canada, according to her chapter on Louis Riel, "the Métis were very ignorant" and Riel was "a clever but half-educated man" who, in 1885, was able to get not only the Métis but also the "Red Man" to follow him. "Tribe after tribe smeared their faces with war paint, danced the war dance, and set out to join the rebels; the North West was full of the nameless horror and terror of the Red Man, as Canada had been long years before."[illegible] Marshall's books remained in print into the 1930s, and their attitudes had a far longer life: a 1968 study of 143 Ontario school texts observed, "To take the term most frequently applied to each group we are most likely to encounter in textbooks, devoted Christians, great Jews, hardworking immigrants, infidel Moslems, primitive Negroes, and savage Indians."[illegible] A decade later, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood released The Shocking Truth about Indians in Textbooks, a study that underscored the continuing stereotypical portrayal of Aboriginal people in textbooks.[illegible] Writing in 2007, Penney Clark, a Canadian educator, identified the following six categories into which Aboriginal people were still being slotted by Canadian textbooks. They could be spectators who were not part of the main story of Canadian history; exotic, savage warriors; uniquely spiritual people; members of the 'Indian problem'; protesters; or simply invisible.[illegible] In short, much of Canadian education has been colonial education.

Conclusion

The Canadian residential school experience is part of the history of imperialism of the past 500 years. In particular, it is part of the history of settler colonialism—and that history is not over. By the twentieth century, colonized people throughout the world began turning one European concept—mass nationalism—to their benefit. Wars of national liberation and campaigns of peaceful protest led to the collapse of the era of formal political empire. Between 1945 and 1965, the British, French, Dutch, German, Belgian, and what was left of the Spanish empires collapsed. Others, such as the

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The churches and their mission of conversion

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Company of One Hundred Associates in 1627, the first trading company in Québec, he proclaimed a French mission to "discover in those lands and countries of New France, called Canada, some habitation capable of sustaining colonies, for the purpose of attempting with divine assistance, to bring the people who inhabit them to the knowledge of the true God, to civilize them and to instruct them in the faith and Apostolic, Catholic and Roman religion."[13] The 1609 Charter of the Virginia Company, which was granted by the British Crown to colonize what is now the southern United States, declared that the company was to propagate the "Christian religion to such people, as yet live in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and salvages [sic] living in these parts to humane civility and to a settled and quiet government."[14]

In Catholic countries such as France, the day-to-day responsibility for this work was assigned to various religious orders: the Récollets and Jesuits, for example, went to Québec at the behest of the French King and could, similarly, be ordered to return.[15] Members of these orders did not marry; took vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience; and often lived a communal life with others of their own sex. There were religious orders for the rich and for the poor, for men and for women. The women's orders came under the close supervision of men, as women were not eligible for ordination and therefore could not occupy the ordained positions that supervise lay orders. This hierarchy mirrored the structure of most European societies' rigid social divisions.[16] When the kings of Europe, who claimed to rule by divine right, sent out colonial expeditions, missionaries accompanied the soldiers, sailors, and settlers. This partnership between the missionaries and the military was neither easy nor straightforward, but it was present from the outset.[17]

The Catholic missionary endeavour was also a response to the great break in the Catholic Church created by the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation. The reformers originally sought to end what they identified as corrupt practices and to correct false doctrines, including the authority of the Pope and the bishops, the role of the monastic orders, and the cults of devotion surrounding the Virgin Mary and the saints. Their campaign for change in the church led to 150 years of strife in Europe and resulted in the creation of numerous new Christian faiths, usually termed "Protestant" because of their origins in the movement of protest and reform within the Catholic Church. While the various Protestant churches evolved in different ways, they were similar in that they were less hierarchical than the Catholic Church, placed a greater emphasis on individual interpretation of the Bible, and gave greater priority to the concept of personal salvation through faith. Committees of church elders rather than priests and bishops were more likely to govern the Protestant churches. Protestant services were carried out in the local language rather than in Latin, and ceremony and ritual gave way to simplicity.

The two Roman Catholic orders most involved in missionary work in Canada were the Society of Jesus (better known as "the Jesuits") and the Oblates of Mary

Immaculate. The Jesuits' direct involvement in residential schools in Canada was limited. However, their work around the world served as a model for both the Oblates and many Protestant missionaries. Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish nobleman and soldier, founded the Society of Jesus in 1534. Ignatius had turned to religious life while recovering from a serious battle wound. His conception of the Society of Jesus as a militant organization was mirrored in Pope Julius III's bull sanctioning the order, whose missionary activities were conceived of as expeditions in a global war against Satan and paganism. Victory would entail global conquest in Christ's name.[18] The Jesuits differed from many other religious orders in that they did not withdraw from the world to live a contemplative life. Thoroughly trained, persistent, well educated, and engaged in the world, they attacked corruption within the clergy and the lack of involvement among the faithful.

One of the first Jesuit foreign missionaries was Francis Xavier, who followed Portuguese traders to India, Japan, and finally China, where he died. His letters home and his success at baptizing thousands of people in India served as an example and inspiration to future Jesuits.[19] Operating throughout the Catholic world, the Jesuits often found themselves in conflict with secular authorities: in Brazil, Jesuits denounced the vicious subjugation of the Indigenous people by the Portuguese colonists, and, in Spanish South America, they established *reducciones* to which the Guarani people, the Indigenous people of the region, withdrew in search of protection from the Spanish colonists. The reducciones were so named because it was expected that, within these communities, the Guarani people would be "reduced" to civilization while being isolated from it. By 1700, it is estimated, at least 80,000 people were living in the reducciones. When slave hunters from Brazil began to target the Guarani for capture and sale into the South American slave market, the Jesuits provided the Guarani with arms that allowed them to fight back. This Jesuit support for the Guarani contributed to their expulsion from the Spanish Empire and their being suppressed by order of the Pope in 1773. While the Jesuits acted on behalf of what they perceived to be the interests of Indigenous peoples, their work was intended to encourage Indigenous people to accommodate themselves to European colonization.[20]

In North America, following the British conquest of New France in 1763, the Jesuits were not expelled, but they were not allowed to train or import new members. The order was reconstituted in 1814. It was not until after the uprisings of 1837 that the British government, seeking to reinforce order and stability, allowed the Jesuits to return. Their missionary work took them to northern and northwestern Ontario, including Manitoulin Island and Spanish, where they established residential schools.[21]

The Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate was founded in the early nineteenth century in southern France by the future Bishop of Marseille, Eugène de Mazenod. (An oblation is an offering to God; an oblate is one who offers himself to a religious life.) Like the Jesuits had been before them, the Oblates were part of a broad movement to revive the Catholic Church. This time, it was in response to the social disorder, decline in the power of the French state, and rise of secularism that followed the French Revolution and the defeat of Napoleon. The Oblates stressed the importance of unity, discipline, and submission to papal authority. In France, the people to whom they ministered were usually illiterate, had sometimes gone long periods without a parish priest, and spoke a distinctive dialect. To address their needs and try to win back Protestants to Catholicism, the Oblates and other missionary groups developed specific skills and approaches in what was termed their "home" missionary work. These skills, which included the use of rote learning, the delivery of highly emotional sermons, and the composition of hymns set to familiar melodies, were later adopted in their foreign missionary work. Like the Jesuits, the Oblates saw themselves as part of a militant church, engaged in a daily struggle with evil and temptation for the souls of weak and susceptible humankind. It was not a theology that tolerated other creeds or cultures, or internal dissent.[22]

While the Oblates originally focused their attention on the poor and working classes of Provence, from the 1830s onwards, they engaged in overseas missionary work. They established themselves in eastern Canada, the Pacific Northwest, Ceylon, Texas, and Africa. In carrying out this work, the Oblates developed a reputation for their willingness to travel, perform manual labour, live for lengthy periods of time in isolation from others of European background, and learn new languages.[23] In 1828, the French government had placed restrictions on the Catholic Church that made it difficult for the Oblates to expand their work in France. As a result, the order responded positively to an invitation from Montréal Bishop Ignace Bourget to come to Québec. Soon after, they were active not only in Québec, but also on the Prairies, in the North, and on the Pacific coast.[24] Although their mandate did not include the provision of education, as a result of their dramatic expansion throughout the Canadian West and North, the Oblates established and managed the majority of church-run Canadian residential schools.

Two French missionary fundraising bodies funded their work: l'Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi (Society for the Propagation of the Faith) and l'Oeuvre de la Sainte-Enfance (Society of the Holy Childhood). The second fund was intended to support the baptism and education of children deemed to be infidels. In Canada, the Oblates used the funds to pay parents to have their children attend boarding schools. By the 1860s, the fund was supporting forty-two Aboriginal children in four Oblate schools and two orphanages in western Canada. A donation of 15,000 francs from the Propagation de la Foi fund kept the Oblates from having to close their school at Fort Providence in the North-West Territories.[25] (By comparison, during this period, a lawyer just starting his career might expect to earn between 16,000 and 20,000 francs.)[26]

Their work would have been impossible without the support of a number of female religious orders. The Sisters of Charity (also known as the "Grey Nuns"), the Sisters of Providence, and the Sisters of Saint Anne, all Montréal-based female orders, provided the missions with teachers and nurses. By 1900, over 6,000 women were enrolled in these orders in Québec. Many of them would work in schools across the country, usually for little more than room and board. The Sisters of Charity, founded in Montréal in the eighteenth century, were the Oblates' preferred partners in missionary activity. The Sisters of Providence, founded in 1843, initially focused on services to the urban poor in Montréal, but were drawn into missionary work by the end of the nineteenth century. The Sisters of Saint Anne were founded in 1850.[27] The Missionary Oblate Sisters of the Sacred Heart and of Mary Immaculate, a teaching congregation established in Manitoba in the early twentieth century, sent sisters to a number of western Canadian residential schools.[28]

The Protestant missionaries

In the two decades following the British conquest in 1763, Catholicism remained the dominant Christian religion in the former French colonies that were now part of a larger British North America. This began to change after the British defeat in the American War of Independence, when more than 36,000 Loyalist settlers, most of whom were Protestant, came north to Canada.[29] Their arrival marked the beginning of British colonial settlement of what is now Ontario and reinforced the already Protestant nature of the Maritime colonies. The major Protestant denominations included the Anglicans (Church of England), the Methodists, the Presbyterians (Church of Scotland), the Congregationalists, and the Baptists.[30] Of these, only the Congregationalists and the Baptists did not become involved in the operation of residential schools for Aboriginal children in the nineteenth century.

The Protestants, like the Catholics, were involved in missionary work on a global basis. Lacking the religious orders that provided the Catholics with missionaries, they established missionary societies. In 1649, the British parliament chartered the Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in New England (more commonly known as the "New England Company") to support the work of a missionary, John Eliot, in Massachusetts.[31] Dr. Thomas Bray, an Anglican clergyman and social reformer, helped found the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1698. After spending time as a missionary in Maryland, he participated in the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1701.[32] Other organizations followed, such as the London Missionary Society, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, and the Colonial and Continental Church Society.

One of the most significant of these societies was the Church of England's Church Missionary Society, which was officially founded in 1812. It grew out of the Society for Missions to Africa and the East, which had been established in 1799. The Church Missionary Society's leadership came from the Clapham Sect, a group of wealthy, reform-minded Anglicans.[33] These "evangelicals," as they were known, stressed the need to accept one's state of sin and the necessity of salvation through Christ and the authority of the Bible, and emphasized the importance of a sense of personal conversion. Dramatic sermons, revival meetings, and immersion in social-reform campaigns, ranging from the abolition of slavery to the prohibition of alcohol, were among the hallmarks of their work.[34] Religion was not to be reserved for Sundays, and neither was it simply a guide to personal behaviour. They felt a 'Godly approach' to all human activity could be found through close study of the Bible. Once the approach was discovered, it was the duty of the faithful to follow that way.[35]

The Anglican Church Missionary Society sent out its first missionaries in 1804.[36] By the middle of the nineteenth century, it had missions across the globe in such places as India, New Zealand, West and East Africa, China, and the Middle East. The society's Highbury College in London provided missionaries with several years of training in arithmetic, grammar, history, geography, religion, education, and the administration of schools.[37] As part of their training, the missionaries worked in urban missions in London. Many saw their future work among the Indigenous peoples of the world as an extension of their work among the urban poor.[38] A well-organized international support network provided them not only with funds, but also with advice and a sense of community through correspondence, annual letters and reports, and a series of publications that shared experiences across the mission field through articles, illustrations, and extracts from a voluminous international correspondence.[39] By 1901, the Church Missionary Society had an annual income of over 300,000 pounds. (By way of comparison, this is the amount that the Hudson's Bay Company received for Rupert's Land thirty years earlier.) It used this money to support 510 male missionaries, 326 unmarried females, and 365 ordained pastors around the world.[40]

The Protestants, like the Catholics, encouraged church members to make regular contributions to overseas missionary work. From many such small donations, significant funds were accumulated.[41] The financial support the missionaries received from outside Canada was considerable: in 1895, the Church Missionary Society spent 18,000 pounds on its Canadian work.[42] Construction of the Church of England (Anglican) residential school at Chapleau, Ontario, for example, was paid for with money raised in England in 1907.[43]

The Reverend Henry Venn oversaw the Church Missionary Society for much of the nineteenth century. Venn's long-term goal was the establishment, not of separate branches of the Church of England, but of national churches throughout the world. He believed if the missionaries respected the habits of the people they converted, the churches they established would come to be seen as part of the way of life of each community, rather than as the Europeans' church. In his view, it was desirable for Indigenous ministers to be responsible for a self-supporting church and for the European missionaries to move on to new challenges.[44]

The Methodist Church grew out of an evangelical reform movement within the Church of England at the end of the eighteenth century. John Wesley was the leading figure in this reform movement. He developed a theology that stressed personal conversion, good works, and prayer. This was all done with such regularity by its practitioners that it came to be known as "Methodism." Wesley rejected the doctrine of predestination that some Protestants held: to him, each individual had the power to accept or reject God, thereby assuring salvation or damnation.[45]

Members of the Methodist Church were expected to avoid the world's temptations, while living in the world and creating an ever-growing Christian community.[46] Wesley called the world "his parish." It was inevitable that the Methodists would undertake missionary work and, as urged by Wesley, would "make disciples of all nations."[47] Indeed, Wesley had started his career as a missionary in North America. In 1735, he and his brother Charles sailed to Georgia as missionaries for the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospell.[48] Before their departure, they told a friend in England that they intended to "further their spiritual Progress by going amongst the Indians."[49] To his frustration, Wesley spent most of his time ministering to the colonists.[50]

The term *Presbyterianism* originally referred to a type of church governance in the Reformed Christian tradition in which presbyters (elders in the church or ministers), rather than the congregation, or bishops and the Pope made the key governing decisions. The churches that formed the Church of Scotland adopted this model in 1560, the whole coming to be known as the "Presbyterian Church." The religion came to Canada with Scottish immigrants in the eighteenth century. In both Scotland and Canada, the church underwent a number of divisions and attempts at reconciliation. By 1875, most Canadian Presbyterians were members of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.[51]

Although the Moravian Church never rivalled the other Protestant churches in size, it played a significant missionary role in Labrador. It had been founded in the mid-fifteenth century in what is now the Czech Republic. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Moravian Church (also known as the "Unitas Fratrum" or "United Brotherhood") had become the world's largest Protestant missionary body. Its first missionaries set forth in 1732 for destinations as disparate as Greenland and the Dutch West Indies. Later in the eighteenth century, Moravian missionaries travelled from Greenland, where they had learned to speak Inuktitut, to Labrador. An agreement with the British Crown had given them the responsibility for converting the Inuit of Labrador and keeping them north of Hamilton Inlet—thereby preventing the Inuit from coming into conflict with the European coastal fishing fleet.[52]

Women played an important role in Protestant missionary work. In many cases, male missionaries were accompanied by their wives, who often found themselves working as volunteer nurses and teachers. By the end of the nineteenth century, all the major Protestant churches in Canada had established women's auxiliaries or women's missionary societies. These organizations both raised funds and sent women to work in the mission field, in Canada and internationally.[53]

While significant divisions often existed between the Protestant churches in their work in Canada, they could be united by their rejection of the Catholic Church.[54] To the Protestants, Roman Catholics were superstitious worshippers of false idols. Roman Catholics, in turn, saw Protestants as heretics. In each other's eyes, both were doomed for their sins.[55] The divisions extended beyond religious differences: Protestants saw Catholics as agents of foreign (by which they meant non-British) powers. The Catholic bishops reinforced this impression by flying the French flag at their missions and on their boats. To the Catholics, the Protestants, particularly the Anglicans, were agents of Anglo-conformity and the British Empire.[56] These conflicts, and the competition that arose from them, would help shape the growth of the Canadian residential school system.

The Anglican hostility towards Catholicism was heightened in the early nineteenth century by the internal challenge it faced from what was known as the "High Church movement," centred in Oxford University. Beginning in 1833, this movement placed a greater emphasis on the sacraments and obedience to ministers and bishops. The conflict peaked when a number of the leaders of this movement became Roman Catholics, leading many Anglicans to conclude that an aggressive Roman Catholic Church was seeking to displace the Anglican Church's authority. This increased suspicion and conflict between Anglican and Catholic missionaries in Canada.[57]

European missionaries, Catholic or Protestant, were very much products and members of the societies from which they came. They were proud of their society's civilization and intensely committed to its faith. But, by the nineteenth century, many missionaries felt that European society, with its increasing emphasis on secularism and individualism, was falling away from true Christianity. In the simple act of engaging in missionary work in distant lands under trying conditions, for no material reward, the missionary was at odds with the dominant value of European society. Not surprisingly, missionaries often expressed the view that the worst vices found among Aboriginal people were those they had learned from Europeans.[58]

The missionary at work

No matter how benevolently missionaries conceived of their task, their mission was one of social disruption. While they could be flexible or willing to accommodate certain elements of Aboriginal culture, the missionaries of the nineteenth century were not trained to view all cultures as being of equal value.[59] They believed firmly in European cultural superiority. From India, John Smith described the people he was working with as "obsequious, deceitful, licentious, and avaricious," virtually "destitute of all that is good, and distinguished by almost all that is evil."[60] From the Canadian west coast, William Duncan reported, "I cannot describe the conditions of this people better than by saying that it is just what might be expected in savage heathen life."[61] The Moravians in Labrador wrote that Inuit cultural practices were "too tedious to mention."[62]

The missionaries claimed possession of an exclusive truth and held that all other religions were either in error or sinful. Outside their own church, be it Catholic or Protestant, there was no salvation.[63] Their goal was to convince people to change not only their religious beliefs (faith in dreams, and sacrifices to spirits), but also their ceremonial dances and sweat lodges, their social and marriage practices, the way they raised their children, and the way they buried and mourned their dead. When the chiefs at Nanaimo asked Methodist missionary Thomas Crosby if they could continue with their dances while sending their children to school, he responded that "the dance, the potlatch etc., it is all bad."[64] The meaning of life, from its beginning to its ending, came under question. Spiritual leaders were belittled and described as conjurors who preyed on people's needs. The missionaries wooed those they identified as Aboriginal political leaders and sought to discredit spiritual leaders. They endeavoured to train a Christian faction within Aboriginal communities. It was a highly divisive strategy that aimed at doing away with the existing order.[65] When the implications of the missionary approach had become clear to him, one Huron chief told Jesuit missionary Jean de Brébeuf that "you are talking of overthrowing the country."[66]

The missionaries didn't just believe that Aboriginal souls were in need of saving: many had also concluded that Aboriginal people were at risk of physical extinction. Writing from the Yukon in 1906, Selina Bompas, the wife of an Anglican missionary, concluded, "The poor Indians are nearly swamped by the white man. You have invaded their territory, cut down their forests, thereby driving away their moose and cariboo, and depriving them of their very means of subsistence."[67] It was up to the missionary to ensure that contact with expanding Western civilization did not lead to their destruction. The honour of the imperial project was at stake.[68]

Imperialism itself, however, was rarely questioned. The Spanish priest Bartolomé de las Casas spent much of his life campaigning for the proposition that the Indigenous people of the Spanish colonies in the Americas were actually human beings, deserving of treatment as Spanish subjects. His book, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, catalogued the sins of the Spanish colonialists. Despite his opposition to the mistreatment of the Indigenous people, however, he was a firm believer in the empire and colonialism, so long as it sought to bring to the colonized the dual benefits of civilization and Christianity.[69] As one early North American colonist put it, the Europeans were giving Indians Christianity for their souls and civilization for their bodies.[70]

In his 1889 book *The Indians: Their Manners and Customs*, based on his years as a Methodist missionary in the Canadian West, John Maclean wrote that while the "Canadian government wanted missionaries to 'teach the Indians first to work and them to pray," the missionaries believed that their role was to "Christianize first and then civilize."[illegible] As much as they may have debated separating the task of conversion from that of civilization, in daily practice, the nineteenth-century missionary, whether working in North America, Africa, or Asia, generally undertook both tasks at once. The Church Missionary Society recognized this dual role when it spoke of the coming day when, thanks to "the grace of God, the African will no longer be a byword and outcast from civilization."[illegible] The civilization to which they should aspire, in the minds of the British-based Church Missionary Society missionaries, was that of mid-nineteenth-century Victorian England.[illegible]

Most of the nineteenth-century Jesuit and Oblate missionaries to Canada were French-speaking Catholics from France or Belgium. They did not share the Protestants' commitment to the British Empire or an Anglo-Saxon identity. Nevertheless, they did see themselves as the vanguard of the spread of *la civilisation chrétienne*. Although they might define Christianity and civilization in ways that were different from the Protestants' definitions and were less likely to encourage Aboriginal people to give up hunting and trapping for farming, their work still had significant social and cultural impact.[illegible] Many of the Protestant missionaries came from a lower middle-class background. They believed that success could be achieved through education and general self-improvement. Discipline, reflection, self-control, and abstinence from alcohol were among the virtues to be cultivated, both in and of themselves and for the benefits they would bring.[illegible] The missionary then sought to instill a new character in Aboriginal people and provide them with the education they would need to adopt the Christian faith and the Euro-Canadian work ethic, and join Western society. In practice, this indoctrination was to prove both complex and contradictory.

The missionary could conceive of no civilization other than European, but he was also well aware of the fact that colonialists themselves often posed a direct threat to Aboriginal people. As a result, the missionaries, following on the Jesuit model, often sought to protect Aboriginal people from European culture, creating separate, isolated communities modelled on the Jesuit *reducciones* of South America. In nineteenth-century British Columbia, the Oblates established what came to be known as the "Durieu System" (named after the system's developer, Bishop Paul Durieu) of model Aboriginal villages. The residents of the villages were to be kept separate from what were seen as the corrupting influences of both white people and other Aboriginal people who continued to practise their traditional culture. Under the supervision of the missionary, appointed chiefs, subchiefs, and police officers enforced a legal and moral code developed by the Oblates. Those who sang traditional songs, visited traditional healers, or violated the strict sexual code were subject to punishment. One missionary recorded, after one sitting of the village court, that "the whip functioned for two days."[illegible]

The residential schools would take this one step further, separating children from parents, in order to 'protect' the children from their parents' supposedly corrupting cultural practices.

Because they might be dispatched to any part of the world, missionaries were not trained in Aboriginal languages in their home countries, but were expected to learn languages on arrival. The Jesuit constitution recommended they learn the languages of the people whom they sought to convert. The Jesuits also made themselves familiar with Aboriginal beliefs and practices, and were flexible and creative in their efforts to incorporate elements of those practices into the conversion process. De Mazenod, the founder of the Oblate order, stressed the importance of being able to preach to people in their own language, and instructed the Oblates, "The Gospel must be taught to all men and in a way in which it can be understood." Oblate missionaries in western Canada devoted considerable time and energy to learning Aboriginal languages. In sending J. William Tims out to the Canadian West, the Church Missionary Society instructed him that he was to "let no day pass without the acquisition and the use of Indian words and phrases." He was not to rely on a translator, but become fluent in the language and able to converse with the Aboriginal people on all subjects.

Language and literacy were crucial to conversion. To the Protestants, in particular, the Gospel was a miraculous document: exposure to it would lead to conversion. This logic required European education to allow newly literate people access to the Bible. Bishop John Horden of Moosonee viewed his translation of books of the Old Testament into syllabics as the "crowning work of my life." Catholics and Protestants prepared catechisms—statements of the fundamental beliefs of the church—in Aboriginal languages. European education was required to provide Aboriginal people with the skills required to read and learn these translated works. Whether or not it was to be carried out in Aboriginal languages, missionary education was education in the service of conversion. It stressed the doctrines of sin, salvation, and obedience, and it undermined the foundations of Aboriginal culture.

Most missionaries also sought to settle Aboriginal people into an agricultural lifestyle, believing that a "nomadic" people could not support churches and schools or survive the impact of European settlement. Because it encouraged private property, stability, and industry, farming was seen as the ideal economic activity. Missionaries in Sierra Leone spoke of the need to bring Indigenous people to the work discipline of the industrial age, since "they only cared for eating, drinking and sleeping. To diligence and industry they had to be roused by the efforts of the Missionaries." In 1853, de Mazenod instructed the Oblates, "Every means should therefore be taken to bring the nomad tribes to abandon their wandering life and to build houses, cultivate fields and practise the elementary crafts of civilized life." Thomas Fowell Buxton, a leading figure in both the Church Missionary Society and the anti-slavery movement, told the first anniversary meeting of the Society for the Extinction of the Slave Trade and for the

Civilization of Africa, "It is the Bible and plough that must regenerate Africa." The Bible stood for conversion to Christianity; the plough stood for the adoption of Western-style agriculture, complete with the private ownership of land.[illegible]

Training in manual labour was to be an essential part of missionary schooling. In the 1850s, Rev. Venn of the Church Missionary Society reported, "In India, New Zealand, and all our missions, an industrial department is being added to our schools."[illegible] In developing plans for a residential school in the Canadian Northwest, Roman Catholic Bishop Vital Grandin drew on a visit he had made to a reformatory prison in Citeaux, France. In his view, the controlled and disciplined environment that he observed there, coupled with the instruction in trades and the manual labour that the students received, transformed the young French prisoners and would do the same for Aboriginal children in Canada.[illegible]

Missionary life was not easy. Anglican Bishop Isaac Stringer became known as "The Bishop Who Ate His Boots" after a 1909 trek through the Mackenzie Mountains. After running out of food, he survived by boiling and eating his sealskin boots.[illegible] Food shortages were so severe at Fort Providence in the North-West Territories in 1881 that the Grey Nuns announced they were transferring their sisters to more comfortable missions. Bishop Taché intervened before the decision could be implemented. He said that it would be "a great misfortune" for the Grey Nuns to withdraw and pointed out that despite food shortages, "No one died."[illegible] In the face of this criticism, the Grey Nuns stayed.[illegible]

Some missionaries were attracted to the mission field precisely because of its dangers. For many years, Nicolas Coccola was a Catholic missionary and residential school principal in British Columbia. He wrote in his memoirs, "The desire of foreign missions with the hope of martyrdom appeared to me as a higher calling."[illegible]

Missionaries also brought with them elementary medical care and early forms of social assistance.[illegible] The Aboriginal people to whom they preached often were open to new forms of religious experiences, but did not feel that this required them to abandon long-standing practices.[illegible] Many resisted the missionaries' messages, while others adapted Christian ideas into their belief systems. But, over time, the missionaries succeeded in gaining converts. An 1899 Indian Affairs census reported that over 70,000 of the 100,000 First Nations people identified in the census were Christians.[illegible] The missionaries had hoped to establish self-sustaining Aboriginal churches, but Aboriginal people had limited opportunity for promotion in the churches. Although they could aspire to positions of local leadership, they rarely played a role in determining the policy or practice of national missionary organizations. The failure to recruit Aboriginal people into the clergy in the Canadian West was a topic of ongoing concern for the Roman Catholic missionaries, for example, from the 1850s to the 1930s.[illegible]

Missionaries viewed Aboriginal culture as a barrier to both spiritual salvation and the ongoing existence of Aboriginal people. They were determined to replace traditional economic pursuits with European-style peasant agriculture. And they believed that cultural transformation required the [illegible]

CHAPTER [illegible]

Residential schooling in French Canada 1608–1763

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never had more than a handful of students. During their brief history, these schools were marked by the same conflicts and failings that eventually became the hallmark of the Canadian residential school system of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In 1615, seven years after Champlain's establishment of a trading post at Québec, four Récollet friars arrived in the colony. The Récollets were members of a branch of the Franciscan order, and were inspired by the intense Roman Catholic revival underway in France at that time.[9] These early missionaries concluded that Aboriginal peoples had no religion and that conversion would be a simple matter. In the Spanish American empire, Franciscan missionaries baptized tens of thousands of Indigenous people and established hundreds of convents.[10] But, after a series of strenuous journeys among the Huron and the Innu, the Récollets concluded they were not going to be able to repeat the Franciscan success in Canada.[11] They also concluded that the cultural gap between French and Aboriginal people was so great that it would be necessary "to make them men before we go about to make them Christians."[12] In other words, the Récollets proposed turning Aboriginal people into Frenchmen first and only then Christianizing them. Initially, the Récollets sent six young Aboriginal people to France to undergo such a transformation. The experiment proved to be a failure. Four of the six students died, all were missed by their parents, and the two who returned had difficulty fitting into either the French or Aboriginal world—and did little to convert others to Christianity. One young man, Pastedechouan, studied in France for five years and worked with missionaries as a translator on his return. He never readjusted. He led a tumultuous personal life, never feeling comfortable in either colonial or Aboriginal society, and eventually succumbed to alcoholism and died in the woods.[13]

In 1620, the Récollets opened a boarding school for Aboriginal students at Notre-Dame-des-Anges, near the Québec settlement. Although they referred to the school as a "seminary," it was not a separate structure: the first nine students, six of whom were Aboriginal, lived and studied in the Récollets' convent. The goals were simple: to teach the boys—and all the students were boys—their letters and their prayers. On return to their home communities, the Récollets hoped, the boys would lead others to Christianity.[14]

The Récollets were among the first of a long line of observers to speak of the love and affection that Aboriginal people had for their children and of the lack of restraint or discipline that characterized Aboriginal childhood.[15] It was surprising to them that this affection was evident even in the case of children whom they viewed as illegitimate:

> They love their children dearly, in spite of the doubt that they are really their own, and of the fact that they are for the most part very naughty children, paying little respect, and hardly more obedience; for unhappily, in these lands the young have no

> respect for the old, nor are children obedient to their parents, and moreover there is no punishment for any fault.[26]

Aboriginal resistance

French colonist Nicolas Denys used similar words to describe the bond between Aboriginal parent and child: "The father and mother draw the morsel from the mouth if the child asks for it. They love their children greatly."[27] One Jesuit wrote that the Aboriginal world was one in which people are "born, live, and die in a liberty without restraint; they do not know what is meant by bridle or bit."[28] For the Récollets and the other missionaries who followed them, religious education—the only type of education they were interested in providing—meant trading this world of apparent licence for one of hierarchy, order, and obedience.[29]

The boarding school's prospects were limited from the start. Neither parents nor their children saw much to be gained from a European education. Attachment to Aboriginal spirituality was strong, and the children far preferred to be with their families—where, through the activities of daily living, they learned the skills and knowledge required to survive in and interpret their world—over being confined to the tedium and discipline of a classroom under the control of the missionaries. Those Aboriginal people who survived trips to France were unimpressed by the level of social inequality in European society and the high value placed on personal gain. One young Aboriginal man, Savignon, who travelled to Paris in 1611, said that while he had been well treated, he had no desire to return: the country was filled with beggars, and both the innocent and the guilty were subject to terrible punishments. Although Aboriginal people valued many of the goods they received through trade with Europeans, they did not see Europeans as possessing a superior civilization, and were often appalled by such aspects of missionary life as celibacy.[30]

Parents gave their children up to the boarding-school system under persistent pressure from missionaries and as part of furthering a political alliance.[31] The Récollets had to refrain from imposing too severe a discipline for fear the boys would simply run away. In the words of one of the Récollets, the boys were "all for freedom." Most of them did run off, and their school soon closed.[32] The dispirited Récollets moved from speaking of the more settled Aboriginal people in admiring tones that referred to their charity, strength, and patience to referring to them as being savage, brutal, and barbarous.[33]

The Récollets closed their seminary in 1629, after just nine years of operation. In that same year, English forces captured Québec and the Récollets were sent back to France. When the Treaty that ended hostilities between France and England returned Québec to France three years later, the French government placed the colony under the control of the Company of New France (also known as the "Company of One Hundred Associates"). The company's charter required it to settle the colony and to provide these settlers with cleared land, seeds, and priests. The relatively recent end to toleration for France's large Protestant minority, or Huguenots, was reflected in the charter's provision that only Roman Catholics were eligible to settle in the colony, a restriction on immigration to New France that continued in force throughout the remainder of the French regime in North America. This reflected the determination of the Crown and the church to make Québec, in terms of both its white and Aboriginal populations, an outpost of Roman Catholicism. Only practical considerations would force compromises in that regard with respect to Aboriginal peoples over time. One charter provision foreshadowed the future Canadian government policy of enfranchisement (described in a later chapter of this volume): Aboriginal people who converted to Catholicism were to be seen as having all the rights of Frenchmen. Since these included the right to buy firearms at better prices and to be granted more honours by the French in diplomacy and during trading, this provision can be seen as a financial inducement to convert.[24]

The French government also gave the Jesuits exclusive responsibility for missionary work in Québec, denying the Récollets the right to return to Québec.

The Jesuit era

The Jesuits soon encountered many of the problems that had frustrated the Récollets. In 1633, Jesuit Father Paul Le Jeune noted that Aboriginal parents "cannot punish a child, nor allow one to be chastised. How much trouble this will give us in carrying out our plans of teaching the young!"[25] Since parents were likely to remove their children from school if they believed they were not being well treated, the Jesuits concluded it was best to educate children at a distance from their families. There was another political and economic benefit to residential schooling: traders and missionaries could operate without fear in the countryside if Aboriginal children were, in effect, 'held hostage' in a Jesuit seminary.[26] With these considerations in mind—along with their own commitment to train and convert—in 1635, the Jesuits opened a seminary for Aboriginal boys at the site of the earlier Récollet seminary. A hopeful Le Jeune reported, "The Savages are beginning to open their eyes, and to recognize that children who are with us are well taught."[27] In the end, his earlier worries proved far more accurate.

It was expected that the first year's enrolment at the seminary would include a dozen Aboriginal children, all of whom were to be transported from the Huron territory. However, in response to their mothers' and grandmothers' objections, most of the children originally promised to the school stayed home. Only three children joined the Jesuits on the long trip from the Huron country to school and, after the family of two of these boys changed their minds during the course of the journey, only one student, who was nearly a grown man, arrived in Québec. Three more students were recruited but quickly ran away, and two others died after fights with colonists.[28]

Given the Jesuit emphasis on conversion, it is not surprising that the Jesuit curriculum was largely religious. Schooling, which was conducted in both Latin and Aboriginal languages, was intended to turn the boys into Christians who would then assist the Jesuits in their missionary work. Like the Récollets before them, the Jesuits loosened their discipline in an effort to keep the boys from leaving the school, offering them traditional foods and opportunities to hunt and fish. For the Jesuits, among the most educated people in Europe at that time, education consisted of memory work, constant repetition, and examination. The boys rebelled against this rigid, hierarchical regime—which started at 4:00 a.m.—and often ran away. The school was judged to be a costly and ineffective experiment: the Jesuits complained that the boys were hard on their clothes and they ate too much, and that parents who surrendered their children to the school expected presents in return. By 1640, the school was used to educate only non-Aboriginal students. When the Jesuits eventually concluded that Aboriginal parents were not inclined to convert to Christianity at the urging of their children, they shifted their attention away from children and began to focus on the direct conversion of adults.[29]

To this end, they sought to establish what amounted to a reserve at Sillery, a few miles outside Québec City. There, they expected the Huron and Innu would abandon hunting and trapping—which the Europeans believed left far too much time for idleness—and take up farming. It was hoped too that, as they adopted a settled lifestyle, the Aboriginal people would also adopt the Catholic faith. One missionary, Father Louis Hennepin, recommended "it should be endeavour'd to fix the Barbarians to a certain dwelling Place, and introduce our Customs and Laws amongst them." After an initial period of success, which was marked by harsh discipline and the opening of a day school, the Sillery reserve was largely deserted during the winter months, and French settlers began to occupy reserve lands. By 1663, few Aboriginal people remained there.[30]

Unlike the Récollets, the Jesuits made a point of learning Aboriginal languages and living among Aboriginal people, rather than attempting to convert them from the comparative security of a French trading post. At the same time that the Jesuits established the reserve at Sillery, they also took their missionary activities into Huron and Innu territory.[31] Responses ranged from hospitality to hostility.[32] In carrying out this work, although their commitment to conversion remained strong, the Jesuits came to question the wisdom of their attempt to turn Aboriginal people into Frenchmen.[33] Much of the Jesuit work revolved around communities such as Cap-de-la-Madeleine, Lorette, Caughnawaga, and Oka, or around itinerant missionary work—sometimes referred to as "flying missions"—among the Innu. Although the reserve at Sillery had been located close to Québec City, the Jesuits made sure that future missions were at a distance from French settlers, many of whom were seen as only too willing to corrupt, cheat, and debauch Aboriginal people. A policy originally intended to francize now involved keeping Aboriginal people away from the society into which they were supposed to be integrated. This contradiction would not go unnoticed by the colonial government.[34]

The Jesuits oversaw the education of a limited number of Aboriginal girls. Initially, the girls boarded with colonists rather than living at the school residence. This changed in 1639 with the arrival in Québec of three Ursuline nuns, led by Sister Marie de l'Incarnation. The reports of the work the Jesuits were undertaking in North America inspired her to devote her fortune to the 'missionizing' of Aboriginal people there. When she fell seriously ill, she vowed that if her health was restored, she would travel to North America to open a convent and mission school. Upon her recovery, she devoted her life to educational work in Canada.[35] The Ursulines started teaching Aboriginal girls soon after their arrival in 1639, but it was not until 1642 that they acquired a building that was to serve as a boarding school. The majority of students were non-Aboriginal, and the number of Aboriginal girls who lived at the school was never large: for example, there were only three in 1668 and nine in 1681. The intention was to train the girls to be Christian wives and mothers. However, for all the Iroquoian and Algonkian dictionaries and catechisms the Ursulines produced, Aboriginal girls never felt at home in the convent.[36] In 1668, Sister de l'Incarnation could only lament:

> It is however a very difficult thing, although not impossible, to francize or civilize them. We have had more experience in this than any others, and we have remarked that out of a hundred that have passed through our hands scarcely have we civilized one. We find docility and intelligence in them, but when we are least expecting it they climb over our enclosure and go to run in the woods with their relatives, where they find more pleasure than in all the amenities of our French houses. Savage nature is made that way; they cannot be constrained, and if they are they become melancholy and their melancholy makes them sick. Besides, the Savages love their children extraordinarily and when they know that they are sad they will do everything to get them back, and we have to give them back to them.[37]

Not all children were returned to their parents. In a 1646 letter, Sister de l'Incarnation mourned the death of five-and-a-half-year-old Charity Negaskoumat, who had died at the convent of a lung infection. Sister de l'Incarnation thought that, at best, she had francized about seven or eight women, who had subsequently married French men.[38]

In Montréal, which had been founded in 1642 as a colony dedicated to Catholic living, the Sulpicians and the Congregation of Notre Dame had responsibility for training Aboriginal boys and girls, respectively, and experienced the same frustrations and lack of success as the Récollets, Jesuits, and Ursulines. Indeed, when the French finance minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, presented the Sulpicians with a significant endowment for the school they supposedly were operating for Aboriginal students, they actually had no such children in attendance.[39]

Following the establishment of New France as a royal colony in 1663, the French civil authorities noted with disapproval that Jesuit policies appeared to be aimed at isolating the Aboriginal people from French society, rather than integrating them into it. The colonial officials, worried by the slow growth of the French population in the colony, believed the missionaries should not only be converting Aboriginal people, they also should be civilizing them and settling them alongside the French. To set an example, Governor Frontenac brought a handful of Iroquois children into his household, while depending on the Jesuits and Ursulines to educate them.[40] Bishop François de Laval arranged accommodation at a seminary residence for Aboriginal students who were to attend a Jesuit day school. He too found difficulty in recruiting students, commenting:

> This enterprise is not without difficulty, on the part of both the children and the parents; the latter have an extraordinary love for their children, and can scarcely make up their minds to be separated from them. Or, if they do permit this, it is very difficult to effect the separation for any length of time, for the reason that ordinarily the families of the Savages do not have many children, as do those of our French people—in which there are generally in this country, 8, 10, 12 and sometimes as many as 15 and 16 children. The Savages, on the contrary usually only two or three; and rarely do they exceed the number of four. As a result, they depend on their children, when they are somewhat advanced in years, for the support of their family. This can only be gained by the Chase, and by other labors for which the parents are no longer fit when their children have the years and ability to help them; to do so at that time, the Law of nature seems to constrain the children by necessity. Nevertheless, we shall spare no pains on our part, to make this blessed undertaking succeed, although its success seems to us very doubtful.[41]

He was correct. Only one boy stayed more than a year and five years later, none were left. By the beginning of the 1700s, the missionary experiment with residential schools for Aboriginal children in New France was over.[42]

All these efforts to educate a limited number of young Aboriginal people were at a time when the majority of Europeans had little experience of schooling. Most of the education that was provided in this period took place under the auspices of the churches. From the founding of the colony in the early seventeenth century to the British conquest in 1760, there was no official school system. Instead, in a rural and scattered community, the church established *des petites écoles* that provided a rudimentary education. These schools were mainly for boys. When girls were to be educated, care was to be taken to keep the sexes separate. The Jesuits established *un* *collège* in 1635 and *un grand séminaire* in 1663. Both were intended for the training of religious leaders. In 1668, *un petit séminaire* (residence) was established for students attending the grand séminaire.[43]

French colonial strategy

Throughout this period, families (both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal) assumed primary responsibility for educating their children: many communities had no schools and, as in France itself, there was no law requiring school attendance. Habitant farmers passed on the skills needed to work the land from one generation to the next. They also learned how to make a living off the land from the Aboriginal people with whom they were in contact.[44]

The French in Québec, always limited in numbers and bordered by hostile powers, were not in a position to dictate to the Aboriginal people or force them to send their children to school. Trade, military alliances, and support for all matters of daily living depended on the colonists' maintaining good relations with Aboriginal peoples. Efforts to assimilate Aboriginal people had failed. Programs intended to insulate Aboriginal people from the worst elements of French culture continued with limited success. In reality, during this period, Aboriginal culture was much more attractive to young Frenchmen than French culture was to Aboriginal people. Keeping the commercial and political loyalty of Aboriginal nations became the primary goal of New France's Aboriginal policy. This was evident in 1679 when, despite the long campaign of Bishop Laval to prevent the use of liquor as a trade commodity with Aboriginal people, France ruled that liquor could be traded within the French settlements.[45] In the eighteenth century, as the profitability of the traditional fur trade fell, France sought to extend the fur trade through to the South, in order to prevent the expansion of Britain's North American colonies. The policy included the creation of close trading and political relations with Aboriginal groups throughout the Ohio Valley.[46] Any effort to impose European cultural and religious norms would have impeded this strategy. As long as this remained the case, the conversion and civilization of the members of those nations—particularly in the face of the opposition of Aboriginal parents and children and the settlers' lack of interest in such a project—would remain a secondary concern. The British conquest of 1760 brought the period of French rule to an end. Another half-century would pass before the new British colonists felt politically and economically secure enough to embrace an assimilationist Aboriginal policy. Residential schools became a fundamental part of that strategy. Roman Catholic religious orders, which drew much of their funding and personnel from Québec, would play a central role in establishing and running those schools.

CHAPTER 4

Treaty-making and betrayal: The roots of Canada's Aboriginal policy

Canada's residential schools had their roots in the country's broader Aboriginal policies. During the period in which Britain went from treating Canada as a colony to recognizing it as a nation, Aboriginal policy evolved in the opposite direction. Initially, Aboriginal people were treated as members of independent nations, military and diplomatic allies, and trading partners with rights to their lands, cultures, and languages. However, they came to be treated as colonized peoples whose lands existed to be exploited and whose lives were to be transformed in every way, and who were expected to live under laws they had no hand in formulating.

Although Aboriginal people negotiated Treaties with the British in what is now Ontario from the 1780s onwards, the terms of those agreements often were ignored by the British North American authorities, or interpreted in ways that left Aboriginal rights unprotected. It was in this period of transition that the country's first permanent residential schools were established. This chapter frames the transition of Aboriginal policy, and the following chapter traces the development of residential schooling during this formative period. Canadian Aboriginal policy was based largely on policies already established in the colonies of Ontario and Québec, when they were still referred to as the "United Canadas" before Confederation in 1867. Different policies were followed in Atlantic Canada and British Columbia, and the impact of those policies continues to the present.

The nation-to-nation policy: From contact to 1820

Aboriginal peoples in North America had a long history of diplomatic relations. For millennia, Aboriginal nations had established and maintained Treaty and trade alliances to govern their relations with one another. Alliances were cemented through clearly defined rituals and ceremonies. In the years preceding contact with the Europeans, responding to incidents of warfare and skirmishes, several First Nations developed increasingly sophisticated forms of diplomatic engagement. In the late fifteenth or early sixteenth centuries, the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) developed a Great

Law of Peace that bound the Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca (and, later, the Tuscarora) nations, located south of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie, into a single confederacy. The confederacy's Grand Council regularly brought together fifty Elders and chiefs who reached decisions through consensus.[illegible]

The Huron League, whose formation began in the fifteenth century, brought together the Attignawantans, the Attigneenongnahacs, the Arendarhonons, and the Tahontaenrats in the area southeast of Georgian Bay. (A fifth nation, the Ataronchronons, may not have achieved full membership in the league.) The league's diplomatic leaders met regularly to ensure that disputes did not erupt into violent conflict. A system of interrelated clans established a set of mutual obligations based on kinship ties among members of the Huron nations.[illegible]

Each nation had distinct diplomatic protocols involving ceremonies and the exchange of gifts that established, maintained, and repaired relationships, which were often expressed in the terms of a family relationship.[illegible] In short, First Nations had already developed their own diplomatic traditions prior to the arrival of the Europeans. The concept of nation-to-nation relations was not new to them.

European diplomatic relations were similarly complex. The French and English both claimed sovereignty over the lands they were colonizing in North America. But, within the colonies themselves, they were obliged to treat Aboriginal peoples as sovereign nations. They fought wars with them, negotiated Treaties with them, established trade relations, allied with them in struggles against other First Nations, and sought their alliance in wars against other imperial powers. Diplomacy was not always diplomatic. Beyond reasoned argument and appeals to self-interest, colonists also made use of bribery, coercion, and threats in their dealings with Aboriginal nations. However, like the French, the British did not act as though they were in a position to give Aboriginal nations the sorts of orders that could be given to subjects.[illegible] In short, for Britain and for France, early Aboriginal policy was a foreign policy.

The priority of the European powers was to establish trade monopolies and agricultural settlements in the eastern part of North America. The contention between imperial powers created new tensions and challenges for Aboriginal people. In New France, where farming and settlement were limited to the St. Lawrence valley, and the economy depended largely on Aboriginal involvement in the fur trade, the conflict was muted. The French did not apply French law to First Nations people, and sought to respect their hunting and fishing rights, along with other land-use rights. However, in their dealings with other European powers, the French asserted they had sovereign rights over their North American colony.[illegible] In the British colonies to the south, agriculture played a stronger role in the economy from the outset. By 1760, there were 1.6 million English colonists in North America.[illegible] As a result, pressure on Aboriginal land was intense and unrelenting.[illegible] Land was often purchased prior to settlement, but the sales themselves were frequently contentious. Land transfers often were coerced, with settlers making it clear that if Aboriginal people did not sell the land, it would be taken by force. In other transactions, Aboriginal people were deliberately left with the impression that they would be allowed to continue to use the land, particularly for hunting and fishing, after the sale. Purchasers also misrepresented the amount of land being transferred and even forged documents of sale. In still other cases, land was purchased from people who had no right to sell it. These practices were so common that the British Royal Proclamation of 1763 referred to the [illegible] created by the "Great Frauds and Abuses [that] have been committed in purchasing Lands of the Indians."

While they were sometimes driven to war with the colonists, First Nations recognized that direct military confrontation was risky, as was an alliance with only one power. Aboriginal diplomacy sought to preserve a balance between the English and French that would contain both powers and allow First Nations to retain their autonomy. The Iroquois maintained diplomatic and trade ties with both British and French colonies. In the 1701 Great Peace of Montreal, for example, they pledged their neutrality in any conflict between France and England.

The French and English also saw the advantage of diplomatic relations with First Nations. This task was always more difficult for the British, given their colonists' hunger for more land. Colonial administrations were caught between settler demands for military action to acquire or protect newly, and sometimes illegally, settled land and the costs that such action entailed. In 1675, colonial officials refused to send troops out against the Doeg Nation, which had been provoked into military action by settler raids on Doeg communities in the Maryland and Virginia colonies. The settlers, outraged by this lack of military support, took up arms against the colonial government in what became known as "Bacon's Rebellion."

To forestall conflicts of this sort, the British began appointing special Indian commissioners to serve as ambassadors to the First Nations. One of the first, Thomas [illegible], was appointed special commissioner to the Five Nations in [illegible]. In what is now the United States, the Iroquois and the commissioners developed a complex alliance that came to be known as the "Covenant Chain." This was an extension of Iroquois diplomatic practices that had developed out of their relationships with Europeans. Its maintenance and modification required annual meetings to discuss military and trade agreements, and eventually involved numerous Aboriginal nations and colonial governments. The Iroquois and representatives of the New York colonial government played leadership roles in maintaining and developing the covenant. As Onondaga Chief [illegible] said in [illegible], "We have made a [illegible] and more [illegible] covenant which has grown stronger and stronger from time to time, and our neighbours seeing the advantage thereof came and put in their hands into the same chain, particularly they of New England, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia."

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

Upper Canada (the future Ontario), was created.[62] At the time, most Aboriginal people in the old colony of Quebec lived either on reserves or in hunting territories that lay beyond the portion of the colony that was settled by Europeans. In some cases, the reserves had been granted directly to the First Nations; in others, religious orders had developed the reserves on behalf of the First Nation.[63]

The early Treaties marked the beginning of a process through which, by 1850, the Ojibway of southern Ontario would find themselves confined to a series of small, remote reserves.[64] The first Treaties involved one-time-only payments of cash and goods, and did not establish reserves. Instead, the Ojibway simply moved onto new lands, with the promise that the Crown would protect their fishing rights, which were crucial to their economies. Although the land transfers were supposed to be voluntary, there is evidence they were often coerced.[65] The Treaties suffered from many of the same deficiencies as the land purchases in the American colonial period: the meaning of the agreement was not clearly spelled out, neither the boundaries nor the compensation to be paid were well defined, oral promises to allow the First Nations continued use of resources were not included in the written documents, and agreements were reached with individuals who had no right to give up the land in question.[66] Although a 1794 order from British Governor General Dorchester called for an improvement in the Treaty process, the procedures outlined in the Royal Proclamation—such as the requirement that a special meeting be held to discuss transfers—were not always fully implemented.[67] It is not surprising that historian L. F. S. Upton concluded that *fraudulent* would be the best word to use in describing the dispossession of Aboriginal people during this period.[68]

Among the people for whom the British had to secure land within Canada were the Aboriginal nations who had fought on their side in the American War of Independence. Their traditional lands had been claimed by the United States, so they had to relocate north of the new American border. The British purchased land on the Grand River from the Ojibway to give to the Six Nations (Mohawk). Land was also acquired from the Ojibway for a Mohawk settlement on the Bay of Quinté.[69] Two groups of Delawares also sought refuge in Canada: the Moravians, who had been converted by Moravian missionaries; and the Munsees.[70]

One of the most well-known Treaties from this period was the 1787 agreement involving 101,171 hectares (250,000 acres) of land that includes all the land within the boundaries of present-day Toronto. The one-time payment for this land was 1,000 pounds in the province's currency.[71] (By comparison, in the same year, the British parliament granted the Prince of Wales a one-time payment of 161,000 pounds to cover debts from his extravagant lifestyle.)[72] The failure to properly record and implement this and other Treaties meant that they remained subject to dispute into the twenty-first century.[73]

The value of the nation-to-nation policy to British interests was reinforced once more when Britain and the United States clashed in the War of 1812. That two-year struggle threatened the British colony's very existence. Under the leadership of Tecumseh, a Shawnee from the Ohio territory, the Aboriginal forces played a key role in securing victories at Michilimackinac and Detroit. After the war, the British found themselves once more obliged to relocate Aboriginal allies from the United States.[54] In the Treaty of Ghent, which ended the War of 1812, the British failed to gain American recognition of a clearly defined Indian territory, but they did require the Americans to restore to the Indian nations that had fought on the British side all rights, possessions, and privileges they had enjoyed prior to the war.[55]

The civilization policy: 1820–1867

The development of more positive relations with the United States in the years after the War of 1812 led the British Colonial Office to re-evaluate its Indian policy. Officials might have continued to view First Nations people as brave and independent, possessing the skills to extract a living from a harsh environment, but they had less need for them as military allies than they had had before the war. As the economic focus of the colony moved from the fur trade to agriculture, settlers became increasingly interested in gaining access to Aboriginal land.[56] From 1814 to 1851, the population of Upper Canada increased from 95,000 to over 950,000. During this period, the Aboriginal share of the population declined from 10% to close to 1%. Consequently, the British government grew increasingly unwilling to protect Aboriginal interests.[57] As the Indian Department and the churches were becoming ever more closely allied, they began to treat Aboriginal people as colonized people whose lives it was their responsibility to control and change, rather than as independent, self-governing nations.

With the end of hostilities with the United States, the British Colonial Office sought to reduce the cost of the Indian Department. In 1818, it announced that it would no longer provide colonial administrations with the funds to purchase Aboriginal lands. In Upper Canada, Lieutenant-Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland solved the financial challenge of this policy by ending large, one-time payments when negotiating Treaties. Instead, he offered smaller, annual payments, termed "annuities." These annuities were to be paid in goods such as ammunition and blankets, and were to be funded by the sale of land to settlers. The annuities were not a welfare payment made by a generous government—they represented a way in which a cost-cutting government sought to reduce the cost of purchasing Aboriginal land. They represented a deferred payment of what was owed to Aboriginal people.[58] Indeed, as historian J. R. Miller has remarked, Maitland had managed to transfer the cost from the Colonial Office to the First Nations themselves.[59]

By the end of the 1820s, Treaties also began to include provisions for the establishment of reserves for First Nations.[60] These small reserves usually were located at a distance from settler communities in the hope this would avoid the negative impact the settlers could have on reserve life.[61] These provisions mark the entrenchment of another long-term element of Canadian Aboriginal policy: the separation and isolation of Aboriginal people from Canadian society.

During these years, First Nations had continual problems with the enforcement of their Treaties. Their fisheries were not being protected, and they could not get confirmation of their rights to the reserves that had been established beginning in the 1820s.[62]

In 1820, in a precursor to what became known as the "civilization policy," Lieutenant-Governor Maitland proposed an economic development and education plan for Aboriginal people at the Grand and Credit rivers. Maitland argued that the plan—which would have included the establishment of boarding schools—would supposedly pay for itself, open land to settlement, and allow Aboriginal people to adapt to new economic opportunities.[63] In the proposed boarding schools, the students were to be converted to Christianity and instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic, with the boys being taught to farm and work a trade, and the girls taught in sewing and dairying.[64]

Nothing was done at the time, but eight years later, the plan was revived. In 1828, Lord Goderich, the colonial secretary, recommended that the Indian Department be scaled back and eventually wound down.[65] Major General H. C. Darling, the chief superintendent of the Indian Department, proposed that rather than the department's being disbanded, it should take on a new role. Instead of serving as an arm of British diplomacy, it was to be transformed into a domestic bureaucracy whose prime focus was the control of Aboriginal people. Pointing to what he saw as the progress Methodist missionaries were making in their work with the Ojibway of Upper Canada, Darling said the Indian Department could "encourage the disposition now shown generally amongst the resident Indians of the province, to shake off the rude habits of savage life, and to embrace Christianity and civilization."[66] As an agent of civilization, the Indian Department would settle First Nations in Aboriginal villages; provide them with the support needed to take up farming; and ensure they received schooling, religious instruction, and vocational training. At annuity time, farm equipment would be provided instead of hunting supplies. He claimed all this could be done at "trifling" expense: "a small sum, by way of salary, to a schoolmaster wherever a school may be formed ... and some aid in building school houses."[67]

There was an element of national security to this plan. The colonial governors, all members of the Church of England, were pleased by the work the Methodist missionaries were carrying out among the Ojibway. But, they were alarmed that these missionaries were affiliated with an American-based branch of Methodism; that they might be instilling "objectionable principles" in the minds of their converts.[68] As a result, the next lieutenant-governor, Sir John Colborne, dispatched Anglican missionaries to Aboriginal communities in an attempt to undermine the work of the Methodists.[69] Since he had greater confidence in the loyalty of British rather than American Methodists, in 1832, he encouraged British Methodists to send missionaries to Canada.[70] He also promised government support to several leading Aboriginal converts to Methodism if they further converted to the Church of England.[71]

In 1830, the Colonial Office endorsed the civilization policy, committing the department to "gradually reclaiming the Indians from a state of barbarism, and introducing amongst them the industrious and peaceful habits of civilized life."[72] Separate branches of the Indian Department were created for Canada West (Ontario) and Canada East (Québec) and placed under civil rather than military control.[73] (The department had also been under civilian control from 1796 to 1816.) The civilization policy sought to create Christian, Aboriginal farm communities on reserves.[74] It was in keeping with the aspirations of the evangelical revival movement in England that stressed the importance of converting all of humanity to Christianity.

The adoption of the civilization policy marks the introduction of a third ongoing element in Canadian Aboriginal policy: the attempted assimilation or 'civilization' of Aboriginal people into Canadian social and religious values, if not always into the larger society. The British policies of protection, separation, and civilization were all placed at the service of the overriding colonial goal of gaining access to Aboriginal lands at the least possible expense. The policies were at times contradictory and almost always underfunded. Taken together, they marked the abandonment of the old policy of nation-to-nation relations. Deprived of control of their land by paternalistic policies of protection, and separated physically and socially from the centres of economic and political activity, Aboriginal nations were threatened with destruction as political and cultural communities.

Many of the missionary societies enjoyed support from senior government officials. During the first half of the nineteenth century, several leading Colonial Office officials and colonial governors, including Colonial Office secretary Lord Glenelg and Ontario Lieutenant-Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland, were members of the Anglican Church Missionary Society.[75] The efforts of Protestant missionaries in England contributed in 1836 to the creation of a special parliamentary committee to investigate the treatment of Indigenous peoples throughout the British Empire.[76] The evidence presented to the committee suggested that colonialists were dispossessing, corrupting, and killing Indigenous people rather than civilizing them or converting them to Christianity.[77] The committee's report quoted the comments of a Canadian Aboriginal leader that his people were not adopting European habits because "they could see nothing in civilized life sufficiently attractive to induce them to give up their former mode of living."[78] The committee concluded that Britain was obliged to civilize Indigenous peoples as a Christian duty. Such a policy would also improve colonial security and be economically beneficial, since it would prevent Indigenous peoples from becoming dependent on the state for their survival.[79] The committee's work led to the formation of the Aborigines Protection Society in 1837. Five members of the committee that prepared the *Aborigines Report* were among the new society's founders.[80] Egerton Ryerson, who would play a leading role in Canadian educational history, was the society's Canadian representative.[81]

Protestant missionaries, who had a central part in the ongoing implementation of the civilization policy in Upper Canada, stressed the importance of establishing settled communities of Aboriginal people. The economy of these communities was to be based on agriculture rather than on hunting, fishing, trapping, and trading. The residents would live in nuclear families rather than in their traditional communal units, would accumulate wealth, and would own land. It would also be easier to ensure that people were following Christian teachings if they were living in settled communities.[82] The establishment of such communities amounted to a major transformation of the lives of Aboriginal people, a kind of factory for creating 'civilized Indians.' They were given new names and told to abandon hunting and fishing in order to farm, using European methods.[83] These communities were also intended to be places in which Indians would be protected from Euro-Canadian civilization. Missionaries recognized that governments and settlers presented a direct threat to Aboriginal people. Liquor traders threatened to undermine community morals, while settlers and governments alike were more interested in taking control of Aboriginal land than in protecting Aboriginal interests. For this reason, missionaries did not favour letting Aboriginal people have full control over their land.[84]

The successful implementation of the civilization policy was hampered by several factors. For many Aboriginal people, hunting and fishing were still viable and preferable to farming. Their attachment to Aboriginal culture also remained strong. Divisive conflicts between and among Anglican and Methodist missionaries served to blunt the effectiveness of the missionary efforts, while the ongoing plundering of Aboriginal lands by settlers only increased Aboriginal suspicions of European motives. The government's continued unwillingness to make a significant investment in Aboriginal communities further undermined the project. Throughout the 1830s, for example, cost-cutting measures led to the dismissal of translators and other departmental staff.[85] Those who remained were military men with little background in farming or teaching. Other staff members were corrupt, using their offices to increase their personal incomes at the expense of Aboriginal interests. Sir Charles Metcalfe, a former governor-general of India, lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces in India, and governor of Jamaica, became governor-general in 1843. Before returning to England, he dismissed most of the Indian Department, including Chief Superintendent Samuel Jarvis.[86] Jarvis, having thus been stripped of his authority in 1844, was, one year later, forced to pay back more than 4,000 pounds of Ojibway funds that he had diverted to his own use.[87]

Despite these problems, the civilization policy was not without its achievements. Under Aboriginal leadership, the Credit River community had forty houses, a hospital, barns, sawmill, and a two-thirds interest in a harbour, and was the centre of successful mixed farming.[88] Communities such as Credit River were praised by Lieutenant-Governor Sir John Colborne, but not by his successor, Sir Francis Bond Head, who concluded shortly after his arrival in 1835 that the civilization policy was a failure. To him, Aboriginal people were a dying people who should be moved aside for settlers. He proposed relocating them to Manitoulin Island, where he expected them to live their final years in peaceful isolation.[89] To achieve his goal, he organized what amounted to a forced surrender of over 670,000 hectares (1.5 million acres) of the Bruce Peninsula in 1836. In contravention of the Royal Proclamation, Head arranged the surrender at a meeting that had not been called specifically to deal with land issues. He told the Ojibway that settlers would be moving in, even if they did not agree.[90] Head's attempt to relocate the First Nations undermined the civilization policy. Throughout what is now southern Ontario, Aboriginal communities lost their investment in the improvements they had made to their reserves, as they were forced onto less productive land. Some stopped farming because they did not know if they would be able to keep their lands.[91]

The proposed relocation prompted a storm of opposition led by Methodist missionaries in Canada, and the Aborigines Protection Society in Britain.[92] At the height of the campaign, Peter Jones, an Aboriginal convert to Methodism, travelled to England, where he met with the colonial secretary, Lord Glenelg, a vice-president of the Anglican Church Missionary Society. Glenelg halted the relocation to Manitoulin Island, but the land surrenders were not reversed.[93]

Head's mishandling of colonial politics contributed to the brief and unsuccessful colonial rebellions in Upper and Lower Canada in 1837 and led to his resignation in the following year. The Colonial Office issued a statement on Indian policy in 1838 (a year after the parliamentary committee submitted its report) that was in keeping with the idea of a duty to civilize. Under this policy, First Nations people were to be settled and made farmers, their lands were to be protected, and missionaries were to be encouraged to provide educational services.[94]

In 1840, Upper and Lower Canada were combined to form the United Province of Canada. During the following decade, the provisions of the Royal Proclamation were generally ignored. Prospectors and mining companies were granted licences to Aboriginal lands north of Lake Huron and Lake Superior. In 1846, Garden River Chief Shingwaukonse complained that miners had been improperly given rights to the land where his community's village was located. Three years later, in what became known as the "Mica War," First Nations and Métis men took control of a mining operation north of Lake Superior. Shingwaukonse and three other leaders were arrested, convicted, and later pardoned for their involvement in this protest.[95] It was only when events had reached this dangerous point that the British sent out William Robinson in 1850 to negotiate what were to become the Robinson-Huron and the Robinson-Superior Treaties.[96] These Treaties committed the government to paying annuities, and guaranteed First Nations the right to continue hunting, trapping, and fishing on Crown land that had not been developed.[97] These were the first Treaties to commit the government to setting aside reserved lands for those bands that signed the Treaty. In justifying his decision to grant reserves, Robinson argued that since First Nations would be able to continue to support themselves by hunting and fishing on reserve land, they would have no future basis for claiming government support by saying they had had their means of livelihood taken away from them by the government.[98]

In 1850, the colonial government adopted *An Act for the better protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada*, and *An Act for the protection of the Indians in Upper Canada from imposition and the property occupied or enjoyed by them from trespass and injury*. Both Acts were intended to protect Indian lands from speculators and trespassers. Reserve land was to be held by the Crown, and to be free from taxation and seizure for non-payment of debts or taxes. The law dealing with land in Lower Canada contained the first legal definition of an Indian in Canadian law: "All persons of Indian blood, reputed to belong to the particular Body or Tribe of Indians interested in such lands and their descendents." That Act also recognized those married into the community and living with them, and the children, including those adopted in infancy, of those recognized as Indians who were living on their lands. In 1851, the Act was amended to exclude non-Indian males married to Indian women.[99] The colonial government was now assuming both the right to determine who Indians were, and greater control of what was being described as Indian land, in disregard of the Royal Proclamation.

By 1857, the goal of the civilization policy had changed. The government no longer sought to create separate 'civilized' and 'Christian' Aboriginal communities on reserves that were self-sufficient. It now sought to assimilate Aboriginal people into Euro-Canadian society and gradually eliminate the reserves. This was to be done through a process described as "enfranchisement." The preamble to the *Act for the Gradual Civilization of the Indian Tribes in the Canadas* stated that "it is desirable to encourage the progress of Civilization among the Indian Tribes in this Province, and the gradual removal of all legal distinctions between them and Her Majesty's other Canadian Subjects, and to facilitate the acquisition of property and of the rights accompanying it, by such Individual Members of the said Tribes as shall be found to desire such encouragement and to have deserved it."

Under the provisions of the *Act for the Gradual Civilization*, an Indian male who could read and write in either English or French, was free of debt, and was of good character, could receive all the rights of a British subject, fifty acres (20.2 hectares) of reserve land, and a share of band funds. As historian John Tobias has noted, the standard for Aboriginal people to become 'citizens' was higher than for white settlers—many of whom were not literate or free from debt, and whose characters remained unassessed.[109] The *Act for the Gradual Civilization* stood in contradiction to the Royal Proclamation, which gave the Indian nations control over whether to sell or otherwise dispose of Indian land. Aboriginal leaders recognized the contradictions, calling the Act a betrayal of the proclamation and an attempt to break their community into pieces.[110] Band councils protested in a number of ways: they petitioned for the repeal of the Act, they removed their children from schools, or they declined to participate in the census.[111] There had been considerable Aboriginal support for policies of education and economic development. There was none for assimilation. Between 1857 and 1876, only one man was voluntarily enfranchised. The government did not interpret this lack of response as an indication of the strength of Aboriginal attachment to Aboriginal identity. Rather, the government blamed the failure of Aboriginal people to seek enfranchisement on the influence of their leaders. This only increased government hostility to Aboriginal self-government.[112]

In 1860, the British Colonial Office abandoned its responsibility for Indian affairs, transferring the Indian Department to the United Canadas and making it part of the Crown Lands Department. As Canada took direct responsibility for Aboriginal peoples, the often contradictory policies of protection, separation, and assimilation would be further entrenched to gain control of Aboriginal land and to marginalize Aboriginal people. Schooling and residential schooling in particular were a component of this contradictory and frequently ineffective policy approach.

Children were sent to the schools to 'protect' them from the influence of their own parents and culture. Like reserves, the schools themselves were places of isolation in which children were to be 'civilized' and assimilated. As with all Aboriginal policies, the schools were funded in such a cost-conscious manner that, no matter what one thought of their goals, they were doomed to fail from the very beginning.

CHAPTER 5

Pre-Confederation residential schools

Throughout the pre-Confederation period, European and Aboriginal peoples approached education and Treaty making with different purposes. Aboriginal peoples regarded Treaties as a tool to maintain cultural and political autonomy. Education was a means of ensuring that their children, while remaining rooted in their cultures, could also survive economically within a changing political and economic environment. The British viewed both Treaties and schools as a means of gaining control over Aboriginal lands and eradicating Aboriginal languages and cultures. They wanted Aboriginal people to abandon their languages and cultures. They also expected Aboriginal people to become subsistence farmers and labourers, remaining largely on the bottom rung of the Canadian economic ladder. British rhetoric calling for 'assimilation' of Aboriginal people into British North American society was tempered by a long-standing colonialist view that Aboriginal peoples not only had an inferior culture to their own, but that this alleged inferiority demonstrated that Aboriginal peoples were simply not as intelligent or as capable as people of European origin.

At the time of Confederation, only two residential schools were in operation in the four Canadian provinces: the Methodist Mount Elgin school at Muncey (or Munceytown), Ontario, and the Anglican Mohawk Institute at Brantford, Ontario. Of these, only Mount Elgin received government funding.[1] In the years to come, the Roman Catholic Church would play a prominent role in establishing and developing residential schools. Its activities in Canada in the early nineteenth century, however, had been hampered by restrictions the British government had placed on the church after the conquest of New France in 1763, including a refusal to allow Roman Catholic orders to recruit new members. The last of the Jesuits in Canada had died in 1800, and the order was dormant here until the 1840s, when the British allowed the Jesuits and the newly founded Oblate order to send members to Ontario and Quebec.[2] By the end of the 1800s, the Roman Catholics, Anglicans, and Methodists, along with the Presbyterians, all would have committed themselves to establishing residential schools in western Canada. The dramatic expansion was undertaken even though the earlier experiment with residential schools in eastern Canada had been judged to be-a failure. The schools failed despite the fact that Aboriginal parents often had been interested in seeing their children acquire the skills to succeed in what they recognized as changing economic conditions. Residential schooling in the pre-Confederation era exhibited many of the problems that would characterize the system's entire history. Parents preferred to see their children at home and were reluctant to send them to school. At the schools, children were lonely and frequently ran away. School life was hard and often unhealthy, and education focused largely on work and religion. Those children who completed their schooling often found that their ties to their home communities and cultures had been severed, but they had not been given the skills needed to succeed in the broader society. First Nations communities had agreed initially to provide funding to the schools, but they later withdrew their support, based on their experience with a system that was unresponsive to their wishes, disparaged their culture, and failed to deliver the promised economic benefits.

Public education in nineteenth-century Ontario

The residential school system came into being in Ontario as the colonial government was laying the groundwork for a public school system. Education was not a major concern to the colony's first lieutenant governor, John Simcoe, who wrote in 1795 that schooling should be reserved for the "Children of the Principal People of this Country."[illegible] To learn what they would need to 'get by,' the children of those stationed at the "lower degrees in life" would have to depend on their "connections and relations."[illegible] In keeping with Simcoe's views, the 1807 *District Public (Grammar) School Act* adopted by the colonial government authorized the establishment of up to eight grammar schools. The schools were to be administered by the Anglican Church, employ only Anglicans, and charge substantial tuition fees. As a result, only the colony's elite could afford to send their children to school.[illegible] However, the reality was that education was not necessary for survival. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, most people farmed, fished, and logged. Households were centres of production; children were labourers. In such a world, children learned most of what they needed to survive from their parents. As this world gave way to an industrialized society, the demand for public schooling would grow.[illegible]

Public agitation for greater access to education led to the adoption of the *Common School Act* in 1816, which committed the government to funding any public school with twenty or more students. Individual communities were left with the responsibility of establishing school boards and building and maintaining the schools. Attendance was not compulsory. To cover costs, schools had to charge fees, with the result that education remained beyond the reach of many families. The government granted 100 pounds to cover teachers' salaries at the elite grammar schools, but the grant to common schools was only [illegible] pounds. As [illegible] commented, the [illegible] teaching post was commonly regarded as the last refuge of the incompetent, the lazy, the unsuitable. There were no provisions for teacher training or certification, and no standard textbooks. In many cases, there were no schoolhouses: classes might be held in homes, halls, and, on occasion, in [illegible].

By [illegible], almost [illegible] students were attending [illegible] common schools in Upper Canada. Despite this growth, the colonial education system was judged to be inadequate by a number of investigations, and measures were adopted with the goal of expanding education and placing it under centralized control. The leading figure in this centralizing movement was Egerton Ryerson. Born in Canada of Loyalist parents in [illegible], Ryerson was driven from home by his Anglican father when he was drawn to Methodism at the age of eighteen. After teaching as an assistant at a local grammar school, then moving to Hamilton to attend the Gore District Grammar School, he became a Methodist missionary, working first as a circuit preacher and then with the Ojibway at Credit River in the [illegible]. As a Methodist, he stood apart from the Anglican elite who dominated the colony. At the same time, he was in many ways a social conservative who distanced himself from the more radical reformers of the [illegible]. Upon Ryerson's appointment as assistant superintendent of schools for Canada West (Ontario), he undertook a year-long tour of Europe, where he studied various educational innovations. On his return, he summarized his beliefs in a detailed report. Education, he held, should be universal and practical: "every youth of the land should be trained to industry and practice — whether that training be extensive or limited." And it should be religious; this would include "a course embracing the entire History of the Bible, its institutions, cardinal doctrines and morals, together with the evidences of its authenticity." Schools were to do more than instruct people in certain skills and knowledge; they were to prepare students "for their appropriate duties and employments of life, as Christians, as persons of business, and also as members of the civil community in which they live." Ryerson argued that most crime was the result of illiteracy and ignorance; money spent on education would be recouped by a reduction in spending on policing and jails.

Ryerson's report became the basis of the Common Schools Act of [illegible] and served as the blueprint for the measures he would spend the next three decades implementing. In [illegible], a teacher training school (known as a "normal school" because it was to establish teaching norms or standards) opened in Toronto, providing Ontario with a local source of trained teachers. By [illegible], school boards had the authority to tax property holders, allowing them the option of collecting or eliminating tuition fees for attending common schools. In [illegible], four years after Canadian Confederation, grammar schools were replaced by high schools and collegiate institutes. The public school system Ryerson oversaw was intended to be Christian, but non-denominational. However, he was obliged also to accept the existence of a separate, publicly

[illegible]

[illegible]

The New England Company

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[illegible]

[illegible]

and, in the face of this crisis, parents, who were otherwise unenthusiastic about the Sussex Vale project, turned their children over to the New England Company.[illegible]

The local board of commissioners operated the apprenticeship system to their own advantage, disregarding New England Company policy and paying non-Aboriginal families who took in apprentices twenty pounds a year.[illegible] Oliver Arnold was both the Sussex Vale schoolmaster and the local minister for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He was paid to keep between four and seven apprentices at his home.[illegible] One young woman apprenticed to Arnold was seduced by his son, and the child born of this relationship was raised as an apprentice.[illegible] In 1818, of the fifty-three children who had been enrolled since 1807, two had died, eleven had either run away or been discharged, one was studying to be a missionary, twenty-six were undergoing apprenticeship, and thirteen had completed their apprenticeships.[illegible]

In response to complaints about the school, the New England Company commissioned two investigations, both of which concluded that the children were being used as cheap labour, were receiving little training, and were not being sent to school. In his 1822 report, Walter Bromley wrote that the apprentices were "treated as Menial Servants and compelled to do every kind of drudgery." He found that the boys received little schooling; the girls, none. Upon completion of their apprenticeships, they returned to their home communities and to the Catholic Church. Bromley had particularly harsh words for Arnold, who, he believed, was using the New England Company's money to line the pockets of his dissolute relatives.[illegible] The Sussex Vale school had been intended solely for the First Nations students. Instead, it was being operated on a segregated basis, with 50% of the students being non-Aboriginal. The reports also uncovered incidents of sexual exploitation of apprentices. Those who managed to complete the apprenticeship were left in a precarious position: many of their links to their home communities had been severed, but they were still not accepted by the Euro-Canadian society. By retaining their language and culture, those who had not gone to school at Sussex Vale were seen to be better off than those who had gone there.[illegible]

On the basis of these reports, the company abandoned its work in New Brunswick and turned its attention to southern Ontario, where it built on the work that had been done among the Mohawk people.

The Mohawk Institute

Prior to the American War of Independence, the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had established a mission to the Mohawk at Fort Hunter, New York. The society followed the Mohawk to Canada after the war and established a day school at the Bay of Quinte in 1784.[illegible] When the Mohawk settled on the Grand

River, the British military had promised them twenty pounds a year to support a teacher, whom the Mohawk would select. A school opened in 1786, using readers and prayer books in the Mohawk language.[51] One of the teachers at the school was Major John Norton (Teyoninhokovrawen). He had a Cherokee father and Scottish mother, was born in Scotland, and was educated at Dunfermline as a child. After migrating to North America—and being adopted as nephew to Mohawk Chief Joseph Brant—he served as schoolmaster with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospell.[52] The promised funding for the teacher did not materialize, and the Grand River school closed. However, in 1822, while in England to lobby on behalf of Mohawk land rights, Joseph Brant's son John petitioned the New England Company for a school and a mission at Grand River.[53] The Anglican Society turned its mission over to the New England Company, and, in 1827, company missionary Robert Lugger arrived at Grand River.[54] The following year, he hired a schoolmaster, and, two years later, he opened a mechanics institute, which became the Mohawk Institute. In 1832, two large rooms were added. In one room, the girls were taught to spin and weave; in the other, boys were taught tailoring, carpentry, and mechanics. In 1834, the school began to take in boarders, and taught farming, gardening, and trades. The trades included blacksmithing and the making of wagons, sleighs, and cabinets. Lugger died in 1837 and was replaced by the Reverend Abraham Nelles. By 1840, the school had forty students, and, in future years, there was a waiting list of students seeking admission.[55] During this period, classes were conducted in English, but the students were allowed to speak to each other in their own language.[56] After 1860, the school farm was used not only to teach children how to farm, but also as a source of food and income for the school.[57] By 1840, the students were making all their own shoes and most of their own clothing.[58]

In the 1830s, a number of "shrewd and intelligent" girls had left the school because they objected to the amount of menial labour they were required to do. Mrs. Nelles, the new principal's wife, took their side, and it was agreed that they would be readmitted to the school and exempted from certain chores. As a New England Company official noted at the time, they were to be treated "as boarders to a white school are treated."[59] The school appeared to have limited problems with students running away, although, in 1840, several of the new students, overcome with homesickness, returned to their parents. However, that year, three boys, including one promising young blacksmith, were expelled because they had become "very disobedient and unsettled."[60] For his part, Nelles constantly lobbied the New England Company for money to provide students who were leaving the schools with tools so they could continue their trades.[61]

In an 1844 address to Anglican clergy in Toronto, the Anglican minister and future bishop John Strachan spoke of the

> excellent School of Industry for boys at the Mohawk village on the Grand River. The boys are taught useful trades, and the girls knitting, and sewing, and household work. At the same time, their religious education is carefully followed up. They are

> found to be docile and quick of apprehension and very soon become clean and tidy in their persons. Here again is a great advance if diligently improved, towards the conversion of the Indians. The Church can reach the parents through the children; and even should she be less successful with the adults, she can gradually get possession of the rising generation, and in half an age, the tribe becomes Christian.[62]

A new school building, capable of boarding sixty students, was constructed in 1859 and a farm was added in 1860.[63] The Mohawk Institute also employed its own graduates during this period: in 1859, four former students were teaching at the school.[64] By 1861, Isaac Barefoot, who had been teaching at the mission school, attended a teacher training college in Toronto.[65] Another former student, Oronhyatekha (baptized Peter Martin) went on to study at Oxford University in England and graduate from the University of Toronto medical school in 1867.[66]

Although the Mohawk Institute was the New England Company's most celebrated and longest-lasting boarding school in Ontario, it was not the company's only such initiative. In 1842, a New England Company missionary at Mud Lake, in southern Ontario, began boarding eight male and female students. Given that none of the students lived more than three kilometres from the school, a decision was made in 1870 to stop boarding students and operate the institution as a day school.[67]

During the first thirty-five years of its operation in Canada, the Mohawk Institute was largely a church-run and -funded endeavour. The other major residential schooling initiative of this era was the product of a partnership between the government and the Methodist Church, and was closely linked to broader government Aboriginal policy.

Methodist residential schools in pre-Confederation Ontario

By 1850, there were two, major, Methodist residential schools in southern Ontario: the Alnwick school located in Alderville and Mount Elgin in Munceytown. The establishment of these schools represented the culmination of Methodist missionary work among the Ontario Ojibway since the 1820s. Aboriginal people played a role in funding and establishing these schools. They supported them because they believed the schools would provide their children with the skills needed to navigate looming economic and social challenges. They further believed they would be able to play a prominent role in the operation of the schools.[68] When those expectations were frustrated, Aboriginal support for the schools was greatly diminished.

The work the Methodists carried out in Canada was sometimes hindered by the fact that there were two, separate, and at times feuding, Methodist organizations operating in Canada for much of the early nineteenth century. One branch of Methodism, the Methodist Episcopal Church, was brought to Upper Canada by United Empire Loyalists.[69] Although they were loyal to Britain, they maintained a connection with the US-based Methodist Episcopal Church.[70] This alliance with an American church during a period of ongoing hostility between Britain and the United States created tensions and suspicions.[71] In the aftermath of the War of 1812, the British Wesleyan Missionary Society had also sent missionaries to Upper and Lower Canada.[72] For nearly fifty years, tension would persist between the British and American strands of Methodism. An initial 1833 merger collapsed in 1840. A lasting union of Methodists in Ontario was not achieved until 1847.[73]

Massachusetts-born William Case, one of the leading Methodist missionaries in Ontario at the time, was the driving force behind the early educational initiatives among Aboriginal people. After spending the duration of the War of 1812 in the United States, he returned to Canada in 1815.[74] Under Case's leadership, the Methodist Episcopal Church undertook extensive missionary work among the Ojibway in the 1820s. The American Methodist Episcopal Church provided ongoing financial support to this work and, by 1829, was contributing $700 a year to Aboriginal missionary work in Canada.[75] Special fundraising tours of the United States raised additional funds; an 1829 tour brought in $2,400, and an emergency tour the next year raised $1,300.[76]

By 1830, the Methodists claimed to have converted over 1,000 Aboriginal people when the Ojibway population of the area stood at just over 1,300, and to have established nine missions and eleven day schools.[77] The schools employed the Infant School System, an educational approach developed by John Heinrich Pestalozzi, a Swiss educator who believed that students should be allowed to learn from their experiences at their own pace. Instruction was provided in reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, geometry, natural history, and church history.[78] The Methodists had translated the Lord's Prayer and numerous books of the Bible into Ojibway, and had published an Ojibway dictionary and a grammar book, allowing them to provide a bilingual education in many of their schools.[79] Most of the school-aged children at Credit, Munceytown, Grape Island, Rice Lake, and Lake Simcoe were enrolled in school in 1835.[80] The schools produced a cohort of Aboriginal leaders, including many missionaries and teachers.[81]

The Grape Island and Alderville schools

Case established a missionary reserve on Grape Island in Lake Ontario in 1828. There, he and the mission's female teachers opened a small residential school, taking into the mission home four young girls to be educated in English, religion, sewing, knitting, housekeeping, and cooking.[82] The missionary reserve eventually outgrew the island and, in 1837, the residents and the school moved to Alderville, Ontario. There, with financial support from Methodists in the United States and Britain, Case established a manual labour school.[83] By the early 1840s, the school had thirteen boarders.[84]

That year, Alderville Chief John Sunday (also known as Shawundais, or Sultry Heat) gave the following description of the Alderville school day:

> The girls spend also six hours a day in school: the afternoon half of which time is devoted to needle work—During the rest of the day, they are engaged in housework. The following is the daily routine of this department—They rise during the winter at five o'clock: and in summer at one half past four, the girls proceed to milk the cows: then prepare the breakfast; attend family prayers; and hear a lecture, or exposition of a portion of the Scriptures—The singing, and all the exercises are in English. The girls then set the cheese; and do housework—at nine a.m. they go into school—At noon dinner. at half-past one p.m.: school recommenses: then as above mentioned, needlework— school closed at half-past four p.m. At five, supper—at six, milking the cows prayers at eight p.m.: at half-past eight, they retire to rest.[85]

Under Sunday's leadership, the Alderville band agreed in 1845 to a Methodist request to provide 100 pounds from the band annuity to support the school.[86] In 1849, the new Alnwick school was constructed at Alderville, accommodating sixty residential students in addition to day students.[87] By then, it was part of a broader movement within the church, the government, and portions of the Aboriginal community to establish residential schools. One of the leading figures in that movement was Peter Jones.

Peter Jones

At a dramatic open-air Methodist revival meeting in 1823, Peter Jones, a young man of mixed ancestry, was converted to Methodism. Jones's mother, Tuhbenahneequay, was the daughter of a Mississauga chief. His father, Augustus Jones, was a US-born surveyor who had come to Canada in the 1780s. Known to the Ojibway as Kahkewaquonaby (Sacred Feathers), Peter Jones was raised in his mother's family until he was fourteen.[88] One year after he had begun his conversion process, he was teaching at a day school at the Mohawk community at Grand River.[89] He soon was working as a missionary, teacher, fundraiser, political adviser, and leader.[90] To raise money for missionary work among the Indigenous peoples, he travelled to the United States and Britain and twice met with members of the British Royal Family. His 1831 tour of England raised over 1,000 pounds for missionary work in Ontario.[91] He was also a hard-working advocate of the interests of the First Nations people of what is now southern Ontario, defending their fishing rights and holding government to account for proper payment of annuities.[92] Early in his career, Jones developed a close relationship with Egerton Ryerson, the future Ontario superintendent of education.[93] The two men worked together to establish both a church and a school at Credit River, where Jones had assumed the position of chief.[94]

Jones was one of a number of talented young Aboriginal men who converted to Methodism during this period. John Sunday and Henry Bird Steinhauer both went on to become ordained ministers, as well.[95] Steinhauer, who was from Lake Simcoe, had been named Shahwahnegezhik at birth. After hearing young Shahwahnegezhik sing during a Methodist fundraising trip to the United States in 1829, an American missionary from Philadelphia had offered to pay for his education. As a result, Shahwahnegezhik took on his sponsor's name: Henry Steinhauer.[96] Another Ojibway convert, Peter Jacobs, worked with Jones and Sunday to translate hymns and scripture into Ojibway and create an Aboriginal framework for Christianity. These Aboriginal church leaders would play an important role in spreading Methodism across Canada.[97]

Visits to manual training schools for the Cherokee and Choctaw nations in the United States in the 1830s had left a strong impression on Jones.[98] At these schools, which had been established by missionaries, students spent half their day in the classroom and the other half in workshops, sewing rooms, kitchens, barns, or the fields.[99] The vocational skills taught in these schools could, he thought, serve as the basis of Aboriginal economic independence.[100] By 1841, Jones had concluded that "the children must be taken for a season from their parents, and put to well-regulated Manual Labour Schools."[101] This was part of a growing missionary consensus. That same year, fellow Methodist missionary Sylvester Hurlburt called for schools "where the rising generation can be brought up entirely away from the instruction of their parents."[102] In an 1844 speech in London, England, Jones detailed his own educational vision:

> Our contemplated plans are to establish two Schools; one for one hundred boys, the other for one hundred girls. The boys to be taught in connection with a common English education, the art of Farming and useful trades. The girls to be instructed in Reading and Writing, Domestic Economy, Sewing, Knitting, Spinning; so as to qualify them to become good wives and mothers. It is also our intention to select from each School the most promising boys and girls, with a view of giving them superior advantages; so as to qualify them for Missionaries and School teachers among their brethren.[103]

In the 1840s, Governor General Sir John Bagot commissioned a review of the colony's Aboriginal policy. The report of the policy review, which has become known as the "Bagot Commission," concluded in 1844 that the civilization policy had failed. Not for the last time, day schools were judged to be ineffective: attendance was irregular, the curriculum was irrelevant, and the influence of the parents was seen to be too strong. Pointing to what it believed to be successful boarding schools for Indigenous people in both Sierra Leone and Missouri, the commission endorsed the establishment of industrial boarding schools established in partnership with the churches.[104] After the review, Jones called on the government to recognize Aboriginal peoples' civil rights and land rights, to meet its financial responsibilities to Aboriginal peoples, and to fund industrial schools.[105]

Although the report recommended industrial schools, it contained no measures for paying for them.[106] To find the money to support them, Bagot's successor as governor general, Sir Charles Metcalfe, discontinued the supply of ammunition to several Aboriginal communities. The funds saved in this manner were to be divided among the proposed boarding schools.[107] This move, as a subsequent government report noted, benefited only the bands that sent children to those schools. The other tribes, including the "Amherstburgh Indians, the Six Nations, and the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinté," did not receive compensation for the loss of the ammunition supply, which was part of their Treaty annuity.[108]

The creation of the Alderville and Mount Elgin schools became tied to a larger scheme to relocate First Nations in southern Ontario. A key event in that process was a meeting held at Orillia in 1846, which became known as the "Conference of the Narrows" because it was held near the Lake Simcoe Narrows.

Conference of the Narrows

In July 1846, British Assistant Superintendent General of Indian Affairs George Vardon and Visiting Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Thomas G. Anderson met in Orillia with thirty Aboriginal leaders and about eighty young Aboriginal men. They were there to debate a proposal that Aboriginal people abandon their existing small reserves for three large settlements to be established in Munceytown, Alderville, and Owen Sound. Those who relocated would be given deeds to the land in these communities. Indian Affairs officials also made commitments to build manual labour schools in these communities. In return, the bands were expected to commit a quarter of their annuities for the next twenty to twenty-five years to support the schools. At the end of that time, Anderson said, "some of your youth will be sufficiently enlightened to carry on a system of instruction among yourselves, and this proportion of your funds will no longer be required."[109]

Anderson informed the chiefs that the civilization policy had failed. In Anderson's words, the "large sums of money" spent on getting the Indians to abandon their customs and adopt "the arts of civilized life" had not yielded the expected results. This was not the fault of either the government or the missionaries, he told the chiefs, but "it is because you do not feel, or know the value of education; you would not give up your idle roving habits, to enable your children to receive instruction." To remedy this, "your children shall be sent to Schools, where they will forget their Indian habits, and be instructed in all the necessary arts of civilized life, and become one with your white brethren. In these Schools they will be well taken care of, be comfortably dressed, kept clean, and get plenty to eat. The adults will not be forced from their present locations. They may remove, or remain as they please; but their children must go."[110]

Several of the chiefs spoke out strongly against the proposal. Mississauga Chief Yellow Head said, "I am not willing to leave my village, the place where my Forefathers lived."[111] Another Mississauga chief, John Aisance, agreed: "I do not wish to remove. I have already removed four times, and I am too old to remove again."[112] Others argued that schooling was necessary. An address presented by the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinté said that "the white man's labour is fast eating away the forest, whilst the sound of his axe and his bells is driving the game far away from their old haunts; it will soon be all gone." Given these developments, they supported a plan "to improve our young people by means of Boarding Schools, at which they will not only be taught book and head knowledge, but also learn to work with their hands; in fact, to make our boys useful and industrious farmers and mechanics and our girls good housekeepers."[113] Mohawk Chief Paulus Claus said,

> As there was a time when the Indians owned the whole of this continent, from the salt waters; but no sooner did the white men come, than the Indians were driven from their former homes, like the wild animals. We are now driven far from our former homes, into the woods. I cannot see the end of this, removing from one place to another, going still farther into the woods, unless we exert ourselves to conform to the ways of the white man.[114]

Mississauga Chief Joseph Sawyer said, "Suppose I have four dollars in my hand, I willingly give one dollar for the good of my children."[115]

According to a summary of his speech, Peter Jones told the chiefs that he "had long been convinced that in order to bring about the entire civilization of the Indian Tribes, Manual Labour Schools must be established. That I was glad to see the Gov. lending their aid in the work."[116] In his closing presentation, Superintendent Anderson said, "The Government want to see Indian Doctors, they want to see Indian Lawyers, and Justices of the Peace; Indians of all Professions and Trades; and that you should be like the white people. This is what the Government wish to see among the Indians."[117] Contrary to such stated wishes, it would be well over a century before the schooling provided to Aboriginal people began to train more than a handful of Aboriginal professionals.

In the end, most of the chiefs present at the Conference of the Narrows made a commitment to donate one-quarter of their annuities to support these schools. Within a decade, many had come to regret their decision.[118] The Methodists also supported the move to concentrate the Aboriginal population, because it would make their work cheaper and more efficient.[119]

Ryerson report on industrial schools

To assist in the implementation of the decision reached at the Conference of the Narrows, in 1847, Assistant Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Vardon asked Egerton Ryerson, who had become superintendent of schools for Upper Canada in 1844, to prepare a report on the "best method of establishing and conducting Industrial Schools for the benefit of the aboriginal Indian Tribes."[illegible] Ryerson recommended the establishment of residential schools in which Aboriginal students would be given instruction in "English language, arithmetic, elementary geometry, or knowledge of forms, geography and the elements of general history, natural history and agricultural chemistry, writing, drawing and vocal music, book-keeping (especially in reference to farmers' accounts) religion and morals."[illegible] This he thought of as "a plain English education adapted to the working farmer and mechanic. In this their object is identical with that of every good common school." Pupils should be "taught agriculture, kitchen gardening, and mechanics, so far as mechanics is connected with making and repairing the most useful agricultural implements."[illegible]

Ryerson preferred that these schools be termed "industrial schools" rather than "manual labour schools" because they were to be "schools of learning and religion; and industry is the great element of efficiency in each of these."[illegible] To Ryerson, the word *industry* referred to both the mental and physical labour in which students were expected to engage.

In the proposed industrial schools, Ryerson believed, the goal should be to train boys to be farmers, and the classroom lessons should be limited to what would support that goal. He thought it did not make sense to train students for any additional trades, for three reasons: it would be too costly to hire skilled tradesmen as teachers, it would be too difficult to administer a school that provided many different types of training, and there was not likely to be much demand for Aboriginal tradesmen. Better, he said, simply to apprentice those youngsters who showed an aptitude and interest in the trades.[illegible] The problems Ryerson identified were, in fact, to plague the Canadian residential system throughout its history.

The educational model he proposed was based on the Hofwyl School for the Poor, near Berne, Switzerland. In 1845, Ryerson had visited this school, founded by Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg, and had drawn on Fellenberg's educational reforms in his 1847 *Report on a System for Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada.*[illegible]

The schools he proposed would run year-round. During the summer, students would work eight to twelve hours a day and study for two to four hours. During the fall and spring, classes might be cancelled altogether for two or three weeks to allow the students to work at either harvesting or planting. During winter, the classroom hours would increase and the time spent at work would decrease. To keep to this routine, the day would have to start at 5:00 a.m. in the summer, and perhaps an hour later in the winter.[illegible] Students were to be enrolled for four to eight years.[illegible]

Ryerson wrote that it was necessary for the students to live together, though he didn't explain why. "The animating and controlling spirit of each industrial school establishment should, therefore in my opinion, be a religious one."[illegible] It was impossible to civilize "the North American Indian" without religious instruction and religious feeling. Since he believed the schools should be providing religious instruction, they should be run by religious organizations, with government involvement limited to appointing the school superintendent, building the school, determining who could attend, providing ongoing funding, and inspecting the schools.[illegible]

Establishing the schools

In 1847, Indian Department officials recommended the construction of residential labour schools at Alderville and Munceytown, abandoning the proposed school for Owen Sound that had been discussed at the Conference of the Nations. These locations were seen as being convenient to the bands that were supporting the schools. Eighty-one hectares (200 acres) were to be allotted to each school. The officials also recommended that the British-based Wesleyan Methodist Society be given the responsibility for supervising the schools, in acknowledgement of their "liberality, courage and perseverance."[illegible]

The Alnwick school, an expansion of the already existing Methodist school in Alderville, was completed in 1848 at a cost of $6,336. Over the next decade, a little over $300 would be spent on repairs. The school took in students from Lake Huron, Lake Simcoe, Saugeen, Owen's Sound, Alnwick, Rice, Mud, and Scugog lakes, and some from Garden River.[illegible] Mount Elgin, the school at Munceytown, was completed in 1851 at a cost of $3,300. It took in children from St. Clair, Chenail Ecarte, Thames, and New Credit. The Indian Department had committed itself to insuring the school buildings, and paying for student board, clothing, and education on a per capita basis. The Methodists paid for furniture, books, stationery, livestock, and farm implements. They also paid salaries for teachers and superintendents, as well as "such assistance as would be requisite to efficiently conduct the institutions."[illegible] By 1855, the Methodists were spending $1,200 a year on the two schools.[illegible]

Peter Jones was supposed to become the superintendent of Mount Elgin. In 1851, he moved to Munceytown to oversee the construction of the school but, by the time it opened, he had fallen ill.[illegible] As a result, the first superintendent of Mount Elgin was S. D. Rice, a Methodist missionary. He saw Aboriginal people as "a once noble, but now deeply degraded and long neglected race."[illegible]

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Life in [illegible]

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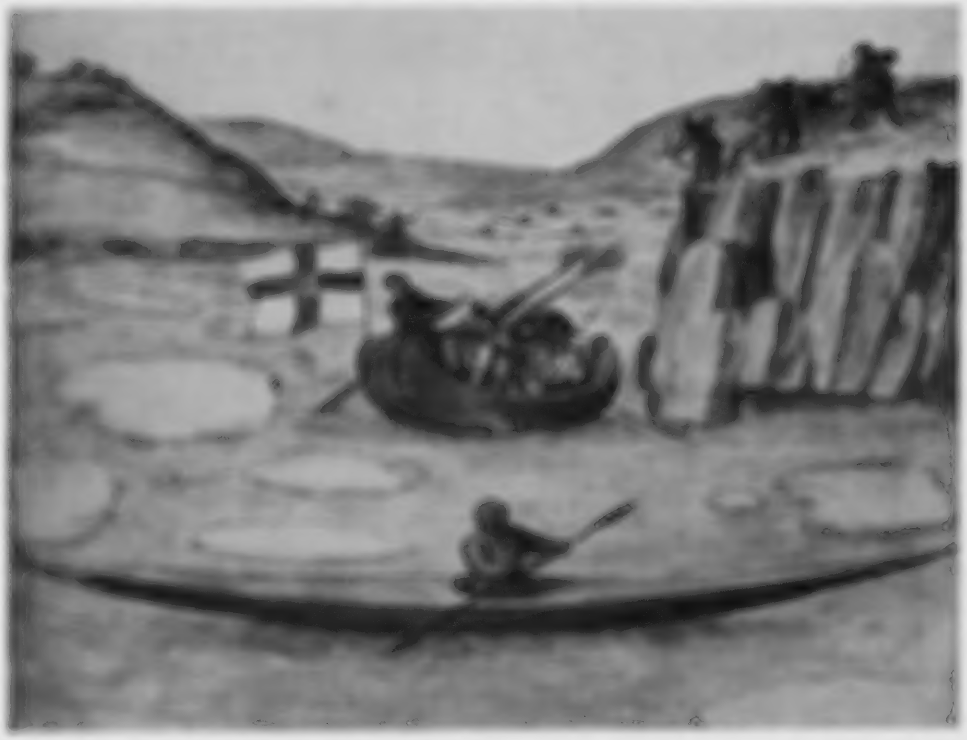
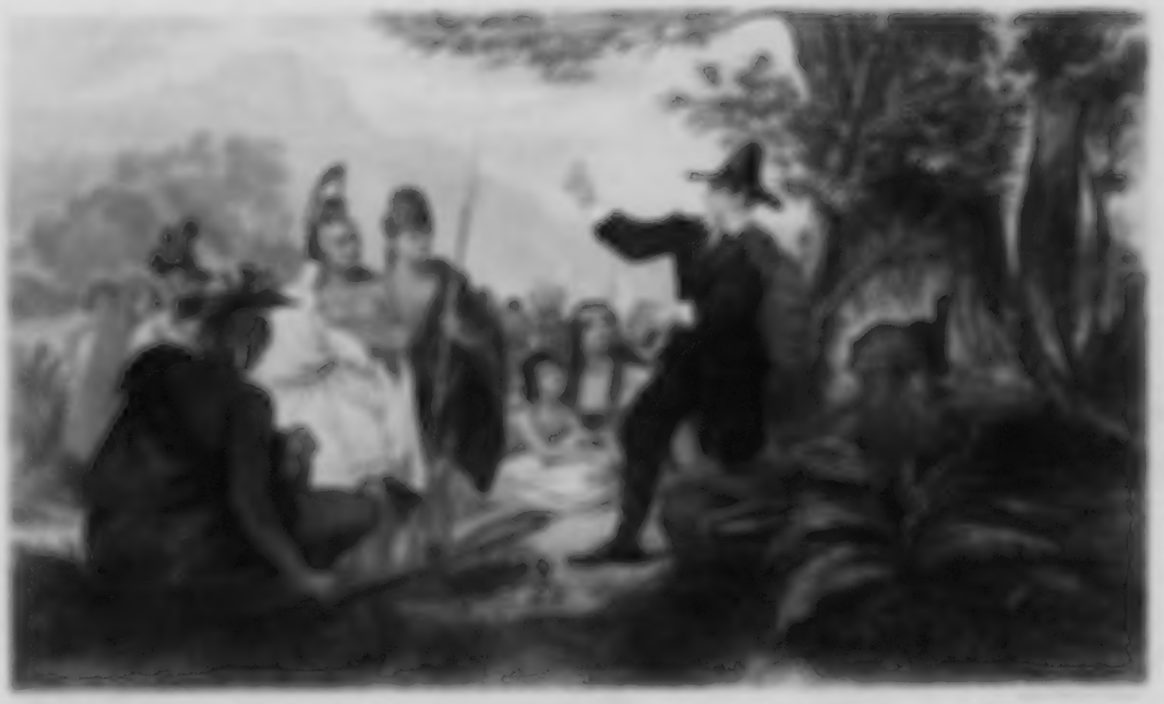
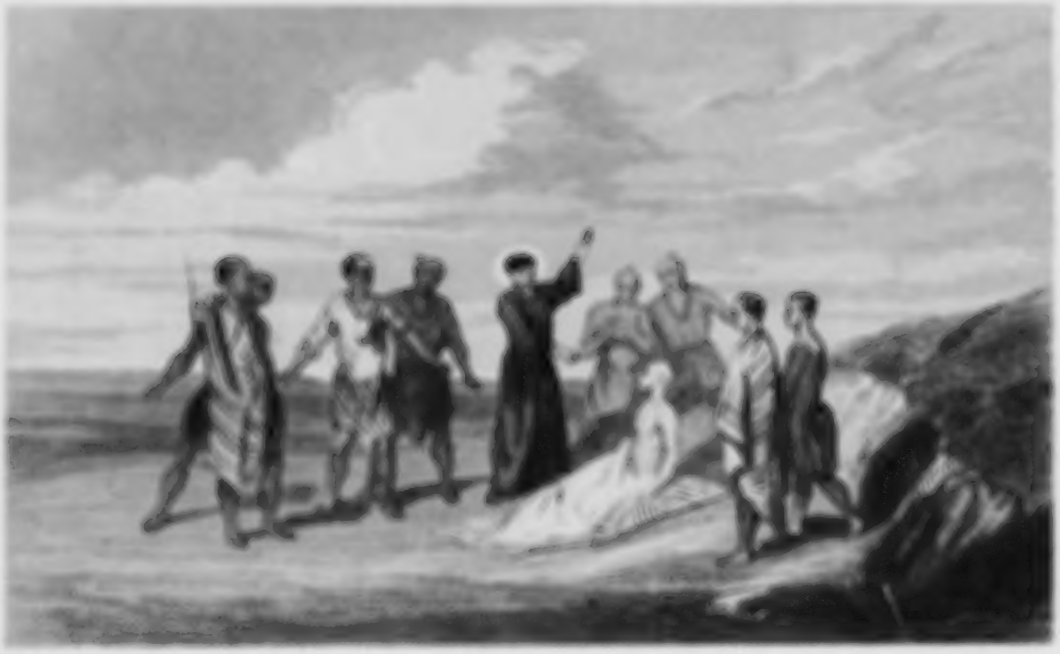


Inuit resisting attack led by Martin Frobisher, 1576.
Painting by John White, 1585–1593. © The Trustees of the British Museum

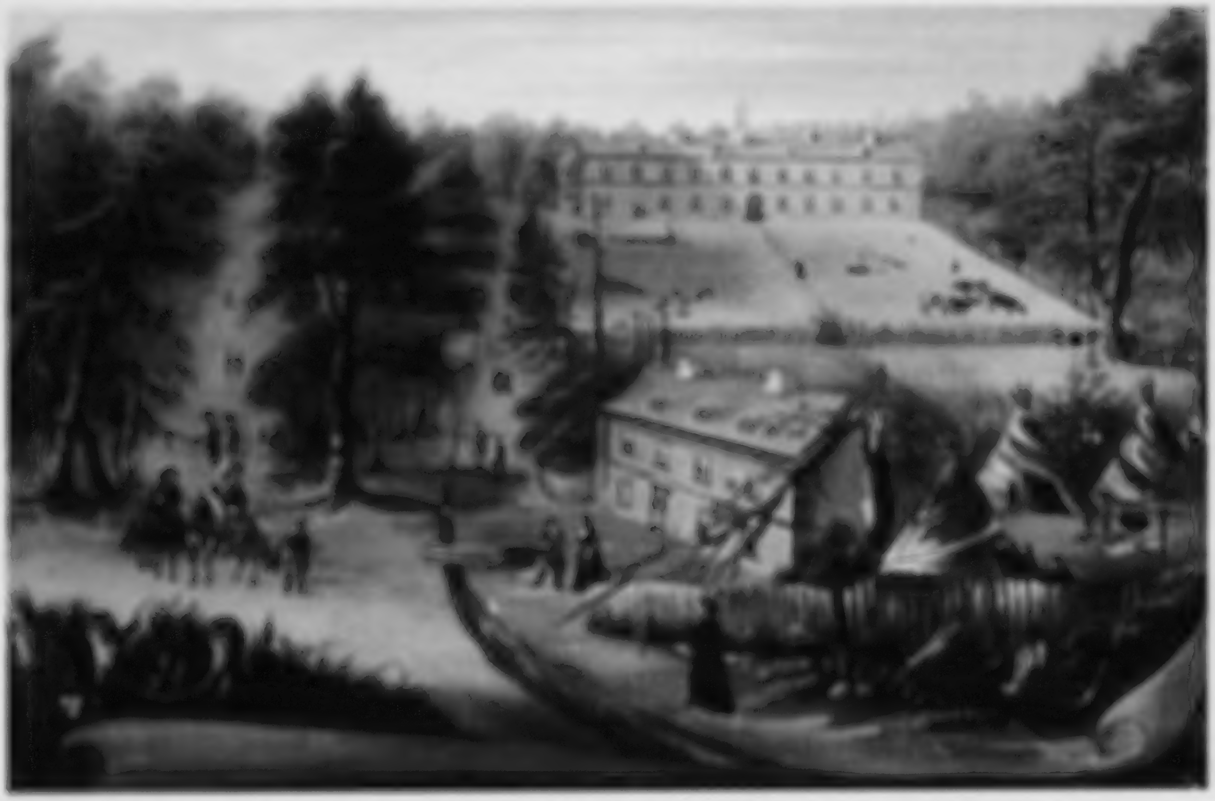


Protestant missionary John Eliot's work in the Massachusetts Bay Colony was supported by the British-based New England Company.
Mary Evans Picture Library, [illegible]



Francis Xavier, founder of the Jesuit Order, pictured bringing a dead man back to life in Japan.

Mary Evans Picture Library, [illegible]



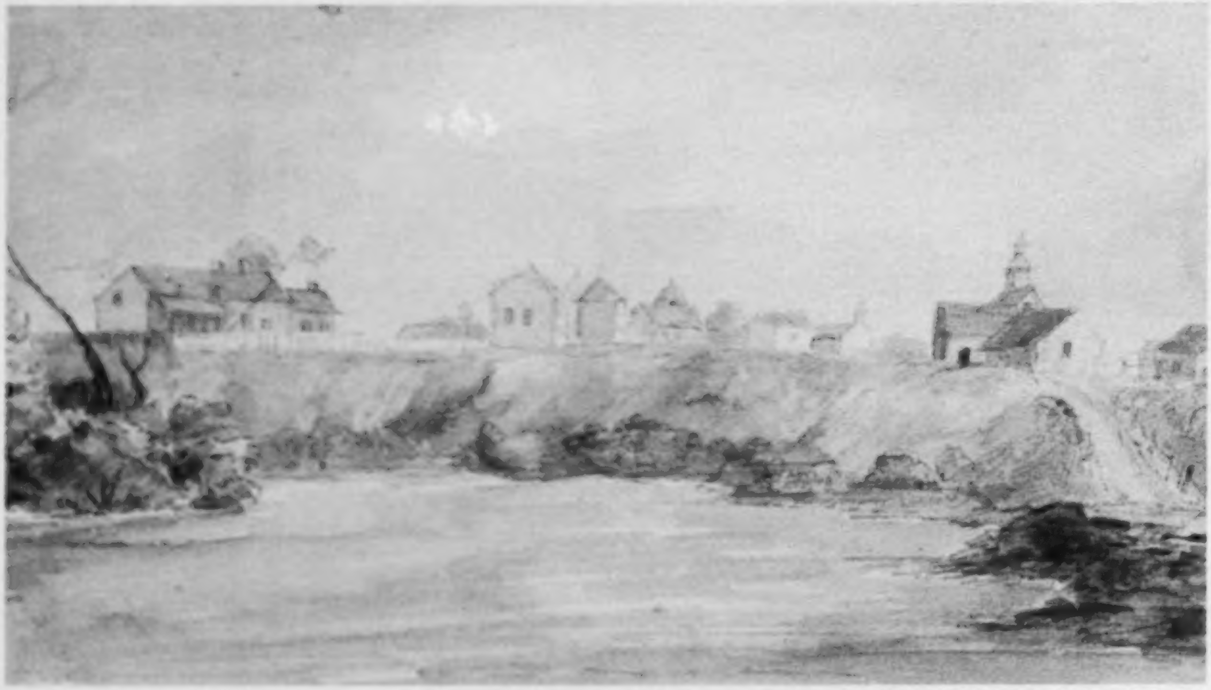
The Ursuline Convent, which served as a boarding school for Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal girls in Quebec.

Soeur Georgina Vanfelson, Vue du premier monastère des Ursulines de Québec, v. [illegible]. Musée des Beaux-Arts du Canada, Ottawa

National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa

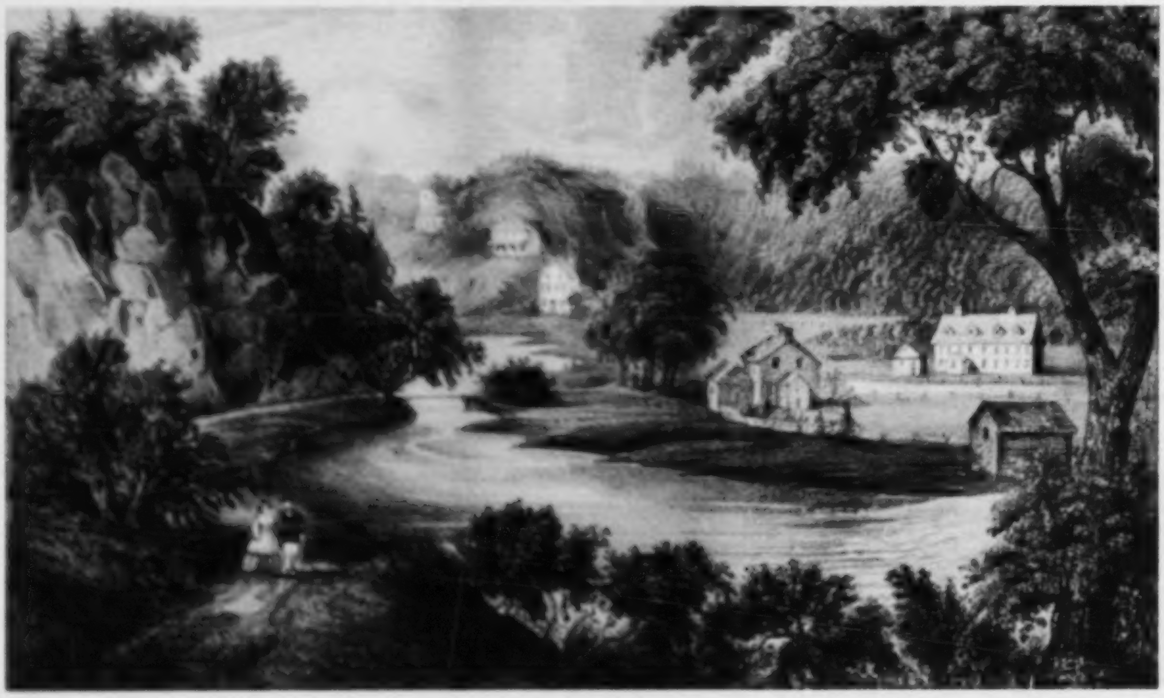
A Church Missionary Society grammar school, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
Mary Evans Picture Library, [illegible].

Roman Catholic missionary giving religious instruction to Chinese children.
Mary Evans / Sueddeutsche Zeitung Photo, [illegible].



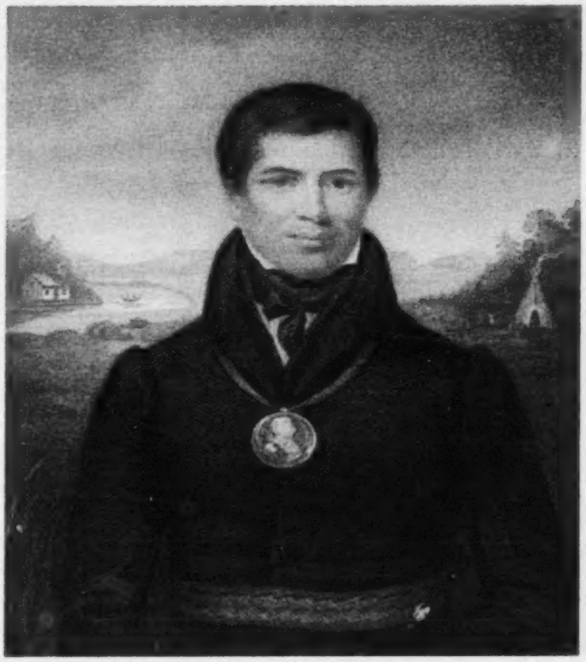
Mohawk Village on the Grand River, 1793. In 1828, Robert Lugger, an Anglican missionary working for the New England Company, established a day school at Mohawk Village at the Six Nations settlement on the Grand River. By 1834, the school was known as the Mohawk Institute and began boarding students.

Painting by Elizabeth Simcoe, Courtesy of the Archives of Ontario, I0006349.



Sussex Vale, New Brunswick, site of the New England Company sponsored residential school in the early nineteenth century.

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D. C. 20540 USA, Reproduction Number: LC-USZC2-3058, Currier & Ives : a catalogue raisonné / compiled by Gale Research. Detroit, MI : Gale Research, c1983, no. 6395. http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.pnp/cph.3b50932.



Kahkewaquonaby (Many Feathers) or Peter Jones in 1832. Jones was an Ojibway chief who worked with Methodist officials to establish the Mount Elgin residential school in Munceytown, Ontario.

X2-25, Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library.

Egerton Ryerson. In 1837, Egerton Ryerson, the superintendent of schools for Upper Canada, prepared a report recommending the establishment of residential schools for Aboriginal children in what is now Ontario. He recommendation that students be instructed in "English language, arithmetic, elementary geometry, or knowledge of forms, geography and the elements of general history, natural history and agricultural chemistry, writing, drawing and vocal music, book-keeping (especially in reference to farmers' accounts), religion and morals."

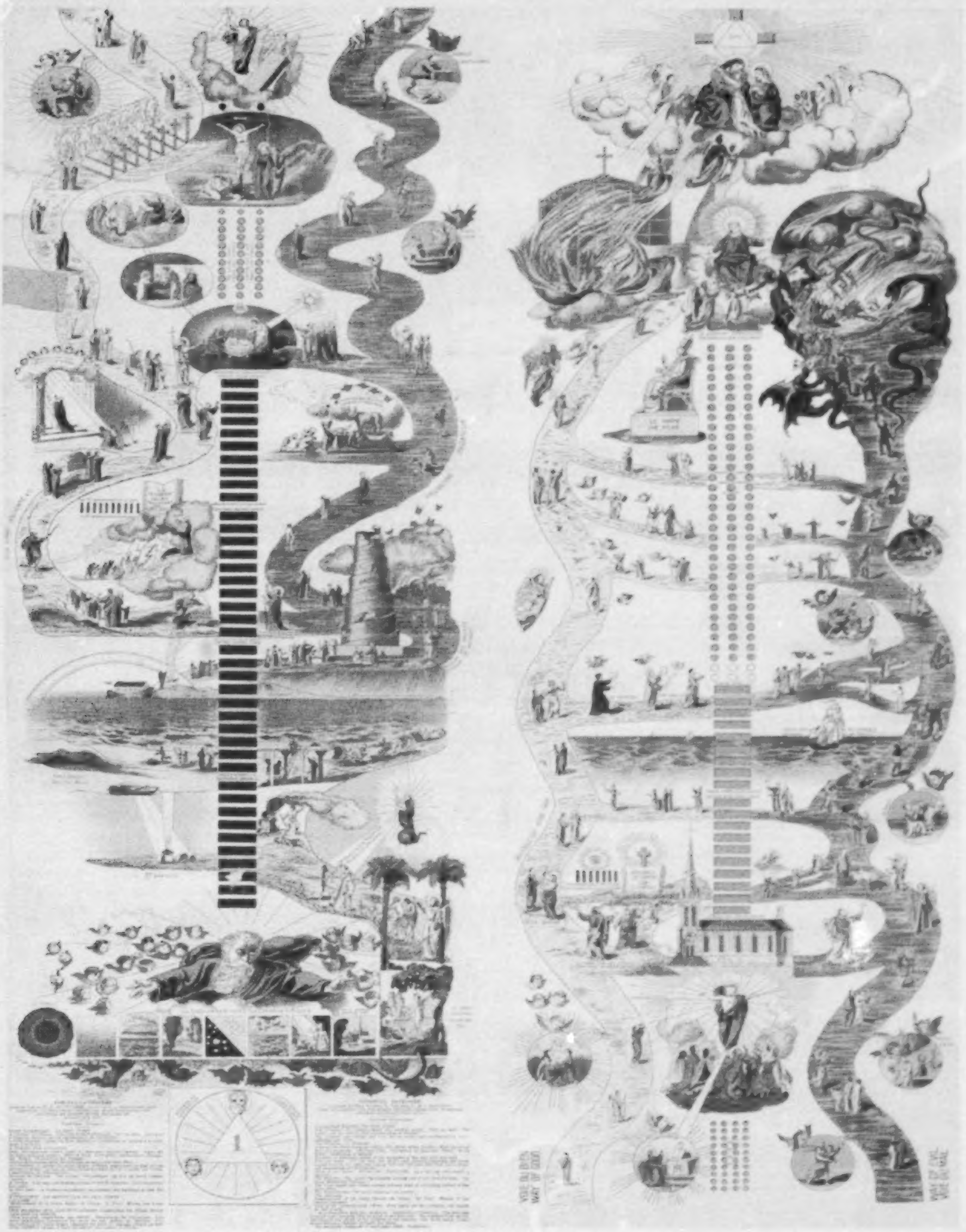
Library and Archives Canada, Peter Winkworth Collection of Canadiana, e010957333.

Sakacheweskam (Henry Budd) one of the first students at John West's boarding school at Red River.

Courtesy of the Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A4814.

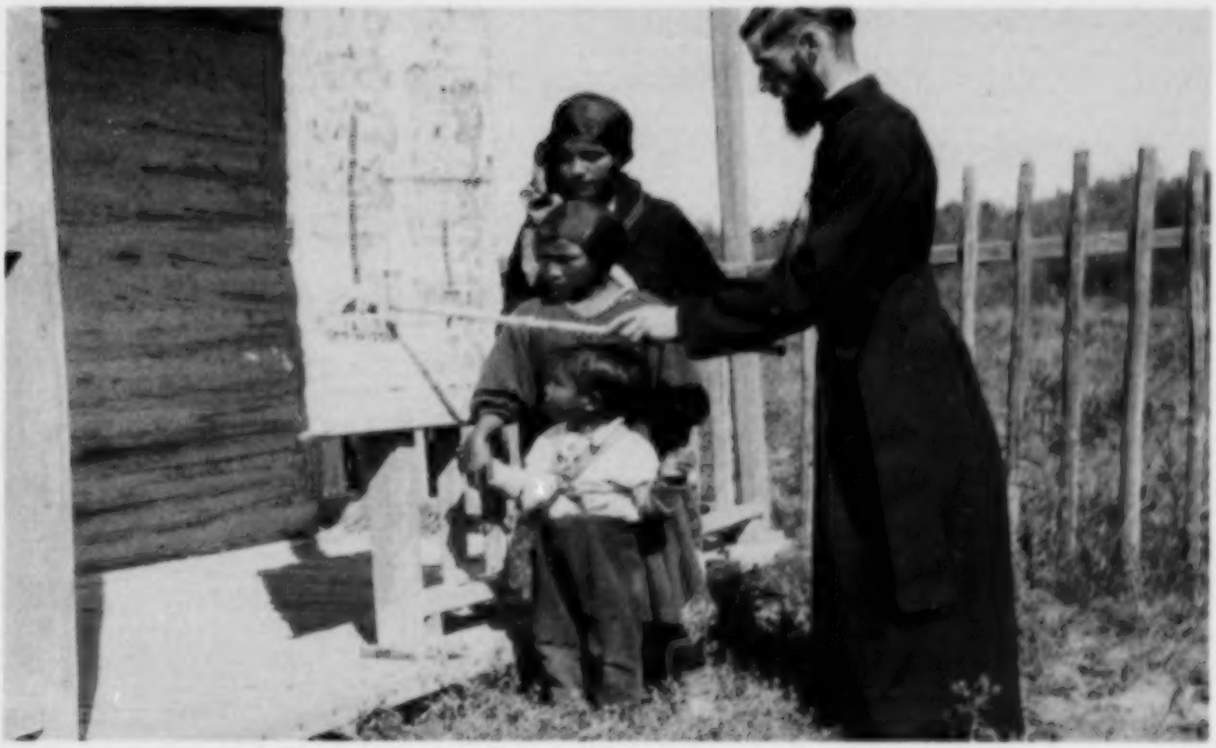
First Nations leaders and Methodist missionaries from Western Canada in Toronto in 1886. Left to right: Reverend John McDougall; Samson, Cree; Pakan, or James Seenum, Cree; Reverend R. B. Steinhauer; James Goodstoney, Stoney.

Glenbow Archives, NA-4216-33.

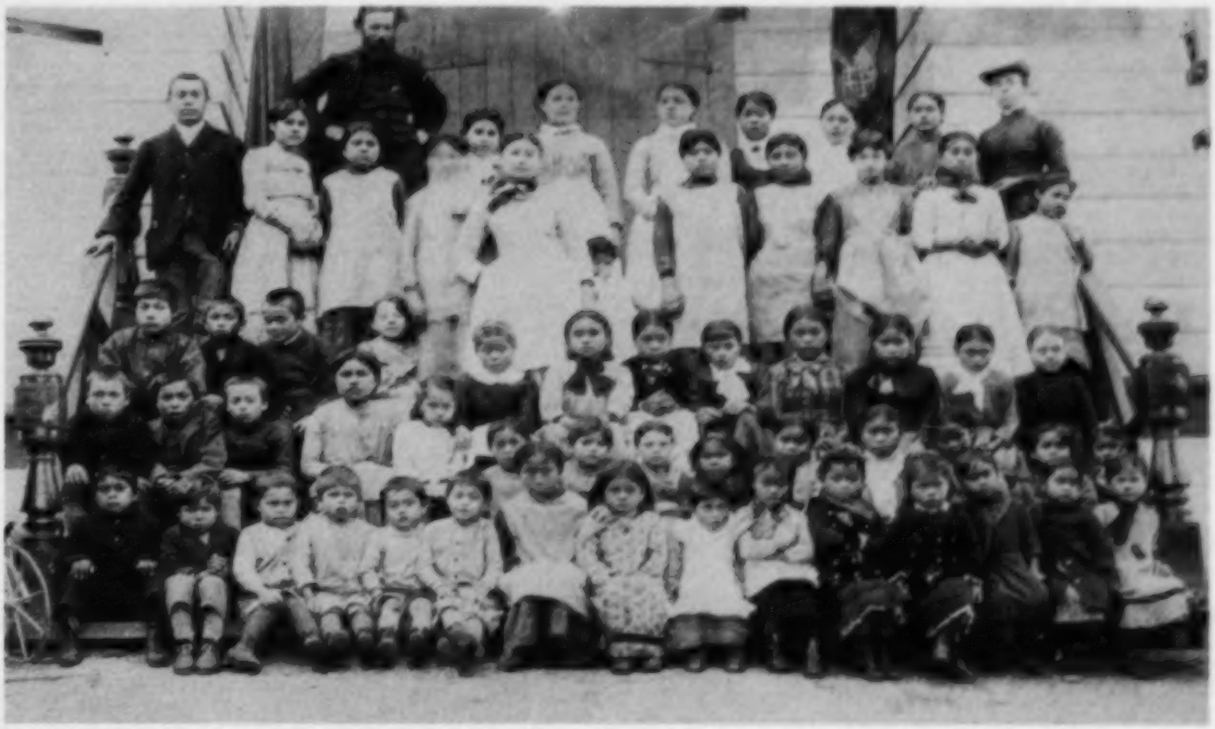


Father Lacombe's ladder.

Missionary Oblates, Grandin Archives at the Provincial Archives of Alberta, Accession PR1971.0442/100A.



Oblate missionary using Father Lacombe's Ladder to instruct Aboriginal children at Beauval, Saskatchewan.
Deschâtelets Archives/Archives Deschâtelets; Ottawa.



Staff and students at the Fort Simpson, British Columbia, school.
The United Church of Canada Archives, 93.049P142.

This "Sun Dance" ceremony was one of the Aboriginal spiritual practices outlawed by the federal government in the nineteenth century.
Library and Archives Canada, Trueman, C-[illegible].

Colonel Richard Henry Pratt, founder and superintendent of the Carlisle Indian Boarding School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Pratt favoured a policy of aggressive assimilation, saying "All the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man."
Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-26798.

The tuberculosis sanatorium at the Phoenix, Arizona, Indian boarding school

National Archives photo, no. [illegible]

Carlisle Indian School Band seated on steps of school building.

National Archives photo, no. [illegible]

Physical drill class at the Victoria Industrial School school at Mimico, Ontario.
Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library, [illegible]

A boy ploughing at Dr. Barnardo's farm in Russell, Manitoba, 1900.
Library and Archives Canada, PA-[illegible]

CHAPTER 4

Mission schools in the Canadian West: 1820–1880

In 1883, the Canadian government established a partnership with the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches to open three schools in western Canada. The establishment of these schools, known as "industrial schools," marked the creation of Canada's formal Indian residential school system. The system was built on the foundations established by Catholic and Protestant missionaries who saw it as their mission to 'civilize' and Christianize Aboriginal peoples.

Under that system, the federal role was to fund and regulate schools for Aboriginal children, operated by Christian churches. Although the system was meant to be a national one, most of the schools were located to the west and north of Lake Superior. Most of these schools were operated by the Roman Catholic Oblates of Mary Immaculate. Many of the residential schools were located at Oblate mission sites that had been established in the nineteenth century. Oblate missions at Île-à-la-Crosse, Fort Providence, Fort Chipewyan, St. Albert, Lac La Biche, Fort Resolution, McIntosh, Kenora, and Lebret were all forerunners to Catholic residential schools in those communities.[1] Also, the names of many of the nineteenth-century missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant—Bompas, Grandin, Grollier, Grouard, Breynat, and Lacombe—reappear in the twentieth century as the names of schools and residences. As these names suggest, the residential school system was, in large measure, the outgrowth of Canada's colonization of the Canadian West and the role that missionary organizations, particularly the Oblates and the Anglican Church Missionary Society, played in that process.

Red River origins

For most of its history, the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) ignored the provision in its charter that required it to promote the "moral and religious improvement of the Indians."[2] From the company's perspective, there was little to be gained from educating Aboriginal people or converting them to Christianity.[3] In 1822, Sir George Simpson, the company's North American governor, complained that a plan to expand

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John West and the Church Missionary Society

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church.[27] Henry Budd went on to become the first Aboriginal minister ordained in the Anglican Church in North America.[28] He established and ran a boarding school for Aboriginal children in The Pas, Manitoba, in the 1840s.[29] Another of West's students, Charles Pratt, served as a CMS-sponsored missionary to the Cree and Assiniboine, and was one of the interpreters during the negotiation of Treaty 4 in 1874.[30]

West's replacement as superintendent of the mission at Red River, David Jones, kept the school in operation until 1832. After a female student was discovered to be pregnant in that year, the male boarders were relocated to a new mission project that had begun farther downriver at St. Peter's parish.[31]

Under the direction of the CMS's Rev. William Cockran, the St. Peter's school placed a heavy emphasis on education and agriculture.[32] Cockran sought to improve what he viewed as the "immoral, capricious, intractable, indolent, callous, prideful, wayward, extravagant, ungracious, improvident and careless" ways of the Red River Settlement area.[33] The school at St. Peter's did not become part of the formal residential school system, and the reserve itself was relocated early in the twentieth century.

In 1833, a new school, the Red River Academy, was opened by Jones on CMS land for the children of the leading figures in the community. But, in the fall of 1835, in the space of two months, three students at the academy died of influenza.[34] After the death of his wife, Jones returned to England. A former teacher, John Macallum, purchased the academy for 350 pounds in 1837. Letitia Hargrave, the wife of an HBC trader, commented critically in a letter to friends on the change of diet and discipline that Macallum imposed on the students.

> Children who have had duck geese & venison 3 times a day are supposed to suffer from breakfasts of milk & water with dry bread, severe floggings, confinement after any fault & the total want of the following meal. The boys & girls are constantly fainting but MacCallum [sic] won't change his system. Many girls have got ill, and as he makes them strip off their Indian stockings & adopt English fashion it is not surprising. They must take a certain walk every day, plunging thro' the freezing snow. They wear Indian shoes, but without the cloth stockings or leggings over them the snow gets in.[35]

Macallum also refused to allow Aboriginal mothers who were not formally married to visit their children in the school.[36] In 1849, the Anglican Church bought the Red River Academy from Macallum, renaming it St. John's.[37] Under that name, the former mission school developed into an elite, private boarding school that continues in operation to the present day.

The Methodist initiative

After its experience with John West, the HBC did little to promote missionary work in the Northwest for another two decades. In St. Boniface, Manitoba, after his appointment in 1820, Bishop Provencher had constant trouble recruiting and keeping Catholic missionaries. Few stayed more than five years and they made little headway in their work with Aboriginal people.[57]

This all would change in 1840, when the Hudson's Bay Company accepted a proposal from the British Methodist Missionary Society to establish a series of northern missions in a territory that stretched from James Bay to the Rocky Mountains. The fur-trading company expected these northern missions would limit the southern migration of valuable Aboriginal trappers to communities such as Red River to pursue their interests in religion or education.[58] Church missions varied in size and scope: many of the early missions, like these Methodist initiatives, simply involved the placement of a missionary at a fur-trade post. Over time, they often expanded to include churches, hospitals, schools, orphanages, and convents. Missionaries might effectively declare their independence by locating the mission away from the local fur-trade post, and even engage in trade.

Three of the Methodist missionaries from the Missionary Society came directly from England, and a fourth, British-born James Evans, came from Ontario, where he had already carried out missionary work among the Ojibway at Rice Lake. As mission leader, Evans was stationed at the HBC post at Norway House, which served as the centre of the Methodist initiative. The other three worked out of HBC posts at Lac la Pluie, Moose Factory, and Edmonton House. Assisting them were two Ojibway missionaries-in-training, Peter Jacobs and Henry Steinhauer. The Methodists were paying the missionaries' salaries, and the HBC supplied them with food, accommodation, interpreters, and medicine. Given the level of support the company was providing, Simpson viewed the Methodists as little more than HBC employees, expecting them to consolidate support for the company among Aboriginal people. He did not take it kindly when the missionaries promoted views that undercut company interests.[59]

In his youth, Evans had trained in the grocery trade and had learned how to write in shorthand. In Ontario, he had used his knowledge of shorthand to develop a system of Ojibway syllabics, which he adapted to Cree at Norway House. The system could be learned quickly and was adopted by both Anglican and Roman Catholic missionaries, who spread its use throughout the North. Evans also sought to establish an Aboriginal Methodist community at Norway House. He promoted two Methodist values: sabbatarianism (refraining from work on Sunday), and independence (in this context, from reliance on the HBC). This brought him into conflict with the company, particularly when Aboriginal boatmen refused to work on Sundays, and other Aboriginal people began selling their furs to traders other than the Hudson's Bay Company.[60]

The Methodist initiative in the North prompted a Catholic response. After working as an itinerant missionary in the region for two years, in 1844, Father Jean-Baptiste Thibault established a mission at Lac Ste. Anne, near Edmonton.[42] Two years later, Evans set out westward in hopes of combatting the Catholic incursion. The expedition was cut short when Evans accidentally shot and killed his Aboriginal interpreter assistant, Thomas Hassall. (Hassall had been enrolled at the Red River school by West and educated by David Jones.[43])Upon his return to Norway House, Evans also had to face allegations of sexual impropriety regarding his involvement with orphaned Aboriginal girls who had been taken into his home. Evans was recalled to England and died in 1846 before the inquiry into the charges completed its work.[44] Two of the other Methodist missionaries also returned to England. A fourth, William Mason, remained in the West, but converted to the Church of England.

The HBC began to reduce its support for the Methodists. By 1846, it was barely tolerating them.[45] In 1854, the Canadian Conference of the Methodist Church took over responsibility for the Northwestern mission field, including overseeing the Rossville mission that had been established at Norway House, Manitoba. In the 1860s, the Canadian Conference established a mission at Whitefish Lake, Alberta, under Henry Steinhauer, who, along with George McDougall, was among the leading figures in the return of Methodism to this region. McDougall established a new mission at Fort Edmonton in 1871 and, with his son John, also established the Morleyville mission in 1873.[46] The Methodist residential school at Morley, Alberta, was an outgrowth of an orphanage the McDougalls opened in Morleyville.

The Oblate campaign

Missionary activity was often highly competitive. When one church sent a missionary into a new region, the others were sure to follow. The Hudson's Bay Company decision to provide Methodists with access to the Northwest, coupled with the Anglican appointment of Aboriginal catechist Henry Budd to The Pas, helped precipitate two of the most significant developments in the history of missionary work in the Canadian Northwest: the entry of the Sisters of Charity (the Grey Nuns) and the Oblates of Mary Immaculate into the western mission field. In 1841, Bishop Provencher asked Joseph Signay, the Archbishop of Québec, to send him some women who would serve as teachers. Provencher's educational expectations were modest: "Our inhabitants' daughters do not need an advanced education. Rather, our principal goal will be to teach them to live well and to become good mothers. This process will raise the country's civilization level in accordance with the times."[47]

The Sisters of Charity of Montréal had been founded in the eighteenth century by Marie-Marguerite Dufrost de Lajemmerais, the widow of François d'Youville, more commonly known as Marguerite d'Youville. After the death of her husband, she began sheltering destitute women in her home. In 1747, she, and a number of women working with her, was asked to take over the Montréal General Hospital. Their organization grew into the Sisters of Charity of the General Hospital, eventually becoming one of the largest Canadian Catholic teaching and nursing orders. Throughout their history, members of the order have been referred to as the "Grey Nuns."[48]

In 1844, four Grey Nuns arrived in Red River, led by Mother Marie-Louise Valade.[49] In the coming years, they would provide the teaching staff for many of the Roman Catholic boarding schools. At Red River, they operated a day school largely for Aboriginal children and, in the 1850s, they opened a boarding school. The hope was that the boarding school, which took in Métis students of both English and French ancestry, along with Ojibway and Sioux children, would foster future vocations in women from mixed-ancestry families.[50] Louis Riel's sister Sara attended the school and, upon completion of her education there, she commenced her three-year period of training to become a Grey Nun.[51]

The arrival of the Grey Nuns provided Provencher with a supply of teachers and nurses, but he remained short of missionaries. After being turned down by the Jesuits in 1843, he sought assistance from the Oblates of Mary Immaculate.[52] The order, not even thirty years old, was still run by its founder, Eugène de Mazenod, the Bishop of Marseille. Although their initial focus had been the poor of rural France, the Oblates were beginning to take on work in North America. In response to a request from Québec Bishop Ignace Bourget, four Oblates had been assigned to work in Québec in 1841.[53] Mazenod looked favourably on Provencher's 1843 request and, two years later, two Oblates, Pierre Aubert and Alexandre-Antonin Taché, completed the journey to Red River.[54] Over the next fifty-five years, 273 Oblates worked in the Northwest. Of them, 138 were from France, 19 from Germany, and 6 from Belgium. Most of the eighty-two Canadians came from Québec.[55] In four decades, the Oblates established a series of churches, convents, schools, hospitals, roads, sawmills, and farms that extended their reach west to the Pacific Ocean and north to the Arctic Circle. The predominance of the Oblates in the world of residential schooling in the twentieth century has its roots in this remarkable period of expansion in the 1800s.

The advance party for this missionary expedition, Taché and Aubert, spent their first winter at Red River studying the Ojibway language. In 1846, Taché travelled to Île-à-la-Crosse, where he studied Cree and Chipewyan and oversaw the construction of a mission, while Aubert was sent to what is now northwestern Ontario. Two other Oblates, Henri Faraud and Albert Lacombe, continued the Oblate expansion. Faraud went north, establishing the Nativity Mission at Fort Chipewyan (in what is now Alberta) in 1849 and the St. Joseph's Mission at Fort Resolution in 1856.[56] Lacombe went west, beginning his work in present-day Alberta in 1852.[57] From their various mission bases, the Oblates spread out along a circuit, visiting numerous trading posts throughout the Northwest.[58]

Some Oblates, such as twenty-four-year-old Faraud, were young, had limited theological training, and received what amounted to rapid promotions. When Taché raised concerns about the quality of the men being sent to him, Mazenod's response was that it was difficult to find people willing to submit to the difficult and, in his opinion, often terrifying life of a missionary in the Northwest.[59] Their numbers were so few and the territory they covered so vast that these early Oblates might go for more than a year at a time without seeing another priest.[60] Taché once went two years without seeing another Oblate, while Faraud once went at least two years without seeing another member of the clergy, noting that he could expect this state to continue for at least another year or two.[61]

The early missionaries had to build their own chapels and residences, maintain a garden, hunt, and fish, all the while attempting to learn an Aboriginal language and convert the local people to Christianity.[62] The missions were expected to be largely self-sufficient, but, in some cases, the climate was too hostile or the land too stony to allow the Oblates to produce enough to meet their needs while continuing their missionary work. Imported items were costly, and, in the case of the more remote missions, supplies had to be ordered three years in advance.[63] To transport goods to the missions, the Oblates were increasingly involved in the freighting business: cutting roads, digging canals, constructing carts and barges, and, eventually, purchasing steamboats.[64]

Anglican Bishop David Anderson wrote enviously of the Oblate missionaries' willingness to 'do without,' asking the Church Missionary Society to send him missionaries who would be willing to "be content to travel with a single box or at most a couple."[65] Letitia Hargrave said that the Protestants compared poorly to the Catholics, who, "be what they may elsewhere," were "exemplary" in Red River. "The Indians see them living perfectly alone & caring for nothing but converting them & and often they think more of such men than those who come with families & bully for every luxury & and complain of every appearance of neglect."[66]

The Oblates were under strict instructions to learn Aboriginal languages, and, in the course of this work, prepared their own grammars and dictionaries. While a number of the Oblates were gifted linguists, others struggled with Aboriginal languages throughout their long careers in the Northwest.[67] In their missionary work, the Oblates made successful use of a teaching tool that came to be known as "Father Lacombe's Ladder." Based on earlier illustrated timelines that set out humanity's pathway to heaven, Lacombe's version was novel in that it included a separate pathway to hell. As a sign that their cultural and spiritual ways were sinful, most of the Aboriginal people in the illustration were travelling this road. It was reproduced and used throughout the Northwest by the Oblates.[68]

The Oblate missions were ultimately run by the director and council of Oblates of Mary Immaculate, which was based in Marseille, France, until 1862, when it moved to Paris. Funding came from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and the Association of the Holy Childhood. The second fund was intended to support the baptism and education of pagan children. In some countries, such as China, the Oblates used the money to actually purchase unwanted children. In Canada, the Oblates paid parents to allow their children to attend boarding schools. For example, in the 1860s, in western Canada, the fund was reported to be supporting forty-two Aboriginal children in four Oblate schools and two orphanages. In 1863, Taché received 55,000 francs from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and 3,000 francs from the Association of the Holy Childhood, 6,000 in Mass stipends, and 8,500 in investment revenues. Of this, he spent 60,000 francs on northern mission work.[69]

As was the case with other missionaries, the Oblates and the Grey Nuns became increasingly convinced of the need to locate Aboriginal people in settled agricultural communities and to focus on the education and conversion of the younger generation.[70] The experience of running a day school for Aboriginal students in St. Francis Xavier, Manitoba, for example, led the Grey Nuns to conclude that students could not make significant progress because their parents often took them out of school to spend much of the year hunting. In 1871, Sister Charlebois wrote that, with financial support, the Grey Nuns could "gladly take the entire charge of these little ones, and by this means civilize and instruct them."[71] As early as 1851, Mazenod had instructed the Oblates to establish schools in the West that would prepare students for a European-style life. Schools presented a disciplined and controlled environment. In them, children could be taught to be Christians and weaned away from a lifestyle of migratory hunting.[72]

Anglican missionary work in the North

In 1838, Hudson's Bay Company factor James Leith died, leaving half his estate to be used to fund missionary work among Aboriginal people in the HBC territory. His will gave rise to a ten-year court case, so it was not until 1849 that funds were available to establish the Anglican diocese of Rupert's Land, with David Anderson appointed as the diocese's first bishop.[73] Anderson was able to substantially increase the amount of support that various missionary societies were providing to the diocese. The number of clergy increased to the point where the HBC's Sir George Simpson remarked contemptuously that Red River had more churchmen per capita than any other location in the British Empire. By 1864, the Church Missionary Society (CMS), the Colonial and Continental Church Society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospell in Foreign Parts were supporting twenty-two missionaries in Rupert's Land.[74]

As Simpson's comment suggests, the Anglican missionaries of the period were often far less venturesome than the Oblates. They were better paid, more conscious of their social status, and less likely to travel far from the security of the local Hudson's Bay post. The thirty-five missionaries the CMS sponsored in the Northwest from 1820 to 1870 have been described as being among the least promising of the society's trainees, with the more talented ones being sent to India. Once in the West, they tended to spend most of their time in Red River, where they aspired to membership in the local elite.[75]

The exceptions to this were in the North, where, in the 1850s, the CMS undertook two successful missions. John Horden, a young man who had been trained originally as a blacksmith before offering himself to the CMS as a missionary, was sent with little notice or preparation to Moose Factory in 1851. Adept at languages, Horden adapted James Evans's syllabics and used them with great success in the James Bay region. He also trained the Aboriginal minister Thomas Vincent, who was sent to Fort Albany to counter the Roman Catholic presence in that community. As a result of their work, many of the Cree of the James Bay area were converted to the Anglican faith and educated in English.[76] The other campaign was carried out in what is now the Northwest Territories and the Yukon and is discussed in Part Four of this volume of the report.

The missionary world

The overall goals of the Protestant and Catholic missionaries were similar: to 'civilize' Aboriginal people, meaning to have them learn English or French and adopt a settled European lifestyle, and, most essentially, to convert them to Christianity. There were similarities between the social origins and experiences of Church Missionary Society and Oblate missionaries. The Catholic and Protestant missionaries often came from working-class or small-business families, were educated by their missionary agencies or societies, and lived lives of self-denial.

The missionaries also shared a disdain for Aboriginal culture and a deep hostility towards each other. On occasion, both sentiments could be brought together in a single burst of prejudice, such as Anglican Archdeacon William Cockran's 1830 pronouncement: "These savages make good Roman Catholics; the priests sprinkle them with holy water and tell them they are safe; they hang a cross about their necks and tell them they are invulnerable. This symbolical deception suits their carnal minds, they go away satisfied with the lie which the mystery of iniquity had put into their right hand."[77] To John West, the First Nations people he encountered were "degraded and emaciated, wandering in ignorance."[78] Red River was, in his opinion, "a Heathen land, which Satan hath held bound, lo! not these 18 years or a century, but probably since the Creation of the world."[79] In the eyes of the Anglicans, Catholics were non-Christian purveyors of a superstition-laden set of ceremonies and beliefs. Medallions, holy water, celibacy, and papal authority were all signs of Catholic error and backwardness. To the Catholics, on the other hand, Anglicans were heretics who, if left unchecked, would lead Aboriginal people to damnation.[illegible] Most nineteenth-century missionaries attempted to learn Aboriginal languages and, making use of Evans's syllabic system, often translated prayers, hymns, and scripture into a variety of Aboriginal languages. This did not necessarily reflect a respect for Aboriginal culture. Rather, knowledge of the language served as a tool for undermining the culture.

The Oblates saw the Northwest as the Devil's playground into which they had come to do battle with Protestantism, liberalism, secularism, and paganism.[illegible] Of the Cree, Catholic Bishop Laflèche wrote,

> I think it no exaggeration to say that in them we find the very lowest type of humanity. Their degradation and wickedness is the result of their mode of life. They are mostly in large camps of sixty or eighty, or more, wigwams. They lead an idle and wandering life, following the buffalo, which supplies them abundantly with food and clothing. After seeing the disgusting lives of those savages, one easily concludes that work is a blessing, if also a penance, for fallen man.[illegible]

Writing from the Arctic in frustration, Oblate Father Grollier concluded in 1860 that Indians were a hopeless people, impossible to convert, and that "I believe that an Englishman and a savage are perfectly identical."[illegible] The Catholics claimed that Anglican success in the Yukon was due to their liberality with tobacco, and further disparaged their missionaries, Kirkby and McDonald, because one was a former stable boy and the other a former brewer.[illegible] Other Oblates taught that Protestantism was invented by perverse men, and accused a Protestant minister's interpreter of paying people $15 apiece to be baptized.[illegible]

Often, their allegations mirrored one another: Father Lacombe lamented that the Methodists were burned with the "fanaticism of Wesleyanism,"[illegible] while Methodist George McDougall wrote in 1870 that "the man of sin"—a common Protestant term for the Pope—"is powerfully represented in this country. There are five priests to one Protestant missionary; they are anti-British in their national sympathies; and if we may judge the tree by its fruits, anti-Christian in their teachings." They were, he had to admit, untiring in their efforts to make converts.[illegible] Oblates even accused Bompas of telling Aboriginal people that Catholics were god killers, pointing to the crucifixes that they wore as evidence.[illegible]

Both accused the other group of bribing people to convert, referring to each other's converts as "tobacco Christians."[illegible] In 1862, Bishop Vital Grandin commented that an Anglican missionary at Fort Simpson had won converts through gifts: in his words, the converts "had sold their souls for some sugar and tea."[illegible] The Methodist William Mason claimed that the Roman Catholic missionary near Rainy Lake was enjoying success largely because he came "loaded with Pemmican, Tongues, Flour and Tobacco which he gives to the Indians."[illegible]

Religious rivalry was coupled with ethnic distrust. To the French Catholics, the English Anglicans were seeking to impose Anglo conformity; to the Anglicans, the Catholics were the agents of a foreign power.[illegible] Bompas held that if the North was not put under the authority of a Protestant government, it might fall "entirely under the influence of the Jesuits [who were not even active in the region], and become a hotbed of rebellion, with British interests completely forfeited."[illegible] These tensions based on religious denomination and national origin continued well into the twentieth century and played a significant role in shaping and directing the history of residential schooling in Canada.

Abuse and allegations of abuse

Each of the denominations had to deal with both alleged and actual sexual misbehaviour involving missionaries and young people in their care. Methodist minister James Evans was obliged to leave Norway House in the wake of allegations that there had been improper relations between himself and young women boarding at his house. One of the Oblate missionaries to the Far North, Émile Petitot, became involved in sexual relationships with adolescent First Nation boys. Although he was disciplined for this behaviour, he continued, both as a missionary and with his sexual activities, for nearly a decade.[illegible] In reaction to the projected Catholic school at Fort Providence, Anglican priest William Bompas constructed a school and orphanage on Great Bear Lake in 1865. The school closed in 1868 after the teacher, Murdo McLeod, was charged with sexually abusing two of his students.[illegible]

Roman Catholic boarding schools

By 1870, just three years after Confederation, the Oblates already were running fourteen day and boarding schools in the Prairie West, most of which were for Aboriginal students.[illegible] This far surpassed the Anglican or Methodist educational undertakings, which were limited largely to the establishment of day schools. Bishop Taché had concluded by 1858 that schools should be added to the Oblate missions.[illegible] By 1863, the Oblates and Grey Nuns were running boarding schools in Île-à-la-Crosse, Lac La Biche, and St. Albert.[illegible]

The creation of an informal partnership between the Oblates and Grey Nuns in the Northwest marked a turning point in the Catholic missionary endeavour.[illegible] The Grey Nuns were central to this. The Oblates had been trained to evangelize and convert, not to be educators. At some of their missions, they provided instruction in reading and writing, either in an Aboriginal language using syllabics, or in French, but this was intended to assist in the conversion process.[illegible] Although most of the Grey Nuns were not qualified teachers, they were expected to take over teaching responsibilities. Indeed, there were few trained teachers in Canada at that time. The Toronto Normal School, for example, had opened only in 1847.[illegible]

The Oblates were required to limit their contacts with women strictly, which meant they were not supposed to teach female students. Therefore, the Oblate schools had to operate in partnership with a female order. The Oblates built the schools, obtained funding, and assisted with their maintenance, but turned much of the educational work over to the Grey Nuns.[illegible] Once the schools were established, relations between the Oblates and the Grey Nuns were carefully regulated. They were not to speak to each other without supervision, and there were concerns about the conditions under which Oblates could have contact with the sisters. Oblate school supervisors had to give advance notice of visits to classrooms, allowing the mother superior to accompany him if necessary, and were to keep all visits as short as possible.[illegible]

There were three overriding goals for the schools the Oblates and Grey Nuns operated together: to provide children with a Catholic education, to provide an alternative to any schools operated by the Anglicans, and to provide a very limited secular education.[illegible] Religious instruction took the form of ethics, catechism, music, services, and devotions. The hope was that with such an education, the student would not stray from the church after leaving school.[illegible]

Life in the schools was often precarious. In 1873, a decline in the fish harvest forced the nuns at the Île-à-la-Crosse school to ask parents to take their children back home, since the school could not feed them. Initially, the school matron slept on a pallet in the classroom, the female students slept on the floor, and the male students slept in the Oblate residence.[illegible]

These early mission boarding schools never recruited more than a small percentage of the number of school-aged children in the region. Those who did attend usually left after four or five years. Orphans were the ones most likely to stay for the longest periods.[illegible] By 1888, the number of orphaned Aboriginal students at the school exceeded the number of children of [illegible] employees.[illegible] By 1873, at Île-à-la-Crosse, there were twenty-six students in their boarding school, along with five orphans who were being cared for by the Grey Nuns.[illegible]

Religious instruction, which loomed large in the Oblate educational agenda, was often in an Aboriginal language. Other classes might as easily be in French as in English, since most of the Oblates and Grey Nuns were French speakers and were committed to the creation of a French-speaking Catholic identity in the Canadian West.[illegible] At Fort Chipewyan, for example, French was the language of instruction until the 1890s.[illegible] Sara Riel, by then a Grey Nun, created a crisis at Île-à-la-Crosse when she sought to introduce English as a language of instruction. The French-speaking Métis parents objected and, in 1872, the English lessons were temporarily dropped.

In 1873 a federal government Order-in-Council authorized a federal subsidy of $300 a year for the Oblate school at St. Albert. The following year, the government authorized similar payments to other schools for First Nations children, provided they had a minimum of twenty-five students. By 1878, [illegible] Oblate schools—St. Albert, Lac La Biche, and Île à la Crosse—were receiving such support.

Bishop Vital Grandin of St. Albert played an important role in shaping the Oblates' educational thinking. He was convinced that Aboriginal people faced extinction, and doubted that adult hunters and trappers could be transformed successfully into farmers. He pinned his hopes for the future of Aboriginal people on the education and conversion of children. He proposed boarding schools at which children would spend much of their time outdoors, either at work or play, and would be converted to Christianity, fed local food, and provided with practical skills. Children who went through such an education at a mission school, he felt, would not be able to return to a life on the land. He boasted that the orphans educated at mission schools learned to be ashamed of their Aboriginal ancestry. With ten such schools, he claimed, he would be able to redeem the Aboriginal race on the Prairies. He further believed that parents, aware of the future they faced, would willingly give their children over to the Oblates at a young age. By 1879, he had begun to lobby the federal government to provide funding for church-run schools that would educate Aboriginal children from the ages of five to twenty-one. He estimated the annual cost of boarding each of these students to be $80 a year, of which the federal government would pay half until the student turned eleven. From that point on, the federal government would pay only $30 and put the rest into a trust account for the student, who would have access to it upon graduation. Grandin took his case directly to Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald, saying that the Oblate success with schooling had been so great that, upon graduating, students so wished to live as Europeans that they refused to accept any grants intended for Aboriginal people.

The federal government was increasingly receptive to Grandin's proposals. In 1870, Rupert's Land had been transferred to Canada. By 1877, missionaries had demonstrated their value to the Canadian state by assisting in the negotiation of seven Treaties with western First Nations. Canada's Aboriginal policy, expressed in the 1876 Indian Act, was one of aggressive assimilation of Aboriginal peoples. An 1879 report prepared for the federal government on residential schooling recommended the creation of a network of industrial schools, to be established by the federal government and run by the churches.

West coast missions

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While the Roman Catholic Church remained the dominant Christian denomination on the west coast, both the Anglicans and Methodists carried out high-profile missionary campaigns during this period. They too sought to establish missionary-governed Christian communities that would separate Aboriginal people from the broader community.

In 1857, William Duncan, a recent graduate of the CMS's Highbury Training College, arrived at the HBC post at the northern coastal community of Fort Simpson (now Port Simpson), where he evangelized among members of the Tsimshian First Nation.[illegible] By 1859, there were 200 students in the school he had established. Religion was central to his curriculum. In his journal, he wrote, "I spoke to them in the morning about what God expects from us, being our maker, which is point No. 1 in my course of oral lessons."[illegible]

Duncan and 400 Tsimshian converts sought to isolate themselves from what they saw as the corrupting influences of the European settlers and non-Christian First Nations people by moving to the former Tsimshian village of Metlakatla (alternately Metlakahtla). They made the move in 1862, establishing what Duncan (who had learned to speak Tsimshian by then) hoped would serve as a model Christian village.[illegible] Life at Metlakatla was not dissimilar to that under the Durieu System: traditional ceremonies, gambling, alcohol, and work on Sunday were banned, and school attendance was compulsory.[illegible] A sawmill was built with the profits from the community store. Lumber from that mill was used to build houses, a church that could seat over 1,000 people, a day school, and a home for students.[illegible] Beginning in 1878, the federal government provided funds to the school, which reportedly had 300 students, 100 of whom were adults.[illegible]

Duncan exercised considerable power over both students and community members in general. In his journal, he recorded how "last night I had to chastise Susan for inattention and gave all a very severe lecture on their careless, dirty and lazy habits—I had Margaret in prison (the cupboard under the stairs) two days and nights for pilfering and also added a severe beating."[illegible] As magistrate, he commanded a force of uniformed Aboriginal constables. He did not flinch from imposing harsh punishment on those who violated the community's laws: people could be jailed, exiled, or flogged.[illegible]

For many years, Duncan's work at Metlakatla was held up as an example of missionary accomplishment. The 1878 *Indian Affairs* annual report described him as "a man whose earnest labours on behalf of the Indians of British Columbia are above all praise."[illegible] However, he eventually came into conflict with both church and government officials. When Duncan refused to accept the authority of the CMS, he was dismissed. In response, he and 800 Tsimshian people left for Alaska, where they established a community that came to be known as "New Metlakatla."[illegible]

Thomas Crosby, who was born in England and raised in Ontario, came to British Columbia as a lay Methodist missionary in 1862. Four years later, he became an itinerant preacher, working on the east coast of Vancouver Island.[168] In 1874, he arrived in Fort Simpson, which would be the seat of his activities for the next twenty-three years.[169] Crosby learned Aboriginal languages, attended ceremonies and feasts, and paid close attention to Aboriginal orators and storytellers. He had regard for what he saw as being the generosity of Aboriginal people, their natural piety, and their musical ability. But he viewed their spiritual and cultural practices as the devil's creation. He wished to bring about a complete transformation in their lives: Aboriginal people not only had to come to Christ, they also had to be taught to attend school or work regularly, abandon communal homes for single-family dwellings, and take up farming.[170] There was little in Aboriginal life that pleased him. He wrote, "Their old houses and their surroundings were wretchedly filthy and disorderly, and little calculated to help them in their efforts to rise."[171]

He too sought to establish a church-run government for the First Nations people of Fort Simpson. Under his leadership, a village council at Fort Simpson was formed. The council appointed watchmen to enforce laws on the observance of the Sabbath, drinking, marriage, schooling, and domestic disputes. With a new religion came new names. By the 1880s, most members of the Methodist Church in Fort Simpson had European names.[172]

Crosby was greatly aided in his work by his wife, Emma. The Crosbys initially took young girls, some of whom were orphans, into their home to raise.[173] This undertaking expanded to the point where, in 1879, the Crosby Girls' Home opened.[174] Emma Crosby's fundraising efforts on behalf of this work contributed to the establishment of the Methodist Women's Missionary Society.[175] Strict routine and regimentation were imposed by staff at the Crosby Girls' Home.[176] One of the matrons felt that frequent punishment was "the only way to make them mind."[177] Two girls who ran away in 1883 were locked up in the workroom for nearly a week.[178] By the late 1880s, Crosby's influence over the Tsimshian had gone into decline, as dissatisfaction with the church's ability to protect Aboriginal land rights led to a split in the church and the emergence of an Aboriginal-led church society known as the "Band of Christian Workers."[179]

Both Duncan and Crosby came into conflict with the federal government over Aboriginal issues. Duncan argued that the *Indian Act*, which he viewed as restrictive, should not apply to the Tsimshian of Metlakatla, while Crosby advocated on behalf of Aboriginal land rights. At one point, Indian agent J. W. MacKay recommended that restraints be placed on missionaries such as Duncan and Crosby, whom he saw as being the instigators behind Aboriginal land claims.[180] Their efforts on behalf of Aboriginal rights did not succeed, and the model communities they sought to establish did not take root. Those communities did, however, serve as models for residential schools. In coming years, an industrial school would be established at Metlakatla, and the Crosby Home was incorporated into Canada's residential school system.

A legacy of division

Throughout the Northwest and British Columbia, Christian missionaries, and the Oblate order in particular, were strategically placed to seize the initiative when, in the 1880s, the federal government began to implement the 1879 proposal to establish industrial schools in western Canada. The schools that were established in the following decades were in large measure extensions of the early mission schools: they were intended to separate children from their families, impose new spiritual beliefs and practices, provide a very limited academic education, instill a sense of the moral value of work, and prepare students to take up farming as opposed to returning to the lifestyles of their parents.

The intense conflict between Protestants and Catholics carried over into the residential school era. It fostered a patchwork distribution of schools, which left some areas with no schools while, in others, Roman Catholic and Protestant schools were located a few kilometres from one another. This competition not only led to duplication, but it also created deep and long-lasting divisions within First Nations communities.

CHAPTER 7

Confederation, colonization, and resistance

In 1867, the British parliament adopted the *British North America Act*. It combined Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and the Province of Canada (made up of portions of what are now Ontario and Québec) into a new political entity: the Dominion of Canada. Not quite colony, not quite independent state, Canada was an imperial creation and remained part of the British Empire, which meant that London, not Ottawa, would set foreign policy, at least in the nation's early years. The confederation of the British North American colonies came about in response to a series of pressures and opportunities, including

- the desire to expand intercolonial trade;
- the need to improve defence because Britain's unwillingness to officially support the victorious Union side in the American Civil War had increased border tensions and threatened trade with the US; and
- the potential to capitalize on economic opportunities in what were then Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) lands to the west.

Much of the pressure came from England. The British Colonial Office wanted to rid itself of the costs associated with settler colonies such as Canada. Granting or cajoling them into independence would reduce those costs, while ensuring that the colonies remained open to investments of British capital. At the same time, British and central Canadian politicians and investors had a real interest in the creation of a transcontinental state, through the acquisition of Rupert's Land from the Hudson's Bay Company and by luring British Columbia into Confederation with the promise of a continental rail link.

The acquired lands would be populated with settlers from Europe and Upper Canada, who would buy goods produced in central Canada, and would ship their harvests by rail to western and eastern ports and on to international markets, and so provide the country with export earnings. Failure to act quickly was risky: the rapidly expanding United States might well claim the territory first as part of its own so-called manifest destiny, depriving the empire of a transcontinental rail link, assured supplies of coal, strategic harbours, and a secure food supply.

Colonial enthusiasm for such a union rose and fell. In 1864, the British-appointed governors of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island managed to persuade the political leaders of each of their colonies to meet in Charlottetown to discuss a less ambitious Maritime Union. They were joined by the leadership of the Province of Canada, which presented a proposal for a federation of all the British North American colonies, with the eventual goal of westward expansion. This proposal would bring about a break in the political deadlock that had plagued the Province of Canada since 1841, when French-speaking, largely Catholic, Lower Canada and English-speaking, largely Protestant, Upper Canada had been joined in a single colony. It would also create an economically sound and politically stable state that would attract the sort of investment required for the further exploitation of the Canadian Northwest. The proposal met with support and formed the basis of the Confederation that soon followed.[1]

The new dominion lost no time in beginning its westward expansion. The parliament was elected in August 1867, and, in December, it adopted a measure calling on Britain to unite the Hudson's Bay Company territory with Canada.[2] Colonizing the "North-West"—as this territory came to be known—meant colonizing the over 40,000 Indigenous people who lived there.[3] There were three central elements to the Canadian government's colonial policy: the *Indian Act*, the Department of Indian Affairs, and the Treaties it negotiated with First Nations in western and northern Canada. This chapter outlines the development of the *Indian Act* and the Indian Affairs department, and then describes the Aboriginal response to Canada's colonization of the North-West. That response led to the eventual creation of the Province of Manitoba, the negotiation of the Treaties, and a Canadian military intervention that served as the first measure in a sustained policy of social and economic regimentation and marginalization of Aboriginal people.

The *Indian Act*

Federal government responsibility for "Indians and lands reserved for Indians" came from Section 91 (24) of the *British North America Act* (now the *Constitution Act of 1867)*. In Parliament, Canada's first prime minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, described the government's responsibility to Indians as one of "guardianship as of persons underage, incapable of the management of their own affairs."[4] This official attitude demonstrates the backward steps taken in Aboriginal policy since the days when First Nations were seen as respected and important allies whose support was to be sought and maintained.

Even though the legislation referred to as the "*Indian Act*" was not adopted until 1876, the Canadian parliament began regulating the lives of Aboriginal people shortly after Confederation. In 1868, the government adopted the *Act to provide for* *the organization of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada and for the Administration of the Affairs of the Indians*. This law essentially incorporated much of the previous Province of Canada's legislation regarding Indian people, applying it to the country as a whole. This practice of adopting pre-Confederation approaches was continued in 1869, when Parliament adopted *An Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians*.[5] This Act gave Canada the authority to

- issue location titles or tickets for tracts of reserve land (These tickets associated individuals with specific tracts of land. This was the first step to private ownership of land and the dissolution of the reserves.);
- establish elected band councils (whose bylaws had to be approved by the federal government);
- remove from office those band councillors believed to be unfit for reasons of dishonesty, intemperance, or immorality;
- grant to any Indian who "appears to be a safe and suitable person for becoming a proprietor of land" a "life estate in the land which has been or may be allotted to him within the Reserve belonging to the tribe band or body of which he is a member"; and
- require an Indian woman who married "any other than an Indian" to "cease to be an Indian within the meaning of this Act." Furthermore, the children of such marriage would not "be considered as Indians within the meaning of this Act."

Writing about these two Acts in 1870, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs William Spragge made it clear that the purpose of the legislation was to undermine First Nations' self-government and foster assimilation.

> The Acts framed in the years 1868 and 1869, relating to Indian affairs, were designed to lead the Indian people by degrees to mingle with the white race in the ordinary avocations of life. It was intended to afford facilities for electing, for a limited period, members of bands to manage, as a Council, local matters; that intelligent and educated men, recognized as chiefs, should carry out the wishes of the male members of mature years in each band, who should be fairly represented in the conduct of their internal affairs.
>
> Thus establishing a responsible, for an irresponsible system, this provision, by law, was designed to pave the way to the establishment of simple municipal institutions.[6]

When it was adopted in 1876, the *Indian Act* (formally *An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians*)[7] brought together all the laws dealing with Indians into a single piece of legislation. It contained the following key provisions.

It defined Indians: An Indian was a male of Indian blood belonging to a tribe. His wife and children were also Indians. Indian women lost their status as Indians under the Act if they married a non-Indian. Furthermore, her children by such a marriage would not have status. This discriminatory provision ignored traditional Aboriginal marriage practices and was to have a long-lasting disruptive impact on Aboriginal families and communities.

It defined Indian bands: A band was defined legally as a body of Indians holding land or a reserve in common "of which the legal title is vested in the Crown," or for whom funds were held in trust.

It regulated the sale of Indian lands: Reserve lands were held in trust by the Crown and could not be mortgaged or seized for debts. This land could be surrendered only to the Crown and only if a majority of male adult band members approved of the surrender at a special meeting. Each surrender required the approval of the minister. As a disincentive for the band to surrender land for immediate gain, no more than 10% of the sale money was paid directly to the band and the rest was held in trust.

It defined acceptable forms of band government: Despite the fact that Aboriginal people governed themselves in a wide variety of ways across the country, the *Indian Act* sought to establish a system of an elected chief and council on reserves. Although hereditary chiefs (or "life chiefs," as the Act described them) living at the time of the Act could hold their position until death or resignation, the minister could dismiss the band council or councillors for dishonesty, intemperance, immorality, or incompetency. Much like municipalities, band councils were given responsibility for roads, bridges, schools, public buildings, granting of lots, and suppression of vice on reserves.

It placed limitations on Indian people: For example, they could not acquire homesteads in Manitoba or the North-West Territories.

It sought enfranchisement as an ultimate goal: Under the Act, a band member seeking enfranchisement had to have band approval and been granted an allotment of land from his or her band. The individual would also have to convince Indian Affairs of his or her "integrity, morality and sobriety." At the end of a three-year probationary period, such a person would (if their conduct were judged to be satisfactory) receive reserve land. Also, a band member who earned a university degree, qualified as a doctor or lawyer, teacher, or was ordained as a Christian priest, was to be enfranchised.

Enfranchisement did not, in itself, grant an entitlement to vote, which, during much of this period, was subject to provincial regulation. Rather, it removed all distinctions between the legal rights and liabilities of Indians and those of other British subjects, as Canadians were still British subjects. In applying for enfranchisement, an Indian had to abandon reserve and Treaty rights. He would then receive an allotment of reserve lands, which would be subject to assessment and taxation.

If this policy were successful, the federal government would gradually eliminate its obligations to individual Indians as well as its Treaty obligations. It directly impacted the reserves, since it was meant to break them up. It affected the Treaties, because if there were no status Indians, there were no more Treaty obligations. The policy was never popular with First Nations peoples. Between 1857 and 1920, other than women who lost their Indian status upon marriage, only 250 "Indians" were enfranchised.[8]

The 1876 *Indian Act* made little reference to education, other than giving band councils responsibility for building and maintaining schoolhouses. A provision added in 1880 required that the teacher be of the same religion as a majority of the band members, provided that the minority (be they Catholic or Protestant) have a separate school.[9]

Politicians justified the *Indian Act* as a necessary instrument for protecting First Nations people from exploitation while civilizing them, but, in reality, it was a tool for the autocratic administration of their lives. In the coming years, the *Act* was regularly amended to further strengthen the government's ability to control Indian people. For example, in the years prior to 1886, the *Act* was amended to:

- give the minister of Indian Affairs the power to replace traditional leadership with elected councils (If a traditionally selected leadership was replaced in this way by an elected council, the elected council was to serve as the official representative of the band.) (1880);[10]
- allow for the denial of band membership to children born out of wedlock (1880);[11]
- allow the minister to ban anyone deposed from office from seeking re-election for a period of three years (1880);[12]
- authorize Indian agents as justices of the peace (1881);[13]
- make it a crime to induce "three or more Indians, non-treaty Indians, or half-breeds apparently acting in concert,
  - To make any request or demand of any agent or servant of the Government in a riotous, routous, disorderly or threatening manner, or in a manner calculated to cause a breach of the peace; or—
  - To do an act calculated to cause a breach of the peace." (1884);[14]
- give the minister the power to outlaw the sale or gifting of certain kinds of ammunition to Indians in Manitoba and the North-West Territories (1884);[15]
- make it illegal to participate in traditional West Coast First Nations ceremonies (the Potlatch ceremony and Tamanawas dance) (1884);[16]
- allow the minister to enfranchise a man without band approval (1884);[17]
- allow the Department of Indian Affairs to prohibit or regulate the sale (or any other form of exchange) by any Indian or Indian band of grain and root crops and other produce grown on reserves in western Canada (1881);[18]

- make the game laws of Manitoba and the Territories applicable to Indians (1890);
- give the minister increasing authority to lease lands without band consent (1884, 1891, 1898);
- forbid ceremonies that included the giving away of "money, goods or articles" or "the wounding or mutilation of the dead or living body of any human being or animal" (1895); and
- increase the minister's ability to spend band funds without band approval (1898).

In short, the *Indian Act* sought to place First Nations individuals and communities, their lands, and their finances under federal government control. Real authority on a reserve rested not with the elected band chiefs and councils, whose powers were already limited and who could be dismissed by the government, but with the federally appointed Indian agents. From its beginning in 1876, the *Act*, in effect, made Indians wards of the state, unable to vote in provincial or federal elections or enter the professions if they did not surrender their status, and severely limited their freedom to participate in spiritual and cultural practices. It restricted how they could sell the produce from their farms and prevented them from taking on debt without either government approval or the surrender of their legal status as Indians. Rather than protecting Indian land, the *Act* became the instrument through which reserves were drastically reduced in size or relocated.

The *Indian Act* remained the dominant piece of Aboriginal legislation in Canada, but other key pieces of legislation that had implications for Aboriginal people were adopted in the nineteenth century. The *Electoral Franchise Act* of 1885, for example, gave the vote to adult male Indians over the age of twenty-one, living in eastern Canada, who possessed improved land on reserves. Prior to the adoption of this *Act*, federal voting rights were established by provincial laws, which meant that Indians who met property qualifications were allowed to vote in some provinces but not in others. When the federal *Act* was repealed in 1898, provincial governments were once more given the right to determine who could vote in federal elections. They used this power to deny or restrict the voting rights of First Nations people. It would not be until 1960 that First Nations people received the unqualified right to vote in federal elections in Canada.

Department of Indian Affairs

The Department of Indian Affairs developed out of what had come to be known as the pre-Confederation Indian Branch of the government of the Province of Canada (Ontario and Quebec). That branch, which could trace its history back to Sir William

Johnson's Indian Department, had become the Crown Lands Department in 1860.[illegible] After Confederation, the branch's responsibilities were extended to the Maritimes.[illegible] It was initially part of the Department of the Secretary of State, which was responsible for relations with Britain as well as the civil service and the North-West Mounted Police. In 1873, the Indian Branch was transferred to the Department of the Interior. The other two branches in the department were the Dominion Lands Branch and the Geological Survey of Canada. The Department of the Interior also had responsibility for the North-West Territories (which included most of what are now Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, the Northwest Territories, the Yukon, and Nunavut).[illegible]

From this point on, the minister responsible for administering Aboriginal peoples and their lands was also responsible for recruiting settlers and acquiring land—Aboriginal land—on which immigrants could settle. To do this, the Department of the Interior would continue with policies that had been established in the pre-Confederation period: it would gain access to the land through Treaties, isolate Aboriginal people on reserves and in residential schools, impose alien political control through legislation, and work towards assimilation, so as to be rid of any political or economic obligation to Aboriginal peoples.

It was not until 1880 that an amendment to the Indian Act created a separate Department of Indian Affairs. Yet, the link with the Department of the Interior continued, as it became customary to place both departments under the responsibility of the same minister. In keeping with pre-Confederation practice, the Minister of Indian Affairs was officially referred to as the "Superintendent General of Indian Affairs" until 1936. To facilitate its work, Indian Affairs divided the nation up into "superintendencies," each with its own superintendent who oversaw the work of up to five Indian agents. Superintendencies were large: in the 1870s, there were only two for all of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, and two for all of British Columbia. In western Canada, a full-time Indian commissioner[illegible] provided direction to the department's work in the region from [illegible] to [illegible] (the position was temporarily abolished from [illegible] to [illegible]).[illegible]

Decision making was highly centralized. From 1874 to 1893, Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs Lawrence Vankoughnet controlled the day-to-day operations of the department. (For reasons of clarity and consistency, this report refers to the position as "Minister of Indian Affairs" rather than "Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.") Having started as a clerk with the Crown Lands department in 1861, Vankoughnet was familiar with departmental policy, and benefited from a long-standing friendship with Sir John A. Macdonald, but he had little direct experience with Aboriginal people. His driving concerns were to maintain personal control over the workings of the department and to limit expenses. This policy would frustrate staff in the field, who were unable to respond quickly to developing situations.[illegible] For Aboriginal people who were facing starvation due to often lethal epidemics and to the collapse of their traditional economy, the government's delay and focus on controlling costs could have tragic consequences.

Although the department's senior field staff often clashed with their masters in Ottawa, their attitudes towards Aboriginal people bore all the hallmarks of colonialism. Indian Commissioner Joseph Provencher was dismissed in 1878 after an inquiry that concluded that he had neglected his duties, provided poor-quality goods to Indians, and sought to use his position to enrich himself. Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney referred to the 1,000 or so who were attempting to establish reserves in the Cypress Hills as "a large number of worthless and lazy Indians, the remnants of malcontents and rebellious Indians from all the bands in the Territories." Removing them from the Cypress Hills and "scattering them through the country" would be, in his opinion, "a solution of one of our main difficulties." Hayter Reed, a future deputy minister of Indian Affairs, described the First Nations people he encountered while he was the Indian agent at Battleford as the "scum of the Plains." Arguments that Canadian Indian policy was well intentioned and humanitarian in nature must be evaluated against the harsh, condescending, and, at times, self-interested statements of the individuals who framed and implemented that policy.

The department had two sources of funding: the government's annual budgetary allocation, and the interest on funds held in trust for bands. By 1880, well over half of the department's budget was spent in the West.

In the North-West Territories, Indian Affairs officials worked closely with the North-West Mounted Police, which had been established in 1873. Modelled on the Royal Irish Constabulary, the Mounted Police was intended to establish order on the Prairies, paving the way for settlement and the construction of the railway. Its immediate tasks were to control American whiskey traders who had begun to operate in Canada, and to establish a relationship with Aboriginal people as a prelude to their eventual "civilization." The police were empowered to administer British and Canadian laws—laws that had been neither made nor approved by people who lived in the North-West. The commissioner of the force held an automatic seat on the Territorial Council that had been established to govern the territory, and police force members served as magistrates. As a result, the Mounted Police was involved in passing legislation, policing, and the judicial process. From the time of their arrival in the West, police were present at all the Treaty negotiations, serving as a direct reminder of Canadian military presence.

Resistance, Treaties, and rebellion

The colonization of the North-West did not go smoothly. From the outset, Aboriginal people sought to have a voice in determining the future of their homelands. They

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The distribution of the land promised to the Métis was complicated in subsequent years by government delay, repeated changes in policy, hostility towards the Métis by new settlers from Ontario, and the manipulations of land speculators and government officials. In the end, Métis people were able to retain little of the land that had been allocated to them.[illegible] It is estimated that by 1885, over 80% of the Métis population had left Manitoba, heading further west.[illegible]

The Treaties

The Rupert's Land Order of 1870, which transferred much of the North-West to Canadian control, required that "the claims of the Indian tribes to compensation for lands required for purposes of settlement will be considered and settled in conformity with the equitable principles which have uniformly governed the British Crown in its dealings with the aborigines."[illegible] In essence, this required the application of the principles of the 1763 Royal Proclamation in the Canadian North-West. Despite this obligation, the Treaty-making process often was driven by First Nations who were seeking to share in the benefits of the settlement of their land, retain their culture, and chart their future in a time of looming crisis.

In the 1870s, the First Nations of the Prairies and Parklands—the Saulteaux (Western Ojibway), Woodland Cree, Woodland Assiniboine, Dene, Assiniboine, Plains Cree, Siksika (Blackfoot), Kainai (Blood), Piikani (Peigan), and Stoney (Sioux)—were confronted with a complex set of challenges. The buffalo were in decline; fur prices were dropping; inter-tribal war and disease had disrupted First Nations communities; and newcomers, who often had little respect for them or their rights, were appearing in their midst.[illegible] Drawing on their own history of alliance and diplomacy—exemplified by the Blackfoot Confederacy, and the military and diplomatic arrangements that had characterized relations among the Cree, the Assiniboine, and the Ojibway—the First Nations of the Plains and Parklands negotiated seven Treaties with the government of Canada in the 1870s.[illegible] Through the Treaties, Aboriginal people sought a diplomatic relationship with Canada. Specifically, they were seeking assistance through a period of economic transition in the form of agricultural supplies and training as well as relief during periods of epidemic or famine. In addition, they wanted to curb the influence of American traders who were corrupting their people with whiskey and arming their enemies with rifles.[illegible] They saw the Treaty process as establishing a reciprocal relationship that would be lasting: the beginning, in effect, of intergovernmental relations.[illegible] The goal was to gain the skills that would allow them to continue to control their own destinies. As Ahtahkakoop (Star Blanket) said, "We Indians can learn the ways of living that made the white man strong."[illegible]

Treaty negotiations often took place at First Nations' insistence. Their negotiators succeeded several times in forcing the government to improve its offers. When federal officials adopted a "take it or leave it" stance, there were First Nations leaders who, despite often desperate economic conditions, rejected the Treaties as not being in the best interests of their people.

The First Nations asserted that the land was theirs and insisted that the Canadian government had to negotiate with them before settlement proceeded.[23] The First Nations of Manitoba, for example, were aware of the Treaties that had been negotiated with Native Americans at Pembina in 1851 and 1863. They expected to be treated no differently.[24] Similarly, the Ojibway near Lake of the Woods told the government not to send settlers or surveyors until their relationship with the Canadian government had been determined.[25] In Portage la Prairie, Aboriginal people posted a sign on a church door warning settlers not to move onto their lands without first making a Treaty.[26] They halted telegraph construction and survey crews in what is now Saskatchewan. Further west, in what is now Alberta, they said that what they termed "the invasion" of their country had to be stopped until a Treaty was negotiated. [27]

From the Canadian perspective, the most significant elements in the Treaties—which have come to be known as the "Numbered Treaties"—were the written provisions by which the First Nations agreed to "cede, release, surrender, and yield" their land to the Crown.[28] The provisions varied from Treaty to Treaty, but they generally included funds for hunting and fishing supplies, agricultural assistance, yearly payments for band members (annuities), a promise to pay for schools or teachers, and an amount of reserve lands based on the population of the band.[29]

The successful negotiation of the Treaties was essential to any assertion of Canadian sovereignty over the West. The federal government, at various times, was alerted by Indian Commissioner Wemyss Simpson, and by successive lieutenant-governors Adams Archibald and Alexander Morris, to the necessity of responding to First Nation requests to negotiate Treaties. Despite their worsening economic position, Aboriginal people remained a significant force. Morris warned Ottawa in 1873 that a pact among the Cree, Siksika, and Assiniboine could create a military force of 5,000. Even more worrying was the possibility that Tatanka-Iyotanka (Sitting Bull) might bring about an alliance between the Hunkpapa Lakota and the Prairie First Nations.[30] The only alternative to negotiating Treaties was to subdue the First Nations militarily, but that would have been a very costly proposition. In 1870, when the entire Canadian government budget was $19 million, the United States was spending more than that—$20 million a year—on its Indian Wars alone. Despite all these pressures, the government took a slow and piecemeal approach to Treaty making.[31]

The government policy was to assert its sovereignty over Aboriginal land, but to delay Treaty making until the land was actually needed for economic development. Treaties 1 (1871), 2 (1871), 3 (1873), 4 (1874), 6 (1876), and 7 (1877)—the Prairie

Treaties—were signed to clear the way for the railway and open the West to immigration. The development of a commercial fishery on Lake Winnipeg and the expansion of a steamboat network along the Saskatchewan River created the need for Treaty 5 (1875). Later Treaties followed the same pattern. Treaty 8 (1899, with significant adhesions in 1900 and 1901) was negotiated to facilitate the exploitation of the Klondike gold fields. Treaties 9 (1905) and 10 (1906) and a significant set of adhesions to Treaty 5 (1908 to 1910) were responses to the growth of resource industries in northern Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatchewan. Treaty 11 (1921) was in large measure prompted by the discovery of crude oil in the Northwest Territories.[62]

Not only did the government delay making Treaty until it was ready to exploit a region's resources, but also its negotiators were told to keep the costs as low as possible. In preparation for Treaty 1, in 1871, Secretary of State Joseph Howe instructed Wemyss Simpson, who had been appointed to serve as Treaty commissioner, to "endeavor to secure the cession of the lands upon terms as favourable as possible to the Government, not going as far as the maximum sum hereafter named unless it be found impossible to obtain the object for a less amount."[63] Howe described the Robinson Treaties, signed in Ontario in the 1850s, as "good bargains" and recommended them as models.[64] Those Treaties had included hunting, fishing, and marketing rights; an annual payment; and reserves.[65] In keeping with the Robinson Treaties, the draft Treaty that federal officials sent the commissioners charged with negotiating Treaty 1 and Treaty 2 was limited to the establishment of reserves; a small, one-time cash payment; annuities; and a ban on the sale of alcohol.[66] In 1877, David Laird, who had been appointed Treaty commissioner, was instructed to negotiate a Treaty that was "on terms most favourable to the Government."[67] There was little in the initial federal approach that would have provided First Nations with assistance in addressing the significant economic challenges they were facing, let alone provide them with anything close to just recompense for the benefits in lands and resources that the federal government expected to realize from the Treaties.

The federal negotiators benefited from and exploited

- the ceremonial tradition that had developed around fur-trade negotiations;
- their connection to the British Crown; and
- the support of missionaries who had been in contact with First Nations for several decades.[68]

Ceremony and the establishment of kinship ties had long been central to First Nations diplomacy and were incorporated into the fur trade. The annual meetings between the trader representing the fur-trade company and the trading chief for the First Nations fur brigade were highly ceremonial events, rooted in Aboriginal custom. Political and economic decisions were reached at these meetings that would govern both the immediate trade and the trading alliance for the coming year.[69] The Treaty negotiations of the 1870s incorporated many elements of the types of ceremony used in fur-trade interactions: the government provided a suit of clothing to First Nations leaders, gifts were exchanged, and a pipe-smoking ceremony preceded discussion. First Nations' teachings held that those who took part in the pipe ceremony were obliged to speak the truth—a stipulation that was not always, or clearly, understood by government negotiators.[70] Processions, the smoking of pipes, the presentation of gifts (including medals commemorating the Treaties), and invocations of the Great Spirit all underscored the sacred nature of the agreements that were being undertaken.[71]

To negotiate the first Treaties, the government relied on the successive lieutenant-governors of Manitoba and the North-West Territories: Adams Archibald, Alexander Morris, and David Laird. As lieutenant-governors, they were Queen Victoria's representatives in the West. In the talks, they often stressed their relationship to the Crown, and the Queen's generous and benevolent intent.[72] In negotiating the first two Treaties, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald used the language of relationship: the Queen was the "Great Mother" and the First Nations were "her red children."[73] Morris made use of the same imagery, saying that the 'red' and 'white' men must live as brothers.[74] Constant allusions to the Queen as the mother created the impression that reciprocal bonds of kinship were being created. In Aboriginal terms, the kinship was one that engaged concern and support with a respect for the autonomy of the individual, while, to the Canadians, it was one in which the children would obey the parent.[75]

The government engaged missionaries in a variety of roles during the Treaty process. On occasion, they were sent out in advance to help lay the groundwork for negotiations,[76] their mission buildings sometimes served as venues for Treaty talks,[77] they spoke in favour of the Treaties, they served as translators and negotiators, and they acted as witnesses to the finalization of the agreements. Prominent in the process were Anglicans Charles Pratt, John McKay, and Abraham Cowley; the Methodist father-and-son team of George and John McDougall, along with fellow Methodists Egerton Young, J. H. Ruttan, and O. German; and the Roman Catholics Vital Grandin and Constantine Scollin.[78]

Leading Métis and mixed-ancestry figures played important roles in the negotiations, serving as interpreters and advisers to both the government and the First Nations.[79] Two who acted as Treaty commissioners, William Joseph Christie and James McKay, had Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal family connections that extended throughout the North-West.[80] The same can be said of the government interpreters, Peter Ballendine and Rev. John McKay.[81] Peter Erasmus, also an interpreter, was another of mixed descent.[82] (Individuals of mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal ancestry were often defined as "Indians" rather than "Métis" if they followed "the Indian mode of life"; that is, followed a harvesting lifestyle).[83]

There were always military or police escorts at the Treaty talks. Adams Archibald ensured that soldiers from the garrison at Red River were present at the talks that led to Treaty 1 in 1871. In his opinion, "Military display has always a great effect on savages, and the presence, even of a few troops, will have a good tendency."[84] In negotiating Treaty 3, Morris was accompanied by a company of troops from Lower Fort Garry, who prevented the sale of alcohol and provided what Morris called "a moral influence."[85] Members of the militia from Manitoba were present for the negotiation of Treaty 4,[86] and there was a Mounted Police presence at Blackfoot Crossing for the negotiation of Treaty 7.[87] Government negotiators made it clear that rejection was not an option. During the Treaty 1 talks, Archibald told First Nations leaders, "Whether they wished it or not, immigrants would come in and fill up the country."[88]

According to William Parker, a Mounted Police officer who attended the Treaty 7 talks, Laird warned the First Nations representatives that efforts to block settlement would prove as futile as trying "to stop the running waters of the river, as the Queen's soldiers were as thick as the grass on the prairies."[89]

At the Treaty 1 talks, Archibald said that although the Queen thought it best for her "red children" to "adopt the habits of the whites," she had "no idea of compelling you to do so. This she leaves to your choice, and you need not live like the white man unless you can be persuaded to do so of your own free will."[90] This promise was at odds with the laws of the time, which limited First Nations participation in all aspects of Canadian society unless they went through the process of enfranchisement—which did require them to "live like the white man." In coming years, First Nations people would be compelled to send their children to residential schools, where those children would also be made to "live like the white man."

Morris also stressed the permanent nature of the government commitments, saying, "What I offer you is to be while the water flows and the sun rises."[91] In 1876, Morris told the Cree, "What I trust and hope we will do is not for to-day and tomorrow only; what I will promise, and what I believe and hope you will take, is to last as long as the sun shines and yonder river flows."[92] This concept of an agreement that lasts as long as the sun shines and the water flows was symbolized in the Treaty medals that were distributed at the signing of Treaty 3 through to Treaty 8. They showed a chief and an imperial officer shaking hands; a hatchet was buried in the ground and, in the background, the sun shone.[93]

The First Nations negotiators demanded fair treatment. During the Treaty 3 talks, Chief Ma-we-do-pe-nais reminded Morris, "The white man has robbed us of our riches, and we don't wish to give them up again without getting something in their place."[94] He said he could hear the sound of gold rustling beneath the land that Treaty commissioners sought.[95] First Nations people were unwilling to accept that the Hudson's Bay Company had had any right to transfer their land to Canada. During the negotiation of Treaty 4, Pis Qua of the Plains Saulteaux confronted a Hudson's Bay

Company official, telling him, "You told me you had sold our land for so much money, £300,000. We want that money."[96] When offered 640 acres (259 hectares) per family in 1874, Pitikwahanapiwiyin (Poundmaker) responded, "This is our land! It isn't a piece of pemmican to be cut off and given in little pieces back to us. It is ours and we will take what we want."[97] Mistahimaskwa (Big Bear) famously said that for First Nations people, post-Treaty life would be like having "the rope to be about my neck," the life of a tethered animal.[98]

From the outset, the First Nations negotiators took strong positions that reflected their understanding of the value of their land. During the Treaty 1 talks, for example, the government officials complained that the First Nations were asking for two-thirds of Manitoba (which was then much smaller than its current size).[99] What government officials described as "extravagant demands" were First Nation proposals for the provisions they believed were needed to ease their passage into a new economy. These included accommodation, land, education, medical care, livestock, teachers and instructors, transportation, clothing, and, when necessary, support in times of need.[100]

To gain First Nations agreement, federal officials did not always provide full explanations of the Treaties and their implications, and they did not always include in the written Treaty all the commitments made during negotiations. Verbal promises to provide clothing to the chief and councillors, and agricultural tools and support to offset the loss of access to other means of making a living, were not originally included in the written texts of Treaty 1 and Treaty 2. It was only on First Nations' insistence that these so-called outside promises were added to the written agreement in 1875.[101] On other occasions, First Nations negotiators succeeded in pushing government representatives—to the irritation of officials in Ottawa—to go beyond their mandate. Treaty 3, for example, provided for larger reserves than did Treaty 1 and Treaty 2, and more substantial annuities, livestock, and money for hunting supplies; Treaty 5 covered more territory than had been originally authorized; Treaty 6 included a commitment for relief in times of famine and the provision of a medicine chest; and Treaty 7 contained a new livestock provision.[102]

In negotiating Treaty 6, Morris made it clear that the Treaty created obligations that went beyond the specifics of the agreement. He pointed out that in the previous winter, the government had provided relief to Indians whose crops had been destroyed by grasshoppers. "We cannot foresee these things, and all I can promise is that you will be treated kindly, and in that extraordinary circumstances you must trust to the generosity of the Queen."[103] The First Nations also were assured they would be allowed to continue their previous use of resources. In particular, they were given assurances that they would be able to travel over the land and hunt as they had in the past.[104] Morris also told the chiefs they would play a role in selecting lands for reserves.[105]

There was a great deal of importance that was not said. There is no evidence, for example, that the entire text of Treaty 7 was even read out to the First Nations, let alone in the languages of the Aboriginal people present. First Nations accounts, handed down from generation to generation, have described the Treaty as a Peace Treaty, under which the First Nations agreed to share land with settlers in exchange for economic support.[106] In an oral history of Treaty 7, which stressed the poor quality of the translation provided, Tom Yellowhorn recounted the Peigan understanding of the agreement as being one in which people "thought they were getting money but that they still owned the land."[107] There is no evidence that the negotiators described the federal government's policy of assimilation through enfranchisement or the restrictions placed on First Nations people through such legislation as the *Indian Act*.

Each Treaty contained education provisions. Under Treaty 1, "Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it." In Treaty 2, the nearly identical commitment is "to maintain a school in each reserve hereby made, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it." In Treaty 3, the commitment is "to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to Her Government of Her Dominion of Canada may seem advisable whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it." In Treaty 4, it is "to maintain a school in the reserve allotted to each band as soon as they settle on said reserve and are prepared for a teacher." In Treaty 5 and Treaty 6, the commitment is "to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to Her Government of the Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it." The Treaty 7 commitment is "to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to her Government of Canada may seem advisable, when said Indians are settled on their reserve and shall desire teachers." (With slight variation, this commitment was used in the last four numbered Treaties, which were negotiated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.)[108]

There is no evidence that the government initially intended to include schools in the Treaties. The original draft for Treaty 1 and Treaty 2 contained no education provisions. The correspondence between Indian Affairs Minister Alexander Campbell and Treaty Commissioner Morris, in preparation for the negotiation of Treaty 3, dealt only with annuities and the initial cash payment.[109] Two weeks before Treaty 3 talks started, Morris telegraphed Ottawa, asking, "Presume reserves to be granted to Indians but have no instruction—What about support of Schools? Indians generally anxious to learn, on this subject, I believe it to be good policy to promote education of children especially if limited annuities be adopted."[110] It was Chief Ka-Katche-way of the Lac Seul band who, in the negotiation of Treaty 3, initially raised the demand for a schoolmaster "to teach their children the knowledge of the white man."[111] During the Treaty 4 talks, Morris said, "Whenever you go to a Reserve, the Queen will be ready to give you a school and a schoolmaster."[112] During the Treaty 6 negotiations, the Cree twice included a request for schoolteachers in lists of proposed changes to the government office.[113] In 1880, Morris described the promise of schools as an important element of the Treaties that was

> deserving of being pressed with the utmost energy. The new generation can be trained in the habits and ways of civilized life—prepared to encounter the difficulties with which they will be surrounded, by the influx of settlers, and fitted for maintaining themselves as tillers of the soil. The erection of a school-house on a reserve will be attended with slight expense, and the Indians would often give their labour towards its construction.[114]

By signing Treaties, First Nations strove to address their immediate concerns and establish the foundation of their nation-to-nation relationship with the Canadian state. They had secured their rights prior to the arrival of large numbers of settlers; their economic independence was guaranteed through provisions that allowed them to hunt, trap, and fish; they would receive support while making a transition to farming; and their children would gain access to formal schooling. The Treaties had created a sacred relationship in which both parties had ongoing obligations.[115] In coming years, it would become apparent that Canada's understanding, and implementation, of its Treaty obligations was far more constrained.

Treaty implementation

The test of Canada's willingness to fulfill its Treaty obligations was not long in coming. The crisis caused by the rapid collapse of the North American buffalo population in the late 1870s forced First Nations living in the southern "settlement belt" to turn to the federal government for support. The government was completely unprepared, and largely unwilling to fulfill its obligations.[116] The near extinction of the buffalo was the result of a complex set of changes: the expansion of the Métis buffalo hunt during the mid-nineteenth century, the introduction of repeating rifles to the hunt, the role of American sport hunters, and the increasing demand for buffalo hides by eastern industries. The movement of the US trade in buffalo robes and hides into the West after the end of the American Civil War marked a dramatic transformation in the process, as the hunt became a slaughter.[117] Another factor in the decline of buffalo populations was the attempt by the US military to stop the movement of the herds into Canada. This policy was intended to deprive Chief Sitting Bull's Dakota, who had taken refuge in Canada after the battle of the Little Big Horn in 1877, of a food source.[118]

Many First Nations people devoted considerable effort to farming during this period. Their attempts to establish independent farming communities were frustrated by the poor quality of the lands they had been forced onto, inadequate implements, inferior seed and livestock, as well as early frosts and insect infestation. Often, the federal government simply refused to supply promised farm implements. Indian Commissioner Joseph Provencher "justified" this refusal in 1877 with these words:

> It has been the constant practice of the Indians to say that they were ready to receive every article, cattle, implements, that they may be entitled to, in certain conditions, according to the Treaties. But I would strongly recommend that no such engagements should be fulfilled before the Indians have really showed that whatever article is given to them shall not be wasted or traded.[illegible]

Successful farming on the Prairies was not an easy or certain endeavour for anyone. Many European settlers, who were more familiar with contemporary agricultural techniques, struggled and often failed to be successful. Several decades of experimentation were needed to develop the crops, implements, and technologies that would be suitable to the Prairies.[illegible] It has been estimated that almost four in ten prairie homesteaders were forced to abandon their farms in the period from 1870 to 1930.[illegible]

There were only a handful of Indian agents and farm instructors appointed to assist tens of thousands of First Nations people in making the transition to an agricultural way of life.[illegible] Many of the farm instructors were political appointees with little knowledge of farming, Aboriginal people, or western agricultural conditions. Some of them were not above trying to use the position to enrich themselves when issuing supply contracts. Others came to view Aboriginal farmers with hostility, confusing the payment of federal Treaty obligations with undeserved charity. They did not recognize the different circumstances faced by First Nations people who were prohibited from staking homesteads as they had been allowed to do. In addition, Aboriginal people were often restricted to less land than settlers had; they could not take out loans against their land, and often had trouble convincing merchants to extend them credit. As well, they needed the permission of the Indian agent to sell or barter their animals and produce.[illegible] Many Aboriginal people were forced back into hunting because they were not being provided with enough support to farm.[illegible]

When the hunt failed, they had to turn to the government for relief. The cost of that assistance was over half a million dollars in 1882. While John A. Macdonald defended the expense, saying it was cheaper to feed the First Nations people than to fight them, the reality was that in the 1880s, the threat of starvation became an instrument of government policy.[illegible] In 1883, the federal government reduced the Indian Affairs budget, leading to a reduction in relief payments.[illegible] Not satisfied with the level of control that threats of starvation gave him, Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney attempted to implement a policy of what he called "sheer compulsion," using the Mounted Police to arrest First Nations leaders and disrupt Aboriginal government.[illegible] By 1884, North-West Mounted Police Superintendent L. N. F. Crozier complained to Ottawa that the government's cut in rations seemed to be designed to discover just how little food a man needed to be able to work and subsist. If the government did not feed the people with whom it had made Treaty, he warned, it would soon have to fight them.[illegible] All these pressures led to a number of near-violent confrontations between First Nations people and government representatives.[illegible] The impact of famine and disease was devastating. According to one contemporary estimate, between 1880 and 1885, the First Nations population on the Prairies dropped by more than a third—from 32,000 to 20,000.[illegible]

The First Nations leadership organized a diplomatic response to the growing crisis. In 1881, for example, they brought their concerns before Governor General Lord Lorne, who was visiting western Canada, reminding him of the Treaty commitments to provide assistance in times of need.[illegible] Under the leadership of Chiefs Piapot, Little Pine, and Mistahimaskwa, the Cree sought to establish a Cree homeland in the Cypress Hills. By selecting reserves in nearby locations, they would retain political autonomy and control over resources. However, Commissioner Dewdney wished to see them settled on smaller, separate, and more easily controlled reserves. Although the Treaties allowed Piapot and Little Pine to select their Treaty land, Dewdney would not grant them the land they asked for in the Cypress Hills. He also refused to provide them with food, going so far as to withdraw the Mounted Police, the traditional distributor of food rations, from Fort Walsh in 1883. The First Nations were forced to travel north, settling on reserves that were more acceptable to Ottawa. By 1884, Mistahimaskwa, whose people were on the edge of starvation, signed the Treaty and took a reserve near Battleford, while Piapot settled in the Qu'Appelle Valley. That same year, the leadership of several bands met at Duck Lake, where they compiled a list of eighteen grievances relating to the implementation of the Treaties.[illegible] At this meeting, they spoke of how many of the younger men found the treatment they had received at the hands of government too hard to bear after the "sweet promises" made in order to get their country from them.[illegible] Aboriginal leaders felt bound by the Treaties, which had been signed in solemn spiritual ceremonies.[illegible] The leaders decided against military action, and agreed to meet in a year's time to determine the next steps in their diplomatic campaign.[illegible] These plans were cut short by the tragic events of 1885, when the federal government's failure to address Métis land rights precipitated an armed rebellion.

The North-West Rebellion

In the years following the Red River Resistance in 1870, many Métis moved further and further west, creating communities in places such as Batoche, St. Laurent, and Prince Albert. As settlers from eastern Canada began to move into the North-West Territories, the Métis felt threatened and sought to have the federal government recognize their land rights. The start of construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway in the 1880s made it clear that Canada would be opening the West to a much larger numof settlement, making the land rights question even more important to the Métis. In 1884, they invited Louis Riel, who was then teaching at a Catholic boarding school for Métis students in Montana, to return to the North-West. Riel lobbied the government to take action on the land issue while he also sought, without success, to establish an alliance with First Nations leaders.

In March 1885, the Métis established a provisional government under Riel's leadership. Within days, they won a quick victory over Canadian government forces at Duck Lake. Mistahimaskwa tried to keep his people out of the conflict, but after the Métis victory at Duck Lake, a confrontation arose at Frog Lake between a group of young men from his band and the Hudson's Bay clerk and the Indian agent. With Mistahimaskwa unable to intervene effectively, nine settlers had been killed. During this same period, the Cree in the Battleford area travelled there to request additional rations and express their loyalty. The sight of a large number of First Nations people under the leadership of Pîhtokahanapiwiyin panicked the townspeople, who fled to the North-West Mounted Police barracks. The Cree took what supplies they could from the stores and homes, and then returned to their reserve.

In eastern Canada, these events were portrayed as a joint Métis and First Nations uprising. Making use of the partially completed Canadian Pacific Railway, the Canadian government rapidly transported over 5,000 men under the command of Major General Frederick Middleton, a British-born veteran of the British army. Middleton had previously participated in the suppression of Indigenous rebellions in India and New Zealand.

Although Pîhtokahanapiwiyin and his people had already withdrawn from Battleford, one of the campaign's first engagements was to send a military column to relieve the troops at Battleford. They attacked the Cree at a camp at Cut Knife Hill. The Cree successfully defended their position. Because Pîhtokahanapiwiyin gave instructions not to fire on the retreating Canadian troops, Middleton's losses were limited.

The short-lived rebellion came to an end in May, when Middleton's forces defeated the Métis at Batoche. Riel was arrested, convicted of treason, and executed. His military commander, Gabriel Dumont, sought refuge in the United States. Mistahimaskwa, who had attempted to limit the conflict, successfully eluded the Canadian military until July, when he surrendered.

The First Nations involvement in the North-West Rebellion was limited in large measure to the acts of individual people driven to the edge of desperation by harsh and punitive government policy. Riel's efforts to recruit First Nations support to the rebellion had been almost completely unsuccessful, since the leaders considered themselves bound by sacred Treaty commitments. In addition, they knew of the risks involved in open revolt. The government was well aware of these facts. However, it chose to portray the First Nations as "rebels." While privately acknowledging that the Cree actions were the result of hunger and desperation (the product of harsh

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The aftermath of 1885

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The British Columbia experience

Although colonization in much of Canada was based on the signing of Treaties with First Nations, it followed a different path on Canada's west coast. There, First Nations and Europeans entered into a maritime fur trade in the late eighteenth century. Coastal nations traded with ocean-going Europeans and Americans. Throughout this period of maritime trade, interactions tended to be brief and transitory, and First Nations people retained control over their culture, their economy, and their lands.[119] In the early nineteenth century, land-based trading posts were created on the coast and in the British Columbia interior by several different companies. After the amalgamation of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company in 1821, the HBC's operations on the west coast were systematized, and the company established a chain of trading posts along the Pacific coast.[120] In 1849, the British government granted the Hudson's Bay Company the right to govern Vancouver Island as a British colony.[121]

The British claim to the Pacific Northwest dates back to Captain James Cook's exploration of its coast in 1778.[122] From 1851 to 1864, the colony was governed by Hudson's Bay Company official James Douglas. When, in the wake of discovery of gold in the Fraser Canyon, in 1858, the British government proclaimed the mainland of British Columbia to be a separate colony, Douglas became governor of both colonies. Only at that point was he obliged to resign his position with the HBC.[123]

The British government did not attempt to implement on the west coast the principles that underlay the Royal Proclamation. On Vancouver Island, Douglas did negotiate a number of Treaties that provided First Nations with limited reserves and benefits. The Treaties did not involve the vast expanses of land covered by the Prairie Treaties. Instead, they were limited to the land required for immediate settlement.[124] Douglas was not able to continue with his Treaty-making policy. The British government was no longer prepared to pay the costs involved in fulfilling Treaty obligations, and the newly established colonial assembly refused to raise the money. As a result, First Nations people in British Columbia after 1859 were not compensated for their lands, and no additional Treaties were negotiated with them. (The one exception to this is the portion of northeastern British Columbia that was covered by Treaty 8 in 1899.)[125] Much to the frustration of settlers, Douglas's policy was not only to establish reserves, but also to make the reserves as large as the First Nations requested. He also took steps to protect the reserves that had been set out from settler encroachment.

When Douglas retired in 1864, he was succeeded by veteran British Colonial Office officials who took a far less protective approach to First Nations land rights. Joseph Trutch, the commissioner of lands for British Columbia, instituted a policy under which the size of reserves was dramatically reduced. New reserves were provided on the basis of ten acres (4.05 hectares) per family (while 160 acres, or 64.7 hectares, per family was commonly, but not always, used to establish reserves in the Numbered Treaties).[165]

The two colonies were merged into a single colony, known as "British Columbia," in 1866, and, in 1871, it was admitted into Confederation. The terms of union in that agreement stipulated that in its dealing with the First Nations of British Columbia, Canada would be as 'liberal' as the government of British Columbia had been. This was no small irony, since Canadian policy, although it had never been generous, was far more liberal than that which had been pursued by the government of colonial British Columbia.[166] For example, the British Columbia policy was so aggressive that it nearly provoked hostilities with the First Nations of the Kootenays in 1877. In these conflicts, the federal government was unable to protect First Nations' interests effectively, even though it was well aware of the validity of First Nations' claims.[167]

Restrictions on spiritual practices

Restrictions were also placed on Aboriginal spiritual practices during this period. Ceremonies such as the Potlatch in British Columbia and the Thirst Dance (usually called the "Sun Dance" by government officials) on the Prairies played an important role in the lives of Aboriginal people. Such ceremonies served to redistribute surplus, demonstrate status, cement and renew alliances, mark important events such as marriages or the assumption of position, and strengthen the bond with spiritual forces.

Missionaries attacked them as 'pagan rites,' and government officials objected to the fact that they undermined the accumulation of private property, took people away from agricultural pursuits, brought together bands they were trying to keep separate, and strengthened the status of traditional leaders and Elders.[168] Those missionaries involved in residential schooling played a central role in lobbying for the suppression of the Potlatch and the Sun Dance, arguing that the ceremonies undid much of the work that had been accomplished in the schools. The Reverend Albert H. Hall at Alert Bay in 1896 framed the debate with the succinct "It is school versus potlatch."[169] To Archdeacon J. W. Tims, who ran an Anglican boarding school in Alberta, the Sun Dance was "that great heathen festival." On his first encounter of it, he recalled, "If I ever felt the hopelessness of a task set me to do it was then."[170] An 1884 amendment to the *Indian Act* first banned the Potlatch, and Prairie "give-away dances," as they were often termed by government officials, were banned in 1895.

Government officials were instructed to prosecute only as a last resort. But they often came under pressure from missionaries to take action. In 1897, five people were arrested at the Thunderchild Reserve in what is now Saskatchewan for holding a give-away dance. Three were sentenced to two months in jail. The commander of the Mounted Police at Battleford thought the jail terms too harsh and worked to secure early releases for the men, who were all elderly. In 1897, the Blackfoot agreed to shorten the number of days devoted to the ceremonies and to not include some of the practices, such as ritual piercing, that were specifically banned by legislation. Indian Commissioner Amédée Forget, however, would not abandon the department's requirement that the tongues of slaughtered cattle be either removed or split, making them unavailable for consumption at the ceremonies, which he viewed as being immoral and heathen.[171]

From the 1880s onward, the federal government acted decisively to jail First Nations leaders, disarm them, control their movements, limit the authority of their governments, ban their spiritual practices, and control their economic activities. It also chose to intervene decisively in family life through the establishment of residential schools. It was in 1883, the same year that the government cut rations on the Prairies, that the first of a series of residential industrial schools opened its doors, operated by a government-and-church partnership. Those schools, modelled on schools for delinquent and criminal youth, represented a betrayal rather than a fulfillment of the Treaty promises to provide on-reserve education. Their story is the darkest, longest, and most chilling chapter in the history of the colonization of Aboriginal peoples. The federal government's determination to have as cheap an Indian policy as possible, coupled with the church's drive to enrol and convert as many children as possible, meant that the schools were sites of hunger, overwork, danger and disease, limited education, and, in tens of thousands of cases, physical, sexual, and psychological abuse and neglect.

CHAPTER 8

National and international models for Canada's residential schools

The institutionalization of Aboriginal children in residential schools in Canada was part of a broader, European-based movement to regulate members of what were described as 'the dangerous classes' in society in the nineteenth century. Many observers attributed the growth of such classes to the process of rapid industrialization and urbanization underway both in Europe and North America. Writing in 1857, the British reformer Thomas Beggs bemoaned "the fever-nests of our large towns and cities," from which were pouring out "the hordes of tramps, thieves, fallen women, and ragged urchins, which infest our crowded neighbourhoods, and from these classes, which constitute what are called our dangerous classes, are recruited mainly the juvenile delinquents." Beggs commented that a similar class of lawless youth existed in Paris, whose members were "as barbarous and as brave as North American Indians."[1] In North America, those perceived as the 'dangerous classes' included Aboriginal people and an ever-growing number of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. Social reformers in Europe and North America established poorhouses, workhouses, prisons, reformatories, industrial schools, asylums, and penitentiaries. All of these institutions were intended to isolate, control, and reform populations thought to present a threat to social order

In English Canada, social reformers based in the Protestant churches often promoted the creation of these institutions. Protestant church leaders conceived of Canada as 'God's Dominion.' Such a dominion would be Protestant, English-speaking, and governed by British political traditions. From this base, it would play a leading role in the conversion of the non-Christian peoples of the world. From the 1880s onwards, prominent Protestant figures believed that Canada's status as God's Dominion was threatened by the rising immigration from eastern and southern Europe. Few of these immigrants spoke English, and many were either Catholic or adherents of the Greek or Russian Orthodox churches. These anxieties led Protestant leaders to call for limits to immigration, an energetic campaign to Christianize and assimilate the newcomers, and a redoubling of efforts to assimilate Aboriginal people.[2]

These efforts drew energy from the Social Gospel, a reform movement within the Protestant churches that challenged those who believed the church's role was only to ensure the salvation of the individual through faith. The reform movement claimed the church also had a social role to play. The Social Gospel, which did not abandon spiritual concerns, spoke of creating the "Kingdom of God on Earth." This led its members to support controls such as prohibition, and reforms such as the provision of clean water, workplace health and safety laws, and improved welfare for the sick and aged. Not surprisingly, there were differences among the social reformers, with some keener to emphasize the need to end allegedly evil behaviours such as drinking and gambling, while others focused on reducing exploitation of the weak by the powerful. In the early years of the movement, however, the former prevailed.

The Social Gospel reformers carried out their work in poor urban areas, establishing missions often referred to as "settlement houses," where they sought to convert immigrants while simultaneously addressing their immediate needs. Many of the reformers, influenced by popular scientific and social writings of the time, also were concerned with racial purity and the future of Canada as a Protestant and British society. They favoured limited immigration of groups other than northern Europeans, and saw schools as key instruments for assimilation of the "strangers within our gates," a phrase that served as the title for one leading reformer's book on immigration.[3] Among the measures these reformers advocated were compulsory education and—in western Canada—the adoption of English-only education.

Many of the reformers focused their attention on those children, particularly boys, who were unable to fit into the highly regimented classroom of the nineteenth century. Once they were expelled from school, the boys spent their time on the streets, earning money from a series of part-time jobs. They often came to be labelled as "vagrant," "neglected," or "delinquent." Both the police and social reformers viewed such young people, whose attendance at day schools was disruptive and irregular, as a growing threat to social order. Their solution was to institutionalize them.

Industrial schools

The establishment of industrial schools was part of a growing international trend. Increasingly, industrial schools were being used to control the children of the industrializing world's 'dangerous classes.' In Europe and North America, they were being established to 'rescue' the children of urban slums, and the United States was in the process of expanding its 'Indian' boarding schools. In places as distant from Canada as Nigeria and Australia, missionaries also were establishing such schools to separate Indigenous children from their parents. All these factors shaped the Canadian government's 1883 decision to establish a residential school system.

The reformatory in Citeaux, France, served as a model for First Nations industrial schools. It was only one in a network of reformatories for young people established in France in the nineteenth century.[4] Most of these institutions, both in France and Britain, drew their inspiration from the Mettray reformatory, a private initiative founded in 1839 by Frederic Demetz. The Mettray reformatory took in boys under the age of sixteen who had committed crimes but, because of their age, were not being sent to jail. At Mettray, boys lived in "cottages" that housed about forty, under the supervision of two older boys and an adult staff member, and were subjected to unremitting labour in the surrounding fields.[5] Demetz's motto was "Improve the man by the land and the land by the man." In 1850, the French government began to fund such institutions.[6] The British parliament adopted the *Reformatory Schools Act* in 1854 and the *Industrial Schools Act* in 1857. Over the next two decades, more than sixty institutions, most based on the same principles as Mettray's, were established in Britain.[7] By 1882, over 17,000 children were in Britain's industrial schools.[8]

Indian boarding schools in the United States

By 1879, the United States had a long history of residential schooling for Native Americans. During the early years of British colonization, a variety of missionary organizations, such as the New England Company, had attempted to establish boarding schools, with limited success. After the 1776 American War of Independence, American, rather than British, missionaries took the lead in efforts to convert Native Americans living in what is now the United States.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions was established by Presbyterians and Congregationalists in 1810. As in Canada, there was debate within the churches over whether it was necessary to civilize Native Americans before they were converted. Some felt that only by bringing Native Americans to a higher level of education could they grasp the Christian message. For others, the Gospels themselves were the great civilizer. In reality, the two tasks were interwoven: to the missionaries, civilization was, by definition, "Christian."[9] The missionaries had little concept of culture and its value. They believed that rational individuals, once presented with the option, would seize the opportunity to participate in a more civilized society. It was a replacement model that expected Native Americans to simply abandon one way of life for another.[10]

Schooling loomed large in the missionary project in the United States. In 1804, Presbyterian missionary Gideon Blackburn opened a boarding school for Cherokee students in Tennessee.[11] In 1816, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions established a mission and school in Brainerd, Tennessee.[12] These were manual labour schools in which students spent half their day in the classroom and the other half in workshops, sewing rooms, kitchens, barns, or the field. The churches' work received a significant boost from the 1819 *Civilization Fund Act*, which committed the US government to spending $10,000 a year on civilizing and educating Native Americans. Rather than carry out this work directly, the government chose to fund missionary work. By the end of 1824, the Office of Indian Affairs reported that it was supporting thirty-two boarding schools, largely in the eastern United States.

The work of these schools was cut short by the federal government's relocation policy. A number of Treaties had been signed with Native Americans, and lands assigned to them in the eastern United States. The government came under increasing pressure to terminate those Treaties and relocate Native Americans to lands west of the Mississippi River that the US had acquired from France in 1803.[13] The removal was supposed to be voluntary. Native Americans were to be paid for the land they were giving up and be supplied with suitable lands in the West. In reality, the *Removal Bill* of 1830 authorized what amounted to a forced population transfer. Those who refused to relocate risked the loss of their lands and their right to govern themselves.[14]

Many did not go quietly. The Seminoles, the Creeks, and the Sac and Fox, in particular, undertook military campaigns in defence of their territory. Lands in the West where Native peoples were relocated were not always suitable; speculators cheated Native Americans out of the money they were supposed to receive for the land they were leaving behind; and the journey was often one of tremendous suffering, undertaken without having received the promised supplies and supports.[15]

'Removal' was given an altruistic justification. It was argued that the Native Americans could continue to pursue their traditional livelihood in the West for a little longer, while, at the same time, missionaries could continue the process of civilizing them.[16] The reality was thirty years of slow, steady, ongoing settler encroachment onto Native American land in the West, coupled with frequent and bloody wars. In 1869, President Ulysses Grant initiated his Peace Policy. Churches were to appoint the field staff, federal spending on education was to increase, and an independent Board of Indian Commissioners would oversee the development and administration of Indian policy. Two years later, Indians were effectively wards of the state.[17]

Catholic and Protestant missionaries also were given government support to establish boarding schools throughout the West. The Catholics quickly surpassed the Protestants, and, by 1886, they operated thirty-eight of the fifty church-run boarding schools that received government support.[18] In addition to learning English and some basic academic subjects, the boys were trained in the skills that would be of use to a farmer: carpentry, stock raising, harness making, and blacksmithing; the girls were taught to keep house. The schools operated on the half-day system and were expected to be self-supporting.[19] From the outset, it was recognized that children in boarding schools were, in effect, hostages. As long as they remained under government control, their parents would be unlikely to resist settler incursions into the homelands. John

Miles, an Indian agent who worked with the Cheyenne, wrote, "I am yet to know of the first individual Indian on this reservation who has joined in a raid, that has had his child in school."[70]

The US government signed several Treaties that provided for geographically defined Indian reservations, promised assistance in a transition to agriculture, and made a strong commitment to providing Native Americans with schooling—in one case, a school and teacher for every thirty children.[71] Treaty promises were broken, and many people moved onto reservations only when forced to by the military.[72] During the 1874–75 Red River War in Texas, the US army rounded up over seventy Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and Caddo men. The army originally intended to try the men under military law, but, because Indians were legally wards of the state, a decision was made to hold seventy-two of them indefinitely at Fort Marion, a military base in St. Augustine, Florida.[73] Placed in chains, they were sent east under the command of Lieutenant Richard Pratt.

Upon their arrival at Fort Marion, Pratt ordered that the leg irons be removed and the men be given haircuts and European-style clothing. The prisoners were given classes in English, and the opportunity to fish, do craftwork, and hold ceremonial dances. After three years of confinement, the men were released. While most returned to the Plains, twenty-two indicated they would be interested in further studies. Five were taken in by individuals, and seventeen accepted scholarships that allowed them to attend the Hampton Agricultural School for Negroes in Virginia. There, they again experienced the order and regimentation they had known at Fort Marion, but with additional focus on agricultural training and daily religious services.[74]

Pratt accompanied the men to the Hampton school. Once there, he was impatient at being the second in command to General Samuel Armstrong. He was also opposed to the Native Americans' being forced to associate with former slaves, for fear this would doom Indians to the same social standing as African Americans.[75] He successfully lobbied the federal government to establish an off-reservation boarding school for Native Americans in the former barracks at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and to make him its superintendent.

Pratt thought there were few people who could have a better understanding of Native Americans and their educational needs than himself. After all, he had fought them, lived with them, and educated them at St. Augustine.[76] Famously, in 1892, Pratt wrote that a great American general had "said that the only good Indian is a dead one, and that high sanction of his destruction has been an enormous factor in promoting Indian massacres. In a sense, I agree with the sentiment, but only in this: that all the Indian there is in the race should be dead. Kill the Indian in him, and save the man."[77]

Carlisle Indian Industrial School

Richard Pratt's experience in transporting and later supervising the training and education of these prisoners led in 1879 to his being put in charge of the first large-scale, off-reservation boarding school in the United States at Carlisle. The school marked a break in approach from the smaller, church-run schools that had existed to that time. In future years, Canadian Indian Affairs officials would draw inspiration from the school.

The Carlisle Indian Industrial School was located in a rundown former military barracks, which was in need of significant repair. Most of the students travelled over 1,000 kilometres from their home communities on the western plains. On arrival at the school, the students were stripped of their traditional clothing, shorn of their hair, assigned new names, and introduced to barracks life.[illegible] Years later, Luther Standing Bear, the first student to cross the school threshold, recalled, "After having my hair cut, a new thought came into my head. I felt that I was no more Indian, but would be an imitation of a white man."[illegible] The Carlisle school was not the first Native American boarding school in the United States, but it was the largest and most ambitious, and emblematic of all the schools.

Like most of the students, Standing Bear had been personally recruited by Richard Pratt, whose motto for the school was "To civilize the Indian, get him into civilization. To keep him civilized, let him stay."[illegible] Pratt was convinced that within a generation, all Native Americans would be assimilated—his school system would, he said, operate for such a short period that it would not have a history.[illegible] By 1900, there were twenty-five off-reservation boarding schools in the United States, all modelled after the Carlisle school.[illegible]

Life at Carlisle was heavily regimented, with little deviation allowed from a rigid schedule for sleeping, eating, praying, studying, and working.[illegible] Students had two complaints about the food: there was not enough of it, and what there was, was unfamiliar and unpalatable. Pratt agreed with the students about the quantity. To improve matters, he succeeded in having the school put on army rations.[illegible]

Much of the students' education was focused on preparing them for the world of waged work. There were ongoing lectures on the value of time, the aim of earning it, the importance of spending it wisely, and the virtue of promptness.[illegible] The Carlisle school's 'outing system' was an extension of Lieutenant Pratt's experiences in St. Augustine, where the prisoners had been able to go 'out' and work in the community. It was thought this would allow the students to learn English, to internalize the community's values, and to adopt regular work habits. Ideally, he would have liked white families to adopt all Native American children.[illegible] Students were sent out to work for the summers; they were roomed with farm families for up to two years (during which they attended

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Boarding schools in other countries

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Australian history was marked by violent conflicts between colonists and Indigenous people over rights to land, water, food, and even children, since Indigenous children often were apprehended and used as labourers. By the last half of the nineteenth century, the dominant settler belief was that the full-blooded Indigenous population was in decline and would eventually die out. However, the mixed-descent population was increasing. If mixed-descent children were raised in Indigenous communities, it was thought, they would be an ongoing social cost.[66]

In states such as Queensland and Western Australia, the policy was to remove children from parents living on mission stations and reserves. They were taken as young as aged four to be raised in church-run dormitories.[67] The dormitory at Warangesda Station in New South Wales, for example, housed 300 girls over the years from 1893 to 1909.[68] Under an 1886 law, all 'half-caste' boys were to be apprenticed or sent to work at thirteen, while girls of that age were to work as servants. They were not to return to their reserves to visit their parents without permission. Later laws would give the government the ability to send all children of mixed descent for care by the Department for Neglected Children or the Department of Reformatory Schools. Parents who resisted could be forced off their reserve.[69] In Western Australia, the 1874 *Industrial Schools Act* held that children who were voluntarily surrendered to a school, orphanage, or institution were under the institution's authority until they were twenty-one and could be apprenticed at age twelve.[70] The assault on Indigenous people in Tasmania led to near elimination. By the 1830s, most of the remaining Indigenous people had been relocated to nearby Flinders Island, where the disease rate was such that most of the population died. The adult survivors were removed in 1847 and their children were sent to an orphanage in Hobart, Tasmania.[71]

In Western Australia by the 1840s, there were a number of boarding schools for Indigenous children. Only parents who had a child in school were entitled to receive a blanket on the Queen's birthday.[72] The funding provided to the dormitories and schools was limited. In some cases, the missions did not receive public support until the 1930s, and the results were predictable: poor nutrition, ragged and inadequate clothing, and limited medical care. Discipline was harsh and death rates were high. Expectations of the children's future prospects were low; as a result, the education they received was limited and of little value. Children were not permitted to speak their native languages, family contact was severely limited and controlled, living conditions were harsh, and children were vulnerable to sexual abuse and exploitation. The impact on parents who lost their children was devastating—completely the opposite of colonists' belief that people would quickly and easily adjust to the loss of their children. During their time at school, children had little opportunity to return to their homes, many felt their parents had abandoned them, and they were told their culture had no value. Cultural links were destroyed. It was common practice to give children new names and, in some cases, children grew up not knowing they were Indigenous.

At age eighteen, children who had been taken into care and sent out to work could return to their families. But, by then, many did not know where they came from or who their parents were. Those who did return went back to a world in which their activities would continue to be regulated by church and government officials, and where there was little work, particularly for females. As they grew into adulthood, many had difficulty raising families, due to their own lack of positive experience of being parented as children. Compared to other Indigenous children, those who had been away to boarding school had more ongoing conflicts with the law and difficulties with substance abuse.[73]

Canadian residential experience

Orphanages and reformatories

In Canada, orphanages were established, often by church organizations and private charities, in major population centres in Canada in the first half of the nineteenth century. In Montréal, the Protestant Orphan Asylum opened in 1822 and the Catholic Orphanage in 1832, the Female Orphan Asylum opened in Québec City in 1830, and the Orphans' Home opened in Kingston in 1857.[74] These institutions took in both orphans and the children of parents who could not support them.[75] In Ontario, the Penetanguishene Reformatory for Boys opened in 1859. Its inmates were often youngsters: in 1889, forty-seven of the eighty-five boys committed to the institution were under the age of fourteen.[76] Penetanguishene itself was little more than a prison. It provided almost no meaningful training to the more than 300 boys who lived in its two dormitories.[77]

The reformers believed the boys needed a sense of home and belonging, rather than living in the prison-like surroundings that existed at places such as Penetanguishene.[78] In 1862, the Board of Inspectors of Prisons, Asylums, and Public Charities of Canada commented that although reformatories might reform a criminal youth, they would do nothing to help a poor boy who needed to learn a trade. Instead, the board called for the creation of "ragged schools" and industrial farms—in essence, industrial schools. Unlike reformatories, they were not intended to house young lawbreakers, but rather the poor, vagrant, neglected, or homeless children. In order to separate the child from an unwholesome family environment, advocates believed, industrial schools had to be residential institutions.[79]

The first industrial schools in Canada

In 1874, the Ontario government adopted the *Industrial Schools Act*. It gave Ontario school boards the right to establish industrial schools to which magistrates could send children to live when they deemed the children to be neglected.[80] Nothing more was accomplished until 1883, when leading members of the Toronto business and political community established the Industrial Schools Association of Toronto. The association planned to create industrial schools for "children found begging, wandering without shelter, destitute, unmanageable by their legal guardians, or without adequate parental control." In these schools, they would be given the training needed to make them "useful citizens."[81] Toronto mayor William H. Howland, one of the school's founders and promoters, predicted, "There will not be any trouble in placing them and eventually they will be holding land of their own and we will have good citizens manufactured out of so-called bad boys."[82]

After a four-year fundraising campaign, the Victoria Industrial School opened in Mimico, just west of Toronto. The school's underlying philosophy was that children became criminals because they had fallen under bad influences; usually, this meant their parents, family members, or friends. The children could be rehabilitated by removing them from these influences and placing them in a setting where they would be taught "industry, sobriety and discipline."[83] The rural location was selected to remove the students from the city and its temptations. Since parents were numbered among the potentially negative influences, they were allowed to visit their children only once a month.[84]

At the start, municipalities with students in the school were expected to pay $2 a week per boy, and the Ontario government paid seventy cents a week. Parents were expected to make a contribution "in proportion to their means."[85] Under Ontario's 1880 *Act for the Protection and Reformation of Neglected Children*, a judge could send children under the age of fourteen to an industrial school, where they might be required to stay until they turned eighteen.[86] In 1889, half of the 140 boys at the Victoria Industrial School had been placed there by their parents.[87]

On the school grounds were six, two- and three-storey, red-brick buildings, referred to as "cottages." Each was capable of holding thirty-five to forty boys. They were supervised by a male and female officer, often a married couple.[88] There were ongoing problems with the water supply and sanitation, contributing to outbreaks of scarlet fever, malaria, and diphtheria. Strict quarantines established in response to these outbreaks often led to students' being kept in the school longer than necessary.[89]

The boys rose at 6:30 a.m., then put in four and a half hours of manual labour, three hours in the classroom, and one hour at religious studies. They had only one hour a day of unsupervised activity and were to go to bed between 8:45 and 9:00 p.m. Along with their manual training, they were required to do housework, knit, launder clothes, cook, bake, and serve meals. Manual training included tailoring, farming, carpentry, painting, printing, and shoe repair. Working in the laundry, one of the least desirable jobs, was reserved for the newly arrived or those being punished.[90]

Indecent language was punished with two slaps; and stealing apples, with two days on bread and water. Whippings on the bare back and legs were the punishment for other offences. A school employee was once fined $5 for striking a boy. In the 1920s, there were allegations in the press that one boy had been shackled to his bed for a month, beaten with a leather strap, and placed on a bread-and-water diet for two weeks. The parents of a boy who died at the school claimed his death was due to inhaling lead paint fumes, as he was a member of the school painting crew.[91]

Runaways were not uncommon. When four boys ran away in 1896, the principal decided not to go after them, since they had all run away and been returned at least five times each in the previous year. In 1921, twenty-two boys ran away at once. More seriously, one boy assaulted a matron, and another boy shot and wounded one of the staff.[92]

In 1892, the Alexandra Industrial School for Girls opened in what is now Scarborough. It was followed by two Catholic schools, one for boys and one for girls, both in Toronto. Québec already had four industrial schools by the end of the 1880s. By 1910, Manitoba and British Columbia had established similar schools.[93] From 1875 to 1899, the number of youngsters in provincially funded institutions doubled from 970 to 1,855.[94] At the Manitoba school, located in Portage la Prairie, boys went to school half-days and spent the rest of the day taking lessons in farming, carpentry, tailoring, and shoe repair. The Saskatchewan government had been sending boys to the school, but was unimpressed by the quality of trades training and, reasoning that the farming skills the school focused on could be gained by fostering children out, withdrew its students.[95] In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council called for an investigation into allegations of excessive flogging by the principal at the BC industrial school for boys. In his defence, the principal said he whipped only boys who ran away. At the Halifax Boys Industrial School, first offenders were strapped, and repeat offenders were placed in cells on a bread-and-water ration. From there, they might be sent to the penitentiary.[96]

Immigrant children

The industrial schools and reformatories in Europe also served as a source of child immigration. Between 1867 and 1917, a variety of British charities and social service agencies sent over 80,000 British children to Canada.[97] Their numbers were made up of orphans, street children, or youngsters who had run afoul of the law, or who had been abandoned or relinquished by their parents to orphanages, children's homes, or industrial schools. All the institutions faced an ongoing problem: what to do with all the children they accepted? Many of their directors became convinced that the children could have a fresh start in Canada, where, it was thought, the children could be boarded with families where they would be raised and trained in work such as farm labour and domestic service.[98]

As a result, many children were permanently separated from their parents. The best known of these child immigration agencies was run by Thomas Barnardo. Between 1882 and 1915, Barnardo's Homes transported nearly 25,000 children, mostly boys, to Canada. He also established a number of receiving homes in Canada, including an industrial farm in Russell, Manitoba.[99]

Life in a new country was fraught with difficulty. Although the goal was to board the children out, many children languished in poorly funded receiving homes and industrial farms. Those who were boarded out were often sent back: they were deemed too young, too slow, or otherwise unsuitable. Little was done to supervise their lives on farms or in homes. They were frequently overworked, underpaid, and at risk of a variety of abuses.[100] In 1910, the supervisor of the Barnardo operation in Canada was accused of sexually abusing a number of girls. Despite ongoing allegations of abuse and neglect, no formal action was taken against him for another nine years.[101] One sample study found evidence that 9% of the girls and 15% of the boys sent out by Barnardo were the victims of excessive punishment.[102] It also noted that 11% of the girls became pregnant while under the authority of the Barnardo agency.[103] The link between the work of the industrial schools for the children of the urban 'dangerous' classes and the residential schools for First Nations was made explicit by the Anglican missionary E. F. Wilson, who was the founding principal of the Shingwauk residential school in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. His stated goal was "simply to do the same for the Indian children of Canada that Dr. Barnardo has been doing for the street children of London and other English cities."[104]

Children's aid model

The strongest criticism of the industrial schools came from Toronto journalist J. J. Kelso. The organizer of the Toronto Humane Society, a forerunner of children's aid societies (CAS), Kelso opposed institutions because they did not allow "the ordinary joys of childhood and the endearments of home ties."[105] It was his preference to place neglected children in family settings. As the CAS model gained favour, funding for the Victoria Industrial School, which was always modest, went into decline.[106] Due to Kelso's efforts, by 1907, there were over sixty children's aid societies in Ontario. In large measure, the institutional approach had been abandoned in favour of providing care in a family setting.[107]

The children's aid societies, which were intended to be alternatives to institutions such as industrial schools, engaged in their own form of institutionalization. When the Ontario societies apprehended a child in the 1890s, they were supposed to house them in a shelter prior to placing them with a foster family. Ideally, the shelter would have a workshop in which boys could learn manual trades, a sewing room for girls, and a small garden where they could learn agricultural skills. Many did not live up to the ideal. Some—locked and barred to prevent escape—more closely resembled jails. In at least one case, the medical health officer and staff inspector of the police in Toronto noted that a shelter was overcrowded and had poor sanitation.[108] Despite these limitations, the CAS model had come to dominate child welfare by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Residential schooling was now reserved largely for Aboriginal children.

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The Canadian residential school system, 1867 to 1939

CHAPTER 9

Laying the groundwork for the residential school system

Although education is identified as a provincial responsibility under the division of powers in the Canadian federation, it was the federal government, operating under the provisions of the *British North America Act*, that took responsibility for First Nations and, much later, Inuit education.

The *Indian Act* and education before residential schools

While most provincial and territorial governments eventually adopted specific acts with detailed policies for education and schools, the federal government chose to address First Nations education through the *Indian Act* and the legislation that preceded it. The 1869 *Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians* contained a provision that allowed band councils to frame rules and regulations for "the construction of and maintaining in repair of school houses, council houses and other Indian public buildings." Before they could be put into effect, those rules and regulations required the approval of the federal government.[1] Adopted into the 1876 *Indian Act*, this was the Act's first significant educational provision. An 1880 amendment allowed bands to select the religious denomination of schoolteachers. There was a significant restriction on this provision: the teacher had to be of the same Christian faith as the majority of the band members. The amendment also provided that members of the minority Christian faith, be they "Catholic or Protestant," had the right to establish their own school.[2] A decision to establish a school for those on the reserve who were members of a non-dominant Christian faith and a decision on the faith of the teacher were both subject to federal government approval.

First Nations schooling after Confederation

The Indian Affairs annual report for 1876 listed only two residential schools in operation, both in Ontario: Mount Elgin at Muncey, with mechanical arts taught in workshops paid for by "Indian funds"; and the Mohawk Institute near Brantford. Mount Elgin, with thirty-four students, was reported as being funded by the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the Mohawk Institute, which had ninety students, by the New England Company. There were approximately thirty-five day schools in Ontario, eight in Quebec, three in Nova Scotia, and one in New Brunswick.[illegible]

The government had also begun to support day schools for First Nations children in the West. In 1880, there were nineteen Indian schools in Manitoba and Keewatin (the Keewatin District was established as a separate political district in 1876, and included much of what is now northern Manitoba, northwestern Ontario, and Nunavut), and nineteen in the North-West Territories, each funded to a maximum of $300 a year by the federal government.[illegible] Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs Lawrence Vankoughnet outlined the government's responsibilities to fund First Nations education in an 1882 memorandum to Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald. (In addition to being prime minister, Macdonald was also the minister responsible for Indian Affairs.) Vankoughnet took the position that while the Treaties said the government was bound to maintain schools, it did not have to construct them. Furthermore, in his view, maintenance did not include salaries for teachers or school supplies. By 1882, the government was prepared to contribute $100 towards school construction if the First Nation cut the logs and put up the walls. Often, this was not necessary because missionaries had already constructed a school. Vankoughnet noted that in the future the government might consider erecting schools on reserves, but these should be as inexpensive as possible, "compatible with comfort and convenience."[illegible]

Attendance at day schools was a constant concern. Vankoughnet reported in 1878:

> The difficulties attendant on the successful management of the Indian schools appear to me to be caused by— 1st. The irregular attendance of the children arising from the indifference and nomadic habits of the parents, and often from want of proper clothing. 2nd. The general lack of interest on the part of the teachers in their work, as well as of knowledge of the two languages, English and Indian. If, however, they possessed the first qualification, the second might be readily acquired.[illegible]

Day schools on First Nations reserves were not the only schools in Canada with irregular attendance during this period. In 1880, over 20% of the school-aged children in Canada as a whole were not enrolled in school. The daily attendance of those enrolled in Ontario was 45.4% in that year—in all likelihood, a sign that many of the older enrolled children were not attending at all.[illegible] Local school officials often attributed the non-attendance of these non-Aboriginal children to the indifference of their parents. In reality, many parents needed children to help out on the farm or at home; many of the jobs of the period did not require a significant level of education, and both parents and children recognized that the focus of the curriculum of the day met the needs only of the limited number of children who were expected to go on to secondary education and university. Even parents who wished to see their children gain access to the benefits of education sometimes found it necessary to withdraw them from school to help the family meet immediate economic challenges.

Church-run schools

In addition to Mount Elgin and the Mohawk Institute, by the late 1870s there was also a growing number of church-run boarding schools. In Ontario, the Anglican Shingwauk Home at Sault Ste. Marie opened in 1873, and the Roman Catholic Jesuits were adding to boarding schools at their Wikwemikong boys' and girls' schools on Manitoulin Island in 1879. There were also Roman Catholic schools at St. Albert, Fort Chipewyan, Île-à-la-Crosse, and Fort Providence in the Northwest. In British Columbia, by the early 1880s there was the Anglican school at Metlakatla, the Methodist school at Port Simpson [illegible] and a Roman Catholic school at what was then called "St. Mary's Mission." In 1877, the federal government had agreed to provide a grant of $300 a year to the schools at St. Albert and Île-à-la-Crosse. In 1883, Prime Minister Macdonald [illegible] that although the day schools in the North-West were suffering from poor attendance, due to the "indifference of the parents" and from "incompetent" teachers, [illegible] the residential [illegible] schools [illegible] "improved greatly during the last four or five years."

Developing a new school policy

In December 1879, J. S. Dennis, the deputy minister of the Department of the Interior, prepared a memorandum for Prime Minister Macdonald on the country's Indian policy. Macdonald and the Conservatives had regained power in the September 1878 federal election, after spending five years in the opposition. Their proposed National Policy had been the cornerstone of the Conservative election platform: high tariffs to protect Canadian manufacturing from foreign competition, the construction of a transcontinental railway, and the settling of the Prairies with immigrant farmers. Dennis, a surveyor by training, had his own history with the Prairie West, having been run out of Red River by Louis Riel in 1869.

Dennis advised Macdonald that the long-term goal of Canadian Indian policy should be to instruct "our Indian and half-breed populations" in farming, raising cattle, and the mechanical trades, rendering them self-sufficient and "thus paving the way for their emancipation from tribal government and for their final absorption into the general community." It would be the end of a separate Aboriginal identity and government. This outcome could be achieved "only" through the establishment of industrial schools:

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The Davin Report

The development of a new school system was a matter of some urgency, given the [illegible]

In January 1879, the federal government commissioned Nicholas Flood Davin, a [illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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voice regarding the character and management of the schools as well as regarding the initiatory step of their establishment." These decisions should be made by government, he thought, and not according to the "designing predilections of a Chief." Chief Peace would eventually come into conflict with the government over its residential school policies.

Davin believed he was writing at a moment of crisis. There were 28,000 First Nations people in the area covered by Treaty. There was "barely time to inaugurate a system of education by means of which the native peoples of the North-West shall be gradually prepared to meet the necessities of the not distant future; to welcome and facilitate, it may be hoped, the settlement of the country; and to render its government easy and not expensive." Making use of crude generalizations, Davin argued that First Nations people had no option but to be colonized. "The Indian himself is a noble type of man," but, Davin argued, he was in a "very early stage of development," and his temperament was "lymphatic" (meaning "lacking in energy"), while the Anglo-Celt was "nervous or nervo-sanguine," possessing "great staying power, often highly intellectual, vigorous, of quick perception, and large resource." It was clear to Davin which people would prevail in the Northwest. Residential schooling was, in his mind, an essential part of that process.

Davin believed it would be impossible to educate and civilize most adult Aboriginal people, who had "the suspicion, distrust, fault-finding tendency, the insincerity and flattery produced in all subject races." He insisted that Aboriginal people were not children and should not be treated as children. However, his description as to how they should be treated—with "firm, bold, kindly handling and boundless patience"—does sound like the advice one would find at the time on how to treat a child.

He believed the focus had to be on raising the children away from the parents, and that "if anything is to be done with the Indian, we must catch him very young." Once caught, they were to be "kept constantly within the circle of civilized conditions," which, in his opinion, required boarding schools. Were it not for the fact that many of the First Nations and Métis populations of the Northwest were still migratory, Davin would have recommended "an extensive application of the principle of industrial boarding schools." Instead, he recommended an extension of support for the church-run schools, which he described as "monuments of religious zeal and heroic self-sacrifice." These schools had the additional virtue, in his eyes, of being economical, since they recruit "an enthusiastic person, with, therefore, a motive power beyond anything pecuniary remuneration could supply." Davin acknowledged that a central element of the education to be provided would be the destruction of Aboriginal spirituality. Since all civilizations were based on religion, it would be inexcusable, he thought, to do away with Aboriginal faith "without supplying a better."

Other than calling on the government to continue, and expand, its support of existing boarding schools, Davin's major recommendation was the establishment of not more than four industrial schools, to be operated by the churches. His suggested locations were Prince Albert (Anglican), Old Bow Fort (Methodist), Qu'Appelle (Roman Catholic), and Riding Mountain (Presbyterian). If the government were to establish more than four schools, the fifth should be at St. Peter's in Manitoba.[37]

He did not recommend the immediate imposition of compulsory attendance, but he did recommend that such a measure be introduced "as Bands become more amenable to the restraints of civilization." He saw the churches as being able to tap a zealous supply of cheap labour, yet he recognized that salaries must be sufficient to "induce good men to offer themselves," with teachers to be paid according to their qualifications.[38] Davin also made it clear he thought the schools should be open to both sexes. Talented boys and girls should be given the opportunity to train as teachers, civil servants, business people, and professionals.

He did make clear distinctions between First Nations people and Métis people. Davin made a strong case for providing residential schooling to children of the 1,200 Métis families he estimated to be living in the North-West. He thought they had "in high development many of those virtues which would make a useful official," but their current skills were not enough. They "must be educated, and become susceptible to the bracing influences of complex wants and varied ambitions."[39]

Support builds for residential schools

The recommendations in Davin's report were not implemented for nearly four years. One of the reasons for the delay was the growing crisis created by the collapse of the buffalo hunt. In the spring of 1879, David Laird, the lieutenant-governor of the North-West Territories, questioned whether the benefits of industrial schools would be equal to their cost. In any case, he said, there were more immediate concerns. In order to avert starvation among the "Indians and half-breeds," he thought, money for industrial schools could be better used to hire "a few practical men" who could teach Aboriginal people "how to plough, sow, and save their crops."[40]

Archbishop Taché of St. Boniface had reservations about residential schooling. In an 1879 memorandum to Deputy Minister of the Interior J. S. Dennis on the "half-breed question," Taché wrote that "the establishment of industrial schools for boys would necessitate a large expenditure of money without securing the desired result. The half-breeds are very handy, ingenious, good working men, and in many ways more skillful than most of the farmers of other countries." Not only was such training unneeded, but he also doubted that their children "would remain long under such tuition." He thought there was a need for industrial schools for girls, since "females brought up on the plains have no training whatsoever for the different industries required in a farmer's house."[41]

Bishop Vital Grandin of St. Albert (near present-day Edmonton) led the campaign for residential schooling. Convinced that Aboriginal people faced extinction, and doubtful that adult hunters and trappers could be transformed successfully into farmers, he argued in an 1880 letter to Public Works Minister Hector Langevin that "the only efficient means of saving them from destruction and civilizing the Indians of the N.W. is to begin with the young children, all other expenses incurred for this end will be nearly a dead loss." Day schools could do good work, but the

> young Indian living with his family will never attend regularly & if in spite of this he learns to read and write he will nevertheless live like his father by hunting and fishing only he will remain an Indian. To become civilized they should be taken with the consent of their parents & made to lead a life different from their parents and cause them to forget the customs, habits & language of their ancestors.

Grandin was convinced that parents would willingly give their children to boarding schools. "The poor Indians wish nothing more than the happiness of their children. They foresee well enough the future which awaits them and often beg of us to take them so that we can prepare them for a better prospect."[42] In a letter to Prime Minister Macdonald in 1880, Grandin stressed the success that had been achieved at the missionary boarding schools, and reported, "The children whom we have brought up are no longer Indians & at the time of leaving our Establishments, the boys at least, do not wish to receive even the ordinary grants made to Indians, they wish to live like the whites and they are able to do so." Given these successes, he proposed that the government "make a trial of letting us have children of five years old and leaving them in our Orphan Asylums & Industrial schools until the time of their marriage or the age of 21 years."[43]

Grandin's position came to dominate Catholic thinking, and, by early 1883, he was in Ottawa to lobby federal politicians directly.[44] In February of that year, the Archbishop of Québec wrote to Macdonald on behalf of Grandin, who, he said, held

> with profound grief the distress of these unfortunate people deprived of their hunting grounds by the encroachments of the Pale faces and the sufferings which are the consequence and which threaten to dessemenate [sic] and even to entirely destroy them. The only means one can see of preventing or at least delaying these fatal results is to labor to civilize their children and young men by accustoming them either to work the land or to learn a trade.

The Archbishop urged Macdonald to support the Oblates' efforts by committing the government to funding schools, workshops, and farms "under the management of their zealous Missionaries."[45]

In April 1883, Edgar Dewdney, the lieutenant-governor and Indian commissioner for the North-West Territories, wrote to Macdonald that "the time has arrived" when industrial schooling "might be carried on with great advantage to the Indians." The evidence showed that such schools had "met with great success both in the United States and the older Provinces of Canada." He recommended that one school be located on the North Saskatchewan River, one at Qu'Appelle, and one in Treaty 7 territory, in what is now southern Alberta. The former lieutenant-governor's residence at Battleford could be put to immediate use, and new buildings would have to be constructed at the other locations. He recommended that a considerable area of land be attached to each school and that a farmer be engaged to "take charge of that part of the education of the pupils. By this means I think the Institutions might be made to some extent self-supporting." Quoting Davin's report, he stressed the advantages—including the economic savings—of having the churches supply the staff.

He estimated the Qu'Appelle school would cost $6,000 to construct. He sketched out the following budget for an operational residential school:

Principal	$1,200
Assistant	$800
Matron	$400
Farmer ($60 per month)	$720
Cook	$240
	$3,360
Food and clothing for 30 children	$4,500
Furniture and general equipment	$2,000
	$6,500

On this basis, he recommended that $43,000 be added to the Indian Affairs budget for the 1883–84 year. This would provide $12,000 to construct the Qu'Appelle and what would become the High River schools, $1,000 to refit the Battleford school, and $10,000 to operate each school.[46]

The commitment is made

In large measure, most of the administrative costs of the Department of Indian Affairs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remained as they had been since before Confederation, covered with money from the sale of First Nations land and from the sale of seized timber that had been illegally cut on First Nations land. Funding for industrial schools, however, would have to come from Parliament.[47] In the spring of 1883, Public Works Minister Hector Langevin presented a budget to the House of Commons, based on Dewdney's estimates. He argued that

> if you wish to educate these children you must separate them from their parents during the time that they are being educated. If you leave them in the family they may know how to read and write, but they still remain savages, whereas by separating them in the way proposed, they acquire the habits and tastes—it is to be hoped only the good tastes—of civilized people.[48]

Parliament approved $43,000 in spending for the establishment of three new industrial schools.[49] This decision was made at the same time as the federal government was reducing its spending on relief for First Nations in the West.

In July, the federal Cabinet adopted an Order-in-Council authorizing the establishment of three industrial schools. The Battleford school was to be located in the former residence of the lieutenant-governor to the North-West Territories (Dewdney's former residence), and its religious orientation was to be Protestant. Anglican minister Thomas Clarke was to be principal, and his salary was to be $1,200 a year. When a sufficient number of students were recruited, some were to be taught trades other than agriculture, the two most likely being carpentry and blacksmithing. Dewdney was in charge of deciding where students came from, whether "one tribe, or differently from all the bands in a given area." The other two schools were to be located in Qu'Appelle and in Treaty 7 territory. Archbishop Taché of St. Boniface was authorized to appoint the principal of the Qu'Appelle school and Bishop Grandin of St. Albert was to appoint the Treaty 7 principal. The Catholics were advised to seek out a person "possessed not only of erudition but of administrative ability." Dewdney was to oversee the construction of the Qu'Appelle school, the cost of which was not to exceed $6,000. The Qu'Appelle school was to have the same staff complement as the Battleford school. Dewdney was advised to be guided by Davin's report in establishing the residential schools.[50]

The Battleford school opened on December 1, 1883. It was the beginning of a new era in Canadian residential schooling. Before then, most of the initiative for residential schooling had come from the churches. They had built the schools, hired the staff, recruited the students, and made and enforced most of the policy. The federal government had limited itself to providing grants of usually no more than $300 a year. But, by establishing the three industrial schools in the North-West, the government was accepting responsibility for the creation of a system of residential schools. The schools were created on the basis of a government-commissioned report, and were intended to meet government policy goals, not those of the churches. And, while administered by the churches, the new schools were fully funded by the government. The system grew rapidly. By 1900, there were twenty-two industrial schools and thirty-nine boarding schools.[51] In the twentieth century, the distinction between the two types of schools was abandoned and, by the 1920s, they were all called "residential schools." The system remained in operation for another seventy years, until the mid-1990s.

The early consequences

Throughout its long history, the residential school system constituted an attack on the identity and vitality of Aboriginal children, Aboriginal families, Aboriginal languages, culture, and spirituality, and Aboriginal nations. As official records show, these impacts were not unfortunate by-products of a well-intentioned system. On the contrary, they were the predetermined and desired outcomes built right into the system from the outset.

The attack on children

The attack on Aboriginal children was the most obvious and grievous failing of the residential school system. For children, life in the schools was lonely and alien. Supervision was limited, life was highly regimented, and buildings were poorly located, poorly built, and poorly maintained. The staff was limited in numbers, often poorly trained, and not adequately supervised. The schools often were poorly heated and poorly ventilated, the diet was meagre and of poor quality, and the discipline was harsh. Aboriginal culture was disdained and languages were suppressed. The educational goals of the schools were limited and confused, and usually reflected a low regard for the intellectual capabilities of Aboriginal people. For the students, education and mechanical training too often gave way to the drudgery of doing the chores necessary to make the schools self-sustaining—a fantasy that government officials indulged in for over a half-century. Child neglect was institutionalized, and the lack of supervision created situations where students were prey to sexual and physical abuse.

These things did not just happen: they were the result of government decisions. In July 1883, Prime Minister Macdonald wrote to Public Works Minister Langevin that the two Roman Catholic schools were to be "of the simplest & cheapest construction." Macdonald thought that in two or three years' time, the cost of building materials would have dropped to the point where the government could authorize "permanent buildings in brick." In reality, once buildings were constructed, they often continued in operation until they burned or fell down.[52] Dewdney closed his July 1883 letter of instructions to Battleford principal Thomas Clarke with the message, "I need scarcely inform you that the strictest economy must be practised in all particulars."[53] Problems soon arose from placing the Battleford school in what had once been a private residence, a decision intended to save money. In June 1884, Principal Clarke reported that "the need of having a good supply of water near the Institution is daily becoming more urgent." The closest water supply was from the river, which was almost a kilometre away at the bottom of a steep hill.[54]

Even more serious were the high mortality rates associated with the schools. In October 1884, F. Bourne, a missionary on the Blood Reserve, raised objections to sending students to schools that were distant from their homes, because "from many years experience I find that often when thus treated, they die or pine from sheer home sickness."[55] Health problems led to problems in recruiting students. In 1886, the Indian agent at Onion Lake reported that, despite his requests, parents had refused to send their children to Battleford. They "did not like the way the boys were treated that had been sent there & that one died soon after & the other had been expelled on account of being a bad boy."[56] The "half-day system," which meant students worked for half the day, and which Dennis, Davin, and Dewdney all believed would render the system self-supporting, came close to turning the schools into child labour camps. In 1898, very few of the students at the Brandon school could "attend school throughout the whole day, owing to the duties claiming their attention here and there about the farm."[57] Hayter Reed was highly critical of Mount Elgin and the Mohawk Institute, where older students spent two-thirds of the day in class. He wrote, "I cannot approve [of this system]; since, in my opinion, unless it be intended to train children to earn their bread by brain-work, rather than by manual labour, at least half of their day should be devoted to acquiring skill in the latter."[58] Aboriginal children were being educated to fill positions at the bottom of the labour market.

It was not until 1889 that Indian Affairs officials recognized that "it would be well to have a code of Regulations, with which the Church authorities should be asked to comply, in obtaining children for their Schools, and in applying for the Grant."[59] Despite this belated recognition, no such code was developed at that time. In 1897, when a former school employee complained that the principal of the Rupert's Land school in Manitoba was taking liberties with female students, Indian Commissioner Amédée Forget conducted a brief inspection, which led him to conclude that while it might have been imprudent, there was no reason to believe there were any criminal intentions in the principal's behaviour. It would be another year before a different commissioner reacted to fresh complaints by firing the principal.[60]

The attack on Aboriginal families

In establishing residential schools, the Canadian government was essentially declaring Aboriginal people as a class unfit to be parents. Aboriginal parents often were labelled as being indifferent to the future of their children—a judgment contradicted by the fact that they often kept their children out of schools because they saw those schools, quite accurately, as dangerous and harsh institutions that sought to raise their children in alien ways. Once in the schools, brothers and sisters were kept apart, and the government and churches even arranged marriages for students after they finished their education.

Government officials and missionaries believed that children would grow up to be pagan, uncivilized, and lazy if they were left with their parents. While some, like Bishop Grandin, believed Aboriginal parents cared deeply about their children and would therefore surrender them to off-reserve schools, others charged that Aboriginal parents were at best indifferent and most likely to be a danger to the future of their children. When education was provided at day schools, Davin claimed, the "influence of the wigwam"—meaning the influence of the parents—"was stronger than the influence of the school."[illegible] In 1889, Dewdney, by then Indian Affairs minister, boasted, "The boarding school dissociates the Indian child from the deleterious home influences to which he would be otherwise subjected. It reclaims him from the uncivilized state in which he has been brought up."[illegible] Five years later, his successor, Hayter Reed, said, "The extension of educational work is being chiefly carried out in the direction of industrial and semi-industrial institutions, in which the children not only get the positive advantages of instruction superior to what could be given them on the reserves, but are removed from the retarding influences of contact with them."[illegible]

In 1890, Indian Affairs school inspector T. P Wadsworth wrote, "It is from the children of graduates, that I expect to see the fruit of the system. But little permanent impression can be made on the child of a buffalo hunter, one who has heard from his parents' lips, the fine times they enjoyed in the buffalo hunting, horse stealing, Indian wars, days."[illegible] Perhaps the most definitive expression of the rationale behind the war on Aboriginal families came from Prime Minister Macdonald, who told the House of Commons in 1883:

> When the school is on the reserve the child lives with its parents, who are savages; he is surrounded by savages, and though he may learn to read and write his habits, and training and mode of thought are Indian. He is simply a savage who can read and write. It has been strongly pressed on myself, as the head of the Department, that Indian children should be withdrawn as much as possible from the parental influence, and the only way to do that would be to put them in central training industrial schools where they will acquire the habits and modes of thought of white men.[illegible]

The attack on Aboriginal languages, culture, and spirituality

The residential school system was based on a racist assumption that European civilization and the Christian religion were superior to Aboriginal culture, which was seen as being savage and brutal. Government officials also were insistent that children be discouraged—and often prohibited—from speaking their own languages. Some missionaries who had been instructed to learn Aboriginal languages could be somewhat more tolerant of language use in the schools, at least in religious instruction. Indeed, the Bible had been translated into some Aboriginal languages by missionary linguists. Through this, some missionaries actually helped to maintain Aboriginal languages, but in ways that further undermined Aboriginal spirituality. The missionaries who ran the schools played prominent roles in the church-led campaigns to ban Aboriginal spiritual practices such as the Potlatch and the Sun Dance (more properly called the "Thirst Dance"), and to end traditional Aboriginal marriage practices. Although, in most of their official pronouncements, government and church officials took the position that Aboriginal people could be civilized, it is clear that many believed that Aboriginal people were inherently inferior.

The refusal to accept the legitimacy of Aboriginal culture as constituting a valid civilization is reflected in Davin's claim that residential schools were required if children were to be "kept constantly within the circle of civilized conditions." Dewdney recycled this language in his annual report for 1883: "we must take charge of the youth and keep him constantly within the circle of civilization."[illegible] Both Davin and Dewdney argued that education would make Aboriginal people self-sufficient, but they also expressed racist views in the way they perceived Aboriginal people's natural abilities. In the same 1883 annual report, Dewdney repeated Davin's claim that Aboriginal people had "inherited aversion to toil." Dewdney's only change was to substitute the word "labour" for "toil."[illegible] To overcome this supposed aversion to toil, the schools were operated on a highly regimented system that equated labour with spiritual grace. The program of studies the government issued in the mid-1890s stressed, "Every effort must be made to induce pupils to speak English, and to teach them to understand it; *unless they do the whole work of the teacher is likely to be wasted.*"[illegible]

Indian agents regularly reported on the religious status of communities, viewing the growth of Christianity as a sign of progress. Of the Gordon's Reserve, Indian agent S. Swinford commented, "The old and middle-aged still cling to their old beliefs and the younger people do not take any interest in religion of any kind; the young children growing up at schools will in all probability incline towards Christianity, and their children will not know anything about their grandparents' beliefs."[illegible]

The missionary scorn for Aboriginal culture was palpable at times. William Ridley, the Anglican Bishop of Caledonia, saw the poverty of a First Nations community as a reflection of the people's "spiritual failing."

> The houses are rotting, propped up, and patched. Squalid within and dismal without, they truly show the moral and physical condition of their ignorant and superstitious inhabitants. These cling with a passionate resolve to the yaok [a term that is not defined in the original document], or potlatch. 'That is our mountain,' say they, 'our only joy, dearer than life. To prison and death we will go

> rather than yield.' Yet this is their state. It is impossible to heighten the contrast between the Christless and the Christian people of the same tribe.

The Bishop of Keewatin in 1908 said that if Indians lacked the moral stamina to compete with whites, they were doomed. Bishop Jervois Newnham of Saskatchewan questioned the intellectual capacity of Aboriginal people.

In British Columbia, the Oblate Nicolas Coccola viewed the Babine people as congenital liars, recording in his memoirs that "of them we may say, 'You lie like an Indian.'" In 1903, Qu'Appelle school principal Joseph Hugonnard, who had been in office since 1884, called on the federal government to eliminate the "pagan habits, customs, superstitions and mode of life" that still held sway on the reserves. These "habits and customs," he wrote, "must be eradicated, or at least suppressed." He challenged those who might think this harsh to visit a dance where they could see former students "nearly nude, painted and decked out in feathers and beads, dancing like demented individuals and indulging in all kinds of debauchery." In his opinion, Indian Affairs must adopt a strong uniform policy, "totally prohibiting dancing and its attendant pow wows."

The attack on Aboriginal nations

Residential schools were an essential element in the federal government's policy of using enfranchisement to eliminate Aboriginal governments and its own responsibilities to Aboriginal people. It was conceived of, and implemented by, the same people who confined Aboriginal people to reserves, declined to fulfill Treaty obligations, outlawed cultural practices, and, in 1885, had either executed or jailed many of the Prairies' First Nations leaders.

The missionaries quite consciously saw themselves in a struggle to overcome a sense of national identity among Aboriginal people. In 1883, Sister M. O. Charlebois, assistant to the mother superior of the Sisters of Charity of the General Hospital in Montreal, petitioned Macdonald for an increase in support for the schools her religious order was running in the Northwest. In her letter, Charlebois spoke of the battle the order was waging against "national prejudices" against residential schooling. "Ignorant themselves, the Indians depreciate the benefits of education—lazy and indolent, they despise labor—loving their children as the wild animal does its young, they are loth [sic] to entrust them to strangers, while the little ones inured to roam free could ill bear restraint." In 1903, the Church Missionary Society (CMS), in one of its resolutions on the "Administration of the North-West Canada Missions," observed, quoting long-time CMS secretary Henry Venn, that "although the Indian tribes are but remnants of nations, they are living remnants."

[illegible]

[illegible]

CHAPTER 10

Student accounts of residential school life, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

concluded his account of his journey with a vow that, if he could not raise what was needed in Canada, he would "go to the far distant land across the sea, and talk to the son of our Great Mother, the Prince of Wales, who became my friend when he gave me my medal, and I believe will still befriend me if I tell him what my people need."[7]

Shingwauk did not make that trip, but in 1872, his brother Buhkwujjenene (sometimes given as Buhgwujjenene) accompanied Wilson on a fundraising trip to England, where they raised 740 pounds. With this money, Wilson planned to construct a school that could accommodate thirty boarding students—boys and girls. There were sixty acres (24.3 hectares) of farmland available to the school, much of which had been cleared by local First Nations men. Wilson's initial plan was to educate the students at a day school that had been built with the money Shingwauk had raised, including a contribution of $30 from the Garden River Ojibway. In addition to farming, the boys were to be taught boot making and carpentry. An appeal to Canadian Anglicans stated that the salaries of the school staff were "provided for through the liberality of English friends." Contributions still were needed to pay for the support of the children.[8]

The campaign succeeded. In 1873, the Shingwauk Home opened at Garden River, near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. It was destroyed by fire within the week. In a letter to Indian Affairs, Chief Buhkwujjenene declared himself "depressed, for all the children that was in the Institution are extremely poor."[9] A new school opened in 1876 and remained in operation until 1970. The efforts of Shingwauk and Buhkwujjenene to establish a "big teaching wigwam" are a reminder that despite the conflicts and disappointments that would arise in the future, from the outset of the residential school system, some Aboriginal leaders and parents were committed to ensuring that their children received the schooling they would need to make an ongoing contribution to the life of their communities.

Charles Nowell

Charles Nowell, as he later came to be known, was born in 1870 in Fort Rupert, British Columbia. The name given him at birth was Tlalis (Stranded Whale). His father was Wallas, a member of the Kwakwaka'wakw Nation (the name is given as Kwakiutl in a memoir he prepared with anthropologist Clellan S. Ford). When he was young, Nowell

> used to sleep sometimes beside my father. When I lie in bed beside him, he talked to me about our ancestors. He told me about my grandfather and his father and his father, and what they did, and about how our ancestors knew about the flood. He told me the story of one clan of the Kwekas how the ancestor of this clan knew there was going to be a flood, and how he built a house made out of clay where he is going to live under the water while the flood is on.[10]

He also was told creation stories and of the Potlatches that had been given by his ancestors. Giving Potlatches, his father instructed him, was the only way to maintain his good name. To this end, he must not spend his money foolishly, but, instead, save, lend, and continue the Potlatch tradition.[110]

However, his mother died while he was young and his father began to lose his eyesight. Under these conditions, his brother arranged for him to be admitted in 1878 to the mission boarding school run by the Anglican James Hall at Alert Bay. He was a reluctant recruit.

> It was hard. I cried for nearly a week. Mr. and Mrs. Hall did all they could to make me forget my feelings, but it was very hard to forget it, for I had never been away from my parents while they were living, and I never was away from my brother.… While I was in school the first week, they tried to teach me how to write and spell, but I couldn't do anything for I didn't want to learn. I only wanted to get back to my home.[111]

At the school, he was given a new name. "Mr. Hall gave me my name when he baptized me. I got the name Nowell because a Sunday school teacher in England wanted Mr. Hall to give me his name, and they say that he was my godfather when I was baptized, and he used to send me presents every Christmas."[112]

Initially, he was the only male student and he boarded, along with the girls, in the missionary's home. It was only after he had been there for several years that a dormitory was built and more boys were enrolled in the school, a development that eased his loneliness. Once, when asked to assist in cleaning the toilet, he swore at the missionary's wife. When he resisted being punished for this, he was beaten on his back and shoulders and locked away in a small room without food. He escaped by jumping out a window and running to his grandfather's cabin, with Rev. Hall in close pursuit. When told that Hall wanted to beat Charles, his grandfather grabbed a piece of the wood he had been unloading from a canoe and warned the missionary he had better leave if he himself did not wish to be beaten. His grandfather let Charles live at his house for a week. The boy was persuaded to return to school only after the grandfather met with the missionary and the Indian agent, and extracted a promise that corporal punishment would be administered only in response to very serious disobedience. Charles also explained that he had been brought up not to cry, no matter how badly he had been hurt. That was why he had not cried when he had been beaten. This stoicism had served only to further enrage the missionary, making the initial beating worse. After that meeting, according to his memoir, when Charles fell afoul of the rules, the principal would call him into his office, explain that his feelings had been hurt by Charles's behaviour, and then let him go.[113] Despite their initial conflicts, Charles came to have fond memories of Rev. Hall, recording that he spoke Aboriginal languages, and ate and fed the children "Indian food" at the school. And, when Charles's brother fetched him away from the school to visit their ailing father before he died, Hall raised no objections.[15]

Charles came down with whooping cough at Alert Bay when he was about fourteen. Although his situation was dire, he was nursed back to health by a fellow student, Maggie, with whom he was in love. When she, in turn, fell ill, Charles was allowed to sit by her and, upon her death, allowed to stand vigil over her.[16]

He later went to the Anglican school at Metlakatla. There, he was caught writing love letters to a young girl who lived in a nearby village. When the principal, Bishop William Ridley, confronted Charles with the existence of the letters, Charles maintained that he loved the girl and wished to marry her. Ridley told Charles he was sending him home, since he was only causing trouble for the school.[17]

Daniel Kennedy

In his memoirs, Daniel Kennedy, an Assiniboine man, recounted, "In 1886, at the age of twelve years, I was lassoed, roped and taken to the Government School at Lebret. Six months after I enrolled, I discovered to my chagrin that I had lost my name and an English name had been tagged on me in exchange."[18] Until he went to school, his name had been Ochankuga'he, meaning "pathmaker." The name honoured a trek his grandfather had led through a Prairie blizzard.[19] The new name, Daniel Kennedy, referred to the Old Testament's Daniel of the lion's den.[20] The school interpreter later told Kennedy, "When you were brought here, for purposes of enrolment, you were asked to give your name and when you did, the Principal remarked that there were no letters in the alphabet to spell this little heathen's name and no civilized tongue could pronounce it. 'We are going to civilize him, so we will give him a civilized name,' and that was how you acquired this brand new whiteman's name."[21]

Kennedy lost more than his name on that first day.

> In keeping with the promise to civilize the little pagan, they went to work and cut off my braids, which, incidentally, according to the Assiniboine traditional custom, was a token of mourning—the closer the relative, the closer the cut. After my haircut, I wondered in silence if my mother had died, as they had cut my hair close to the scalp. I looked in the mirror to see what I looked like. A Hallowe'en pumpkin stared back at me and that did it. If this was civilization, I didn't want any part of it. I ran away from school, but I was captured and brought back. I made two more attempts, but with no better luck. Realizing that there was no escape, I resigned myself to the task of learning the three Rs.[22]

For Kennedy, even the architecture of the school was foreign and forbidding. He asked readers to "visualize for yourselves the difficulties encountered by an Indian boy who had never seen the inside of a house; who had lived in buffalo skin teepees in winter and summer; who grew up with a bow and arrow."[23]

Kennedy was a successful student who came to enjoy positive relations with Qu'Appelle principal Joseph Hugonnard. In Kennedy's opinion, Hugonnard's "genial and engaging personality won for him a host of friends in all ranks of our Canadian nation. His tact and diplomacy commanded the respect and admiration of all who came in contact with him."[24] He also credited Hugonnard and High River principal Albert Lacombe with making it possible for him and a number of other students to pursue their education after leaving residential school. Kennedy, for example, attended St. Boniface College.[25] He did not, however, become a priest. By 1899, he was back in the Northwest, serving as an assistant to an Indian Affairs farming instructor.[26] By 1901, he was an interpreter and general assistant for the Assiniboine Indian agency.[27] Two years later, he received an engineering certificate.[28]

In 1906, Kennedy sought assistance from Wolseley, Saskatchewan, lawyer Levi Thompson to petition Ottawa to allow members of the Assiniboine agency to have a holiday for a sports day and promenade. At the same time, he promised they would not participate in Sun Dances. Local Indian Affairs officials and the principal of the Qu'Appelle school feared that the proposed promenade would turn into a dance. Despite their concerns, Indian Affairs granted the application.[29]

Mike Mountain Horse

In 1893, six-year-old Mike Mountain Horse, a member of the Blood (Kainai) First Nation in what is now southern Alberta, was enrolled in the Anglican boarding school on the Blood Reserve. His brother Fred was already attending the school and was there to provide guidance on his first day.

> My Indian clothes, consisting of blanket, breech cloth, leggings, shirt and moccasins, were removed. Then my brother took me into another room where I was placed in a steaming brown fibre paper tub full of water. Yelling blue murder, I started to jump out, but my brother held on to me and I was well scrubbed and placed before a heater to dry. Next came Mr. Swainson [the principal] with a pair of shears. I was again placed in a chair. Zip went one of my long braids to the floor: the same with the other side. A trim was given as a finish to my haircut. My brother again took me in charge. "Don't cry any more," he said. "You are going to get nice clothes." Mrs. Swainson then came into the room with a bundle of clothes for me: knee pants, blouse to match with a wide lace collar, a wee cap with an emblem sewn in front, and shoes. Thus attired I strutted about like a young peacock before the other pupils.[30]

The education at the school was conducted in English, but, Mountain Horse recalled, the church services were held in Siksika (Blackfoot). To encourage students to learn English, the principal offered to honour any request for a gift that was written in English. To test the system, Mountain Horse requested, and received, a pound of butter and a can of milk. It was, he discovered, more butter than he had use for, and he threw it out.[31]

Although one of the key goals of the school was to convert the students to the Christian faith, Mountain Horse wrote that "the powerful sway of the new was not sufficient to entirely dethrone the many spirits to whom we had previously made our offerings."[32] In the end, however, he said, "The majority of the Indian youth have no alternative than to embrace the religion of the white man as taught in their schools."[33]

Mountain Horse went on to attend the Calgary industrial school.[34] After graduating, he went to work for the Mounted Police, served in the First World War, returned to work for the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, wrote the manuscript of his book on the Bloods, and ended his career as a railway labourer.[35]

Frederick O. Loft

In the early decades of the twentieth century, First Nations people began to organize nationally to advance their political rights. One of the first national leaders to emerge was Frederick O. Loft, a Mohawk from the Six Nations Reserve. Loft served in the First World War as a lieutenant, despite being fifty-two years old when war broke out. A graduate of the Ontario Business College, he spent much of his working life as a clerk in the Ontario Asylum for the Insane.[36] In 1918, he helped found the League of Indians of Canada, which was inspired in part by the historic Iroquois League, which bound together five—and, later, six—First Nations in the eastern part of the continent. According to an early League of Indians circular,

> The first Aim of the League then is to claim and protect the rights of all Indians in Canada by legitimate and just means; second, absolute control in retaining possession or dispensation of our lands; that all questions and matters relative to individual and national wellbeing of Indians shall rest with the people and their dealings with the Government shall be by and through their respective band Councils at all times.[37]

Indian Affairs aggressively worked to undermine the league. Deputy Indian Affairs Minister Duncan Campbell Scott viewed Loft as a subversive and forbade his department to co-operate with him.[38]

In 1909—a decade before the league was established—Loft wrote a series of articles for *Saturday Night* magazine that were highly critical of Canada's Aboriginal policies. He took particular aim at residential schooling. His starting position was that

Aboriginal people should not be viewed as "a wilful antagonist or oppositionist to the effort that has been and is being made to school him."[39] He wrote:

> The Indian child has been carried to school, at once alienating it from parental and home affection and ties. Under such circumstances, is it possible, I would ask, for him to be expected to learn what is taught when the mind must be burdened with loneliness and a desire to be home, perhaps constantly planning a means of stealing away at the first opportunity? This is not so serious as the fact that children are housed in a congested state that is often unsanitary and comfortless. These schools prove veritable death-traps for them, for they are, it is contended, peculiarly susceptible to the dreaded disease phthysis [tuberculosis].[40]

Loft knew what he was talking about. He had spent a year at the Mohawk Institute in the 1870s.

> I can frankly say that another serious evil is the false economy that is practised in denying the children a satisfactory measure of diet, and that in the midst of plenty produced on the farm and garden by the labor of the boys. I recall the times when working in the fields I was actually too hungry to be able to walk, let alone work. When parents visited the child, invariably the first question was, Did you bring anything to eat? In winter the rooms and beds were so cold that it took half the night before I got warm enough to fall asleep. What chance of life has a child under such conditions? When these conditions at the boarding schools and institutes become known to the parents it is no wonder they hesitate to send their children back after a vacation. If a child is forced to return, the chances are he will in time make good his escape, and perhaps not return to the home. In such a case, it is not going far from the mark to say that schooling with him becomes extremely distasteful.[41]

Loft was not impressed by the vocational training offered at the residential schools, either. He observed, "As for the various trades that are supposed to be taught in them, I am convinced, from what I have observed myself, a pupil would be many years becoming a full-fledged craftsman."[42] Loft was not surprised to discover that very few young Aboriginal students followed the trades in which they had been supposedly trained. He observed that one of the major problems with the approach was that many students were trained for trades for which they had no inclination. Indeed, the training, he said, started before the students were of an age to demonstrate an inclination for any specific trade.[43]

Loft recommended that the government follow contemporary American policy to "do away with the institutes and boarding schools [in the United States] by degrees and replace them by the spread of the day school. This is a policy of carrying education to the Indian instead of carrying him to it."[44] The day school, he wrote, "must be the outpost of Indian civilization of the young, while the ingenuous, tactful and painstaking official will be able at all times—if so disposed—to create a useful and lasting influence among the adults."[45] Loft used the Six Nations of Tuscarora as an example of the degree of interest that Aboriginal people took in education. When the Six Nations took over the schools on its reserve from the New England Company, it increased salaries, hired qualified teachers, and implemented the Ontario curriculum. Similar advances could be made elsewhere if the government would "give the Indian a little more latitude beyond feeling he is an infant, subject to the orders of petty and crude officialdom at Ottawa."[46] Loft also opposed church involvement in the schools, calling on the government either to cast aside its dependence on the churches and assume complete control of First Nations education, or to "pull up stakes and quit the job." Among the first things Indian Affairs wou'd have to do, he wrote, would be to hire a "recognized educationist."[47]

Peter Kelly

Peter Kelly was born in 1885 in Skidegate, on Haida Gwaii, British Columbia. Although his parents had converted to Methodism shortly before his birth, and were discouraged by the local missionary from telling traditional stories, Kelly grew up hearing the Haida legends from his family, and was able to retell them in his old age.[48] As a boy, Kelly resolved to be true to both his religion and his Aboriginal ancestry, a particularly difficult endeavour at a time when missionaries saw their task as one of stamping out Aboriginal cultural observance.[49] His first schooling was at the Skidegate Methodist mission day school, where a series of missionary women taught about thirty children ranging in age from "toddlers up to the late teens." The school was a lean-to that had been built onto the missionary's home. As was the case in many day schools, attendance was erratic, particularly when families had to leave the community to fish or collect berries. By his own estimate, Kelly figured he attended the school a total of less than one year over a six-year period.[50]

In 1897, his mother and stepfather attended a Methodist revival meeting in Mission City on the Fraser River. There, they were persuaded to send their son to the Coqualeetza Institute in Chilliwack, British Columbia.[51] However, first they kept him at home for another three years, preparing him to follow in his stepfather's trade as a boat builder.[52] In 1900, he and another boy became the first two Haida students at Coqualeetza.

He had positive memories of the school principal, Rev. Joseph Hall, but he also recalled being chastised for whistling while he was completing farm chores on a Sunday. To the missionaries, whistling on the Lord's Day amounted to doing the Devil's work. On another occasion, his use of the sort of language he learned while working on fishing boats led a teacher to threaten to wash his mouth out with soap. The principal prevented the teacher from making good on his threat.

It was quickly recognized that Kelly was an excellent student. As a result, soon he was exempted from the rigours of the half-day system.[illegible] At the end of three years, he and one other student were the first Coqualeetza students to write and pass the provincial high school entrance examinations.[illegible] Rather than attending high school, however, he returned to Skidegate, where he became a day school teacher. He held that position for five years. He later served as a lay preacher in the Methodist Church, a United Church minister, president of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia, and president of the Conference of the United Church in British Columbia.[illegible]

Chief Peyasiw-awasis

In 1876, Chief Peyasiw-awasis (Thunderchild), along with Mistahimaskwa (Big Bear) and a number of other chiefs, rejected Treaty 6, which covered parts of central Alberta and Saskatchewan. However, after the collapse of the buffalo hunt, he signed the Treaty in 1879. He was a strong advocate of First Nations' Treaty rights and traditional cultural practices. He was against having a Roman Catholic school on his reserve, and eventually led a movement to tear the school down. He was not an opponent of schooling, but wanted it to be within First Nations control. Under government pressure, he allowed the Catholics to re-establish the school. He was jailed in 1897 for participating in a give-away dance. In later years, the government threatened to depose him for his support of traditional practices.

Thunderchild's Band originally was located on good farmland west of Battleford in what is now Saskatchewan. To make the land available to Euro-Canadian settlers, early in the twentieth century, the federal government began to pressure the band to agree to relocate. The pressure created divisions in the band, which eventually agreed to be relocated to Brightsand Lake, Saskatchewan, in 1909. This relocation left the band without a day school.

In 1910, Chief Peyasiw-awasis requested that the government live up to its Treaty obligations and build a school on the reserve.[illegible] Thirteen years later, there was still no school. That led Thunderchild to write a lengthy letter to Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott.

> My people find it very hard to part with their children to have them go to school. It is not that they do not desire to have them educated but they are not favourable to Boarding Schools and I must give you their reasons so that you do not think this is some idle fancy.
>
> I am not going to touch on the side of sentiment, that part of it you will readily understand, knowing the Indian as you do.

> A spruce tree taken while young from a low lying moist soil when transplanted into light soil dies in most cases. If it lives, it will be but short and stunted, where it would have been tall and straight had it been left in its natural soil. It will be like this despite the greatest of care. It is not because it has no capacity for growth, it is because it is taken out of its natural environment where it would have done well. I have no education but my hairs are grey. I have seen and observed life. I have learnt the ways of nature and I see that the Boarding Schools and their effect on our young can be explained by this parable. The system is not natural, it seems artificial and the fruit of it, so far as I can see it in my Reserve and elsewhere has been very poor. Many a pupil has come home to die, being in the last stages of consumption. The strict discipline, the changes of environment, the close confinement, the different food, has lowered the vitality of our young and made them susceptible to the germs of tuberculosis with which the Buildings are always in time saturated. I learned this from the Boarding School that was in Battleford when it was taken over by the Seventh Day Adventists they were obliged to pull down almost the whole building because in order to insure against infection from the germs that had played havoc among the Indian children. From the Indian point of view that school, although in very capable and trustworthy hands was a long history of sorrow because of the disease in it.
>
> Then we found that the continued supervision in everyday work meant the killing of all initiative in the pupils. They came back with good records, knowing English well and other things taught to them but they were neither white men nor Indians. They don't seem to know how to make the start. They had lost the ordinary Indian mode of livelihood and were unable to do as the white man did. They were victims of their educational opportunity.
>
> The sense of ownership and the desire to increase what is owned is a thing that should be developed in childhood stage. All this is lost to the child in the Boarding School while there he works at cows, horses, cleans rooms, plows and helps in harvest but he feels that he is getting nothing in return. I myself know he is actually working for himself, but he does not see it that way. He has no chance therefor to couple work with its reward. This teaches him to look upon work as a drudgery and in many cases this idea pervades through life.[77]

He wrote that if there were a day school on the reserve, parents would "have the children in our care which is natural." They would learn to read and write at school, and learn from their parents "the way of rustling around for a living." Living among their own belongings would teach them to care for them. If boys, for example, had their own cows or horses, they would "develop a sense of ownership and that means a great deal." As well, Thunderchild wrote, the student would be "growing up and developing in his own natural elements."[78]

Thunderchild knew he was asking the government to make an exception to existing policy. Such an exception was justified, he suggested, because he was "the last of the old chiefs who took part in the first treaty. To me there personally was promised a school on my Reserve if I and my people desired it." Having this Treaty promise fulfilled would "give to my grand children at least one heritage which would be of real and lasting value to them and my one remaining and consuming ambition. If I can do this then I can leave the world in peace."[illegible] Thunderchild did not persuade Duncan Campbell Scott. Instead, Thunderchild built the school with his own band's funds, essentially shaming the government into paying for the teacher.[illegible]

Edward Ahenakew

Edward Ahenakew was born in 1885 and raised on the Plains Cree reserve of Ahtahkakoop in what is now Saskatchewan. He attended Emmanuel College, the Anglican boarding school at Prince Albert, then worked as a teacher and was ordained as an Anglican priest. He spent much of his life ministering to Aboriginal people. He was also active in the growing Aboriginal political movement, serving as the Alberta and Saskatchewan president of the League of Indians of Canada. In 1923, while recovering from an illness that had forced him to drop out of medical school, he wrote an unfinished manuscript that would not be published for another fifty years.[illegible]

His book is made up of two sections: the first part is the memoirs of Chief Thunderchild as told to Ahenakew; the second part consists of the memoirs of Old Keyam, a fictional character created by Ahenakew. A boarding school graduate, Old Keyam, who was once energetic, had "suddenly slackened all efforts" and taken on a name that means "What does it matter?" or "I do not care!"[illegible]

Although the book does not discuss Old Keyam's boarding school experience, it is rich with his observations on the impact of residential school education. Nearly a century ago, Ahenakew was documenting what has come to be termed the residential school system's "legacy." On returning to his home community from school, he said that a former residential school student "is in a totally false position. He does not fit into the Indian life, nor does he find that he can associate with the whites. He is forced to act a part. He is now one thing, now another, and that alone can brand him as an erratic and unreliable fellow" who sits on the fence dividing the white and Aboriginal worlds, but belongs to neither. He thought the residential school might make sense in certain remote areas, but "for most Indian children, I hold that boarding schools are unnatural, that they are contrary to our whole way of life."[illegible]

He said that, thanks to their highly regimented life, former students were like old-style cars that required cranking before they would start. The residential schools, he said, have taken from their students "all the initiative there may be in an Indian. He will work only when he feels like it. He will never take advice from his elders amongst us." He described the File Hills Colony, which had been established in southern

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William Robinson, Chief Shingwauk, and Chief Nebenaigooching, 1850
Photographs from the Robinson Huron Treaty, Chief Shingwaukonse collection, [illegible], Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, Algoma University

Charles Nowell, his wife, and mother-in-law. When he first arrived at the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school, Nowell recalled that he "cried for nearly a month."
Royal British Columbia Museum, British Columbia Archives, [illegible]

Frederick O. Loft, former residential school student and founder of the League of Indians of Canada.
Library and Archives Canada, MIKAN [illegible]

Mike Mountain Horse. In his memoir of his time at the Anglican school on the Blood Reserve in southern Alberta, he wrote of how upon arrival, "My Indian clothes, consisting of blanket, breech cloth, leggings, shirt and moccasins, were removed."
Glenbow Archives, NB-[illegible]

Chief Thunderchild
(c.1920)

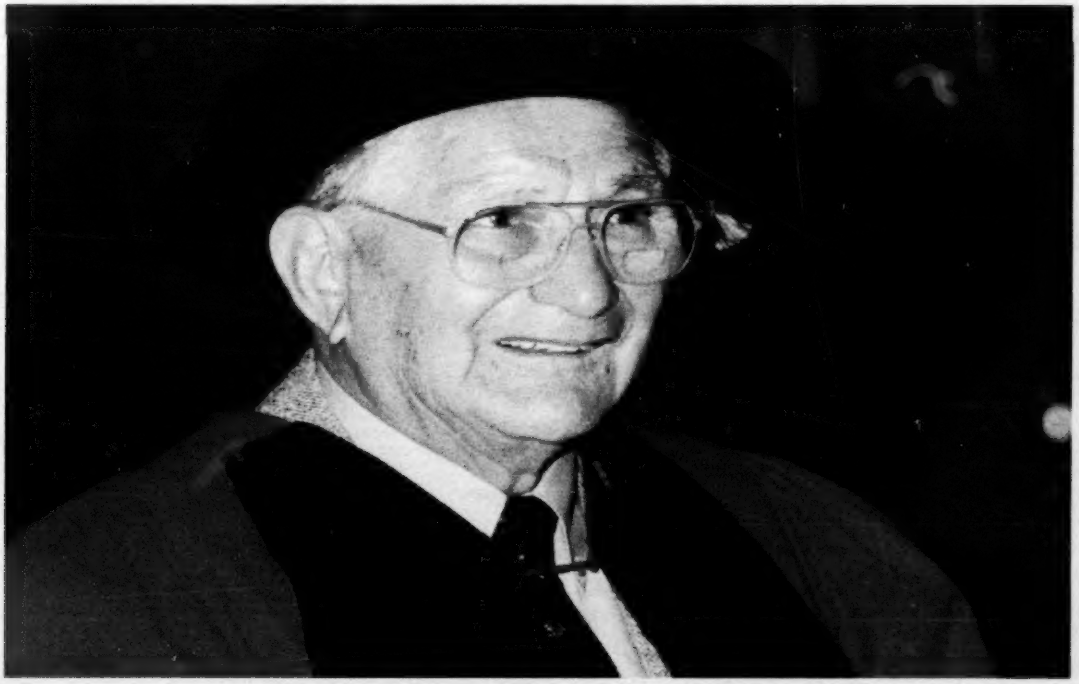
Chief *Peyasiw-awasis*, ca. 1920. *Peyasiw-awasis* (Thunderchild) called on the federal government to establish day schools on reserves so that parents would "have the children in our care which is natural."
Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-[illegible]

Edward Ahenakew, a former residential school student, wrote, "Again and again I have seen children come home from boarding schools only to die, having lost during their time at school all the natural joys of association with their own families, victims of an educational policy, well-meant but not over-wise."
Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B11553.

Joseph Dion recalled that at the Roman Catholic school in Onion Lake, he and his classmates, "were not long in concluding that the lung sickness was fatal, hence as soon as we saw or heard of someone spitting blood, we immediately branded him for the grave. He had consumption: he had to die."
Glenbow Archives, NA-2815-1

Enos Montour ended his lightly fictionalized memoir of life at the Mohawk Institute by asking if this had "all been a mistake? Had these gifts not only served to unfit them for the old Reserve life without being able to promise them very much out in the great big Anglo-Saxon world? Had it been for better or worse?" The United Church of Canada Archives, 76.001 P4091.

Eleanor Brass recalled that the dinners at the File Hills, Saskatchewan, school consisted "of watery soup with no flavour, and never any meat." Courtesy of *Regina Leader-Post* (Photographer: Roy Antal).



While at the Lytton, British Columbia, school, Simon Baker led a successful protest to get students more food. He told the principal if the boys were going to be worked like men, they should be fed like men.
University of British Columbia Archives, UBC 35.1/152-7.

John Tootoosis said that at the Delmas, Saskatchewan, school, "They washed away practically everything from our minds, all the things an Indian needed to help himself, to think the way a human person should in order to survive."
Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-A7662.

George Manuel said that at the Kamloops, British Columbia, school, "Every Indian student smelled of hunger."
University of British Columbia Archives, George Manuel, UBC 1.1/16108.

Mary John said that at the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school, "The boys were thrashed for speaking to the girls, and the girls were thrashed for writing notes to the boys."
Northern BC Archives UNBC, Bridget Moran fonds, Accession #2008.3.1.22.6.

At the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school, the teachers relied on "orders, threats and ridicule," coupled with regular pokes in the ribs and knocks on the knuckles, administered with a wooden pointer. As a result, Isabelle Knockwood grew up in "perpetual fear of saying and doing anything."
Courtesy of St. Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Montour described most of the boys as being healthy. "But occasionally the silent killer TB showed up amongst the enrolment. Some quiet, inoffensive lad would grow unusually quiet and listless."[95] In the manuscript, he left a description of a friend's death. "As his creeping, insidious disease came over him, he began to lose interest in all boyish activity. He coughed frequently and his energy was sapped away. His chums tried to interest him in their games and outings, but he only smiled wanly and told them to leave him out. He didn't feel like it." Eventually, the boy was taken from the school. "An emptiness remained where the gentle boy had lived with his pals."[96]

Montour remained a member of the Methodist Church and, later, the United Church. As a student, he said, he submitted to the government's religious program in the same way he accepted "the handouts of clothing, food and shelter." But, he said, he "sometimes wondered if the Longhouse religion back home wasn't as satisfying as this."[97] He recognized that each missionary

> discouraged the Longhouse religion and the use of native language. They were being weaned away from the native culture, as though it had no spiritual or aesthetic value. They would have been shocked to hear a native teacher speak of a song in the Mohawk language as 'the sweetest music this side of Heaven.' Indian languages were not heard about the Institution. Occasionally Indian might be spoken in a low voice or some naughty uncouth native word might be used by the younger chaps.[98]

Montour ended the manuscript with Tom's graduating and having to decide whether he would take the road leading to the reserve or the road to the "great Anglo-Saxon world of competition and continuous struggle."[99] As Tom pondered these choices, the author suggests that teachers were silently asking themselves if this had "all been a mistake? Had these gifts not only served to unfit them for the old Reserve life without being able to promise them very much out in the great big Anglo-Saxon world? Had it been for better or worse?"[100] It is a devastating ending to a gentle book.

Simon Baker

Simon Baker was born in 1911 in British Columbia. His mother, Susan Capilano, had been taken out of residential school by her parents after a year or two of schooling because she was continually punished for speaking Squamish.[101] As a young boy, he was sent to the Anglican school in Lytton, British Columbia. He later recorded,

> We were the first ones to arrive. I can always remember seeing this great big building. I couldn't figure it out. We all felt a bit excited. We were taken into the building and shown around. So we were all taken downstairs and they gave us school clothing. They took our own clothes and put them away and that was the last time we saw our clothes.

That first night, he and his brother Joe slept on the floor because they were not used to sleeping on beds.[illegible] In his discussion of the school in his memoirs, Baker was measured in his comments, at one point observing, "I guess we were satisfied to have a bed, a place to eat, a place for recreation, a field outside to play in."[illegible]

But the overall atmosphere of the school was repressive and regimented: "We were just told what to do all the time. In fact, we had to answer to bells all the time like well-trained rats. A bell would ring to wake us, another bell for chores, bell for meals, for chapel, for school, for study time, for bedtime."[illegible] The teachers might not have been mean, but, when he was thirteen, he and his friends witnessed the beating of a fellow student at the hands of the farm supervisor. The boys had been working in the barn when one boy decided to urinate in the loft rather than climb down and use the outhouse. The urine leaked through the floor onto the farm supervisor. Enraged, he beat the boy with a leather strap. Baker wrote, "Maybe he did a naughty thing, but he never should have gotten a licking like that." Angered and frightened, the five boys jumped the train to Vancouver that night. Baker and his friends made it back to his grandmother, who helped them get to Squamish, where they hid out in the bush. Eventually, a police officer found them and made them return to school.[illegible] He and his friends ran away a second time, and were returned by the same police officer. He said they were not punished for running away, but were made to "obey more rules."[illegible]

Baker also recalled being beaten up by older boys at the school "for something they said I did wrong. I never knew what that was most of the time. I never gave up, though, because my brother Joe used to help me out."[illegible]

In his opinion, the students were underfed and overworked. They were also not always able to enjoy the fruits of their own labour. Rather than being consumed by students, butter from the creamery was sold, along with the vegetables and fruit the school farm produced to help the school cover its costs.[illegible] Baker convinced the other boys at the school that the only way they could improve their rations was to threaten a strike. Acting as the students' representative, Baker told the principal that they were being worked like men, so they should be fed like men. And, if the students did not get an improvement in diet, they would steal the food. The principal complimented Baker on his honesty and agreed to their demands.[illegible]

Baker's stay at the school, like that of so many other students, was marked by tragedy. Another brother, Jim, died of spinal meningitis at the Lytton school.

> I used to hear him crying at night. I asked the principal to take him to the hospital. He didn't. After about two weeks, my brother was in so much pain, he was going out of his mind. I pleaded with the principal for days to take him to a doctor. "For god's sake, you better do something for my brother." They finally took him to the small hospital in Lytton. Each day I would ask how he was doing and they'd say he's doing all right. On the third day, on a Sunday night, the principal's wife came in, spoke to her husband and they called me into the office. There they

> told me that my brother had just passed away. I went to the hospital with the principal. There lay my brother Jim in a room that was like a morgue.

The school provided a coffin, but, since it was too short, it was necessary to break his knees to fit him into the coffin. When his grandmother came up to collect the body, she made the school order a new coffin.

Baker left the Lytton school at age fifteen, having completed Grade Eight. "I knew there was nothing to stay home for and I wanted to be with the boys at the school, my bed and the three meals a day that I was used to." He told his grandmother that he wanted to continue his education, but she said, "Son, I don't want you to go to white man's school because I have been teaching you our way of living and I want you to be the leader of our family here on the Capilano reserve." Although Baker was frustrated by his grandmother's decision, he decided not to oppose her.

Eleanor Brass

Eleanor Brass was born in Saskatchewan in 1905, the daughter of Fred Dieter and Marybelle Cote. Both of them had attended residential schools in their youth. According to family lore, both the Roman Catholic priest and the Presbyterian principal gave Fred's parents money to convince them to send him to their respective schools. Eventually, he went to the Presbyterian school at File Hills because it was closer to his parents. Marybelle had been educated at the Presbyterian school at Kamsack. Both of them also attended the Regina industrial school.

Eleanor's father's experiences at the Regina school became part of family legend. He passed on stories of swimming, skating, lacrosse, soccer, and baseball (which lagged far behind soccer in popularity). The school organized brass bands, as well as dances, discussion groups, and debates. Some of the school's graduates were sent to the Hampton Institute in Virginia for further training in missionary and medical work. In her memoirs, Brass wrote that "those of us who are descendants of the pupils often wonder why this technical school and others like it were not kept open."

Her parents were married at the File Hills boarding school. Principal Kate Gillespie and her sister Janet Gillespie, the school matron, made the wedding arrangements and baked the wedding cake. The married couple then moved to a property Dieter had been farming on the Peepeekisis Reserve, a reserve that would form the nucleus of the File Hills Colony for former residential school students.

Although his accounts of his experiences in boarding and residential schools had been positive, Fred Dieter wanted his own children sent to "the white day school." However, in 1911, the local Indian agent informed him that his daughter Eleanor and her seven-year-old sister would have to attend the File Hills school, just over nineteen kilometres from the Dieter farm.

Brass herself painted very positive memories of the first principal she had there, the Reverend H. C. Sweet, whose name, she felt, suited him.[illegible] His replacement was, to Brass's mind, "more like a hardened dictator" and, under his administration, the strap was in constant use. After being caught passing notes through the windows of the school hospital to fellow students who were being held in quarantine, Brass was locked in a room with nothing to eat for a day and no access to a toilet. When released, she was slapped by the matron for wetting herself, put to bed, and strapped across her back. Brass's cries were so loud they reached the boys in their dormitory, who called out to the matron to stop.[illegible]

One of her fellow students, Chief Pasqua's twelve-year-old son, who could speak no English, found the school very alienating and ran away, only to be brought back, stripped, made to lay face down on the bed, and beaten.[illegible] On one occasion, one of Eleanor Brass's cousins and a friend ran away from the school. They too were strapped on their return. "Their hands were swollen and they looked like boxing mitts and their arms had huge welts. Then the principal chained my cousin's ankles together so that whenever she tried to walk she fell down." Fred Dieter, having caught sight of the poor shackled girl on a visit to the school, bounded up the stairs to the principal's office, grabbed him, and ordered him, "Take those chains off that child!" He left with the warning that the principal was lucky he was getting off with a good shaking: "These are children, not criminals, and I don't ever want to see cruelty like this again."[illegible]

Brass's mother spoke Saulteaux and her father spoke Cree, but they chose to speak English at home, in large measure because they feared that their children "would be held back in school if they spoke nothing but Indian languages."[illegible] The children were not allowed to speak Aboriginal languages at the school. At the same time, Brass recalled, "The principal's wife told us girls who were brought up in File Hills Colony that we were no good because we couldn't speak Cree."[illegible] The children tried to teach each other what they knew about Aboriginal culture. Sometimes, they would sneak off to the lake and, using a pail as a drum, hold secret powwows, always aware of the fact that they could be strapped if they were caught.[illegible]

During the winter months, parents were not allowed to visit the school. Eleanor said that was "when we went through a lot of abuse and torture."[illegible] The lack of access could hurt in several ways. For instance, Brass was made to wear shoes that were too large for her. She was sure that if her parents had known of her need for proper shoes, they would have provided them.[illegible]

Brass recalled that her first teacher at File Hills spent much of her time telling the children about hell and how they would end up there if they did not behave. A second, younger, teacher was more popular with the students, but she did not last. Neither teacher taught the children very much academically. In her final years at the school, as Eleanor was getting ready to go to a "white school," a Miss Hewitt took an interest

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never stole anything other than the sugar in the bottom of the nuns' teacups when she was cleaning up after their meals. She was blessed with a good voice, and was granted singing lessons when other children were out clearing land for the school farm. As she recalled, she was one of the teachers' pets.[illegible]

But it was never a happy place:

> The missionaries and the nuns had to deal with one hundred and eighty Native children who were always hungry, always homesick. The boys were openly rebellious, many of them stealing or running away or getting the girls off in some corner alone with them. Unlike the boys, the female students were seldom openly rebellious. Instead, they were sullen and depressed.[illegible]

Although Mary dreaded going back to school at the end of each summer, she saw a benefit in the basic education. She was proud of her ability to speak English, to read and write, and to do arithmetic. Similarly, she valued the sewing, cooking, and other domestic skills she gained in the school.[illegible]

In 1927, when Mary was fourteen, she told her parents she did not want to go back to school. Members of her family had used an Aboriginal healer, and she feared that word of this would get back to the school, where, she thought, she might be punished for coming from a pagan family. Her mother, who needed her to help care for her five younger children, relented. Instead of going back to Lejac that fall, she joined her family in its journey to its traditional hunting grounds. They were followed, several days later, by a Mounted Police officer, sent to retrieve Mary. The police officer pointed out that Mary legally should attend school for one more year, but he did not force her parents to send her back with him. Her residential school days were over.[illegible]

When she married, Mary's mother-in-law saw her as 'useless' because she did not have the sorts of skills, such as preserving dry fish and meat, preparing hides, or hunting or trapping, that she would have expected in any woman fit to be her son's wife.[illegible] And, as Mary's children came of age, she had to send them to the Fraser Lake school. "It was terrible when the children went away. There was a loneliness in me for the whole year. A truck came each September and cleared the reserve of children. And suddenly after a summer of shouts and childish laughter, the village was silent."[illegible]

Isabelle Knockwood

Isabelle Knockwood first entered residential school at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, on September 1, 1936. Her whole family accompanied her on the walk to school that day. One brother, Henry, had already been attending for four years. But for Isabelle and siblings Joe and Rose Anne, this was the beginning of their residential school lives. They were taken into the school chapel, which, they were informed, was a sacred place. In retrospect, Knockwood said, it was "a place where a lot of children's prayers didn't get answered."[illegible]

From there, they went into the parlour. With the assistance of a nun, her mother read and then signed a document that registered the children as students in the school. When a young Aboriginal woman appeared in the parlour, Isabelle's mother began to speak to her in Mi'kmaq. The girl responded shyly in English. It was then explained that it was not permitted to speak Mi'kmaq in the school.[illegible] Isabelle later discovered that the banned language lived an underground life. Because it was not understood by the nuns, Mi'kmaq provided the students with a tool to mock and ridicule authority. One student at Shubenacadie could send the choir into fits of laughter by fitting Mi'kmaq words to Latin hymns, providing them with new and satiric meaning.[illegible]

These, however, were small pleasures. For the students, the school was a cold, sterile, and lonely place, even though it was filled with children. "We didn't dare hug or kiss each other. The nuns always read something bad into any kind of outward display of affection."[illegible]

Each child pined to return home—and the boys sometimes acted on the impulse, leaving the school and attempting to return to their families. When they were caught and returned to the school, their heads would be shaved. Every time she went into the refectory, Isabelle cast a worried look for her brothers, fearful that they might have undergone such a punishment. "You should have seen the look on the faces of the sisters and cousins of the boys who walked in that refectory with bald heads. It was awful having to watch them holding back the tears and the hurt of not being able to help—or even talk to them."[illegible] Runaways also might be disciplined by being locked in the closet below the kitchen stairs.[illegible]

Isabelle was twelve years old when she was assigned to kitchen duty. Along with an older girl, she "made and dished out the porridge in ten large bowls and lugged the ten-gallon milk cans left at the back door by the barn boys into the kitchen and filled ten larger pitchers with skim milk."[illegible] She was frightened by the large knives used to slice bread and was too small to be lifting the heavy pots of boiling water used to cook the meals. Injuries were inevitable in such circumstances.

> But I had to carry them to the sink and lift them to a height of three feet. I was not tall enough or strong enough to lift the pot and the Sister started yelling at me because she was afraid I'd drop it and burn her. So after a struggle I managed to get the pot on the edge of the sink. Then she lifted the lid and the steam hit my face. I ducked my head and the pot of potatoes slipped. Boiling water spilled over my clothing and shoes. I took off my shoes and could see that blisters had started to form right away. I started to cry. I was sent to the infirmary, bandaged up and sent back.[illegible]

Isabelle recalled the sewing room as one of the few safe havens in the school. The two sisters in charge of the room were gentle and patient, and allowed the girls to talk and joke among themselves as long as they were reasonably quiet.[169] She also remembered with fondness the Scottish dancing the girls were taught in preparation for an event intended to celebrate the principal's silver jubilee as a priest.[170] But the day she truly looked forward to was Sunday, when her parents visited the school. Her mother would bring homemade pies, and hold and caress her children.[171] Parents who visited also questioned how their children were being treated and stood up for them. Consequently, the orphans and those who came from distant communities were more likely to be singled out for poor treatment and abuse.[172]

The schooling was done by rote and repetition. Rather than motivating students, Knockwood thought, the teachers relied on "orders, threats and ridicule," coupled with regular pokes in the ribs and knocks on the knuckles, administered with a wooden pointer.[173] As a result, she grew up in "perpetual fear of saying and doing anything."[174]

When she finished her schooling at Shubenacadie, Isabelle continued to live in the school and attend the local day school. As the only Mi'kmaq girl attending the day school, she felt isolated—and quickly realized that her years at Shubenacadie had not prepared her for high school. But she was committed to continuing her schooling, even if it meant submitting to the residential school's ongoing control over her life.[175] When she and some other students slipped away from the schoolyard one afternoon, they were all strapped on the buttocks. Midway through the beating, Knockwood stood up and announced she had had enough. She put on her coat and left the school. As she was leaving, a girl came up to her with an apology from the teacher—and a reminder that the coat belonged to the school. Reluctantly, Isabelle took off the coat, gave it to the girl, and then followed her back to the school. "I could easily have kept on walking down the hill and never gone back again. Going to the public school had opened up a door, and for the time being, the only way to keep that door ajar was to stay on at the Residential School."[176]

Despite Chief Shingwauk's early hopes, the schools for Aboriginal children did not serve as a "big teaching wigwam" in which students acquired the skills they needed to provide their nations with leadership in a changing world. Although specific teachers were remembered fondly, the overall structure was repressive and the disciplinary code was rigid and harsh. Children were taught to forget their language, to disdain their culture, and to disobey their parents' teachings. Disease and death were common, the education was of limited value, and vocational training was often little more than the enforced provision of free labour. That was the experience of the students. Yet, such a system was to be established and maintained for five more decades, even in the face of this clear understanding that it was, even by its own standards, a failure.

CHAPTER 11

Establishing and operating the system: 1867–1939

The opening of the Battleford industrial school in 1883 marked a turning point in Canada's direct involvement in residential schooling for Aboriginal people. Prior to that, the federal government had provided only small grants to boarding schools in Ontario and the Northwest that had been founded and operated by Christian missionary organizations. By 1884, there were three industrial schools in operation: Battleford, High River, and Qu'Appelle. Recruiting students had been difficult at High River. As a result, according to the Indian Affairs annual report, there were only twenty-seven students at the three schools.[1] In addition to the industrial schools, there were approximately 140 day schools, with a total enrolment of 4,011 students and an average attendance of 2,206. There were also eight boarding schools with an enrolment of 335.[2]

The Battleford, High River, and Qu'Appelle schools were based in large measure on the 1879 government-commissioned report of Nicholas Flood Davin. Unlike the church-run boarding schools, which provided a limited education with a heavy dose of religious instruction, the industrial schools were intended to prepare First Nations people for integration into Canadian society. Generally, industrial schools were larger than boarding schools, were located in urban areas, and were expected to provide industrial training, and, although church-managed, they usually required federal approval prior to construction. The boarding schools were smaller institutions, were located on or near reserves, and provided a more limited education. They were built usually as church initiatives.

The limits of this residential schooling were apparent from the outset. Recruitment was difficult, conditions in the schools were dismal, student death rates were high, and educational outcomes were disappointing. The federal government, alarmed by rising costs, considered winding the system down in the early twentieth century. This plan was blocked by the churches, which viewed residential schools as crucial weapons in the inter-denominational battle for converts they were waging with one another. Although this report refers to the "residential school system," the word *system* is largely a term of convenience. The federal government never established or operated an integrated or coherent system for the education of Aboriginal people. The various church groups ran what amounted to independent systems that were funded by the federal government.

A 1910 agreement between the government and churches did provide an infusion of funds and established standards for the boarding school buildings. Yet, within a few years after the agreement, the schools were languishing once again. Funding rates were so inadequate that the government was regularly obliged to cover school deficits. Educational goals were downgraded as most of the industrial schools were closed. Those that remained adopted the more modest educational goals of the boarding schools. The number of these residential schools funded by Indian Affairs on a regular per capita basis continued to increase until the system reached a pre-Second World War peak of eighty in 1930.[3] The problems that had plagued the system from the outset were only intensified during the Great Depression of the 1930s, when the government instituted severe cuts to school grants. The system went into further decline, repairs were neglected, and several schools burned down.

In the nineteenth century, department officials such as Edgar Dewdney had thought it "highly desirable, if it were practicable, to obtain entire possession of all Indian children after they attain to the age of seven or eight years, and keep them at schools of the industrial type until they have had a thorough course of instruction." By the end of the 1930s, however, bureaucrats recognized that the First Nations population was growing at far too fast a rate to accommodate all First Nations children in increasingly costly residential schools. In 1938, R. A. Hoey, the superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, concluded, "The old idea of providing a course of instruction designed to transform the Indian into a White Man has failed. Existing economic conditions suggest for a great many years an overwhelming majority of our residential school graduates must return to their reserves and make a living there."[4]

Although they would have to wait until peacetime, by the start of the Second World War, government officials had accepted Hoey's verdict. The future, as they saw it, lay in the long-rejected day schools. However, it would take another fifty years to fully dismantle the residential school system.

It had been an era of expansion followed by stagnation. The churches had been allowed to drive and direct the expansion of schools. The government, having initially underestimated the cost of the system, never provided the schools with a level of funding that would allow them to meet student needs. Under the per capita funding system that was adopted, the government and the churches were able to blame each other for the system's failings. As a result, no one took responsibility for those failings. No effort ever was made to involve parents in the system. To ensure that children were enrolled and stayed in schools, the government used compulsory attendance to recruit and retain students.

The policy vacuum

In an 1888 parliamentary debate over the provision of $14,000 for the construction of two additional industrial schools in Manitoba, Sir Richard Cartwright, a member of the Liberal opposition, inquired as to the purpose of the schools. Prime Minister (and Indian Affairs minister) Sir John A. Macdonald told him:

> General industrial purposes. It is found that the common schools are of comparatively little value. The young Indian learns to read and write, and then goes back to his tribe, and again becomes a savage. The object is to get the young men and the children severed from the tribe as much as possible, and civilise them and give them a trade. There is also provision made for girls.

When Cartwright asked if the students went back to their reserve after graduation, Macdonald said, "No, we endeavor to discountenance that as much as possible." Graduates, he said, could get homesteads, and "if they can get white women or educated Indian women as wives, they sever themselves from their tribes."[5]

The following year, in his annual report, Minister of Indian Affairs Edgar Dewdney wrote:

> The boarding school dissociates the Indian child from the deleterious home influences to which he would be otherwise subjected. It reclaims him from the uncivilized state in which he has been brought up. It brings him into contact from day to day with all that tends to effect a change in his views and habits of life. By precept and example he is taught to endeavour to excel in what will be most useful to him.[6]

This view was shared by bureaucrats and missionaries. In 1894, Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs Hayter Reed wrote:

> Experience has proved that the industrial and boarding schools are productive of the best results in Indian education. At the ordinary day school the children are under the influence of their teacher for only a short time each day and after school hours they merge again with the life of the reserve. It can readily be seen that, no matter how earnest a teacher may be, his control over his pupils must be very limited under such conditions. But in the boarding or industrial schools the pupils are removed for a long period from the leadings of this uncivilized life and receive constant care and attention. It is therefore in the interest of the Indians that these institutions should be kept in an efficient state as it is in their success that the solution of the Indian problem lies.[7]

Father Joseph Hugonnard, the first principal of the Qu'Appelle school, wrote that "if it were difficult or impossible to civilize and convert the savages born and bred with paganism, there was a way to civilize and Christianize their children, especially if one could get them out of that pagan environment and place them and teach them in a school with the goal of making them into good citizens and good Christians."[8]

Edward Matheson, the Anglican principal of the Battleford school, wrote in 1899:

> The boarding or industrial school system—away from the reserves, if possible—is the sure way to solve the long debated "Indian Problem". It is the way to civilize the Indian and merge him into the corporate life of the country—his true and proper destiny. He has given ample proof of this where he has had a fair opportunity. Most of those educated in these schools do not wish to return to reserve life, but to strike out amongst the settlers and make their own way.[9]

In a similar vein, the Reverend Alexander Sutherland, general secretary of the Methodist Church of Canada's Missionary Department, wrote:

> Experience convinces us that the only way in which the Indian of the Country can be permanently elevated and thoroughly civilized is by removing the children from the surroundings of Indian home life, and keeping them separated long enough to form those habits of order, industry, and systematic effort, which they will never learn at home.

He thought the girls should be kept at school for five years and the boys for six years, during which time they would not go home. "The return of the children to their homes, even temporarily, has a bad effect."[10]

These statements from government and church officials make it abundantly clear that the overall purpose of residential schooling was to separate children from their parents and their culture so they could be 'civilized' and 'Christianized.' Once so transformed, they could be enfranchised. They would no longer be "Indians," either culturally or legally, and would have no special claim on the state for support. It was expected they would be self-supporting because the schools would have instilled in them an industrial work discipline. But, other than these overall goals, there was little unanimity, less policy, and scant regulation.

At some points, day schools were envisioned as potential feeder schools to the residential schools. At other times, they were seen as failures that had to be abolished. And, at still other times, day schools were heralded as replacements for failed residential schools. As for the role of the churches, they were sometimes viewed as being essential to the system because they provided cheap labour and moral salvation. However, they also were viewed as being disruptive and competitive institutions that used education funding to further their own missionary ambitions. There was little clarity on essential questions: should schools be located close to reserves to encourage enrolment, or in urban locations into which graduates would relocate? What skills were students to be provided with: were they being trained to take up skilled trades, or were a little literacy and some basic farming skills sufficient? Few of these issues ever were resolved in a coherent manner. On occasion, the government shifted from one position to another. And, at times, it embraced one policy even as it continued to implement a contradictory one.

It was not until 1894 that the government adopted any regulations under the *Indian Act* for First Nations education—and these dealt solely with attendance. Issues such as training, housing, health, discipline, food, and clothing were most commonly addressed on an uncoordinated, case-by-case, basis. Even then, as late as 1897, Martin Benson could write, "No regulations have been adopted or issued by the Department applicable to all its schools, as had been done by the Provincial Governments."[11] Indian Affairs never developed anything approaching the education acts and regulations by which provincial governments administered public schools.

It was Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney who supplied Thomas Clarke with the directions (described in an earlier chapter of this volume) for the operation of the Battleford industrial school in 1883. However, the following year, it was Deputy Minister Lawrence Vankoughnet who sent out directions to the principals of the newly opened Qu'Appelle and High River schools. According to Vankoughnet's memorandum, the principals were to make monthly reports and keep a school diary. They also were responsible for selecting the employees, who would then have to be appointed by Indian Affairs. The object of the schools was to give the students "a practical knowledge of husbandry and mechanical trades." Attention was to be directed to teaching students to read, write, and speak English, and "all the regulations of the establishment shall be framed with a view to secure these important results." The principals were informed that Indian Commissioner Dewdney had control over, and responsibility for, major modifications to the building and the supply of farm implements, tools, and furniture.[12]

Vankoughnet never sent Dewdney a copy of these instructions. When Dewdney accidentally came upon them a year later, he angrily wrote to Vankoughnet to point out that the document would "have been a good guide to me in assisting to organize the Schools at High River and Qu'Appelle had I received it before."[13]

In October 1889, prior to the establishment of a number of Oblate-run industrial schools in British Columbia, Vankoughnet sent Paul Durieu, Bishop of New Westminster, an eight-page "digest of the views of the Department in respect to the manner in which" the schools were to be operated.[14] This document was far more detailed than the ones issued at the opening of the three schools in the North-West (Battleford, Qu'Appelle, and High River), and described the responsibilities of the staff, set the class hours, outlined the chores that students should be doing, and, in general terms, provided expectations in regard to food, clothing, sanitation, and accommodation. There was even a prohibition against students speaking to each other after they had gone to bed.[15]

Policy, in short, was being developed on a school-by-school basis, with no overarching set of guidelines. Newly appointed principals often were unaware of instructions that had been sent to their predecessors. The government had little ability to determine if these policies were being implemented. In 1885, the federal government had entered into agreements with the provincial governments of Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritimes to have provincial government inspectors inspect Indian Affairs schools (both residential and day schools).[16] On Dewdney's recommendation, J. A. Macrae, a long-time Indian Affairs employee, was appointed inspector of industrial schools in 1886.[17] The government subsequently hired inspectors for the schools in British Columbia and New Brunswick. For the most part, inspections of schools on the Prairies were carried out by departmental officials, who, as Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott observed, had no "pedagogical qualifications, and whose examination of the classroom work is, of necessity, very perfunctory."[18] It was not until 1909 that the department had a three-person Schools Branch.[19]

As early as 1897, Schools Branch employee Martin Benson expressed reservations about having the schools inspected by Indian Affairs officials, who, he believed, were "opposed to make an adverse report on a school if there is any way of avoiding it, it being more than likely that such action would bring them into collision with the Missionaries and interfere with their authority among the Indians." The department's inspectors, he believed, devoted too much attention to "inventories, statements, returns, accounts, &c. and pass lightly over such high matters as the general progress, management and results obtained." There was, he said, "no one in the Department who has ever seen more than a few of our principal schools or knows how they are carrying on the work best suited to the wants of the Indians."[20] The Red Deer school went three years without inspection, and the Elkhorn school went uninspected for seventeen months.[21] In commenting on a rash of fires at Mount Elgin in 1903, Benson wrote, "It has been years since an inspection was made of this school."[22] Three years later, he commented that the school at Île-à-la-Crosse "is so remote that it is not visited by any of our Agents or Inspectors."[23] He was still drawing attention to the problem a decade later. In response to a September 1915 request for information on the Portage la Prairie school in Manitoba, he wrote that "there has been no inspection of this school since April, 1914."[24] It was seven more years before the federal government arranged in 1922 to have all the residential and day schools in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta inspected by provincial school inspectors.[25]

Inspectors had little authority to order improvements. When J. A. J. McKenna was hired as the inspector of Roman Catholic Indian schools in 1898, he was instructed "not to authorize any works or any changes in the management which would involve an increase in expenditure." Such proposed changes should be made in the form of a recommendation. He was also not to "give the Principals of Schools, or those interested in them, to understand that your reports will follow certain lines." His reports should "leave the Department as free as possible to consider whatever recommendations you may see fit to make."[26] Provincial inspectors were reminded that the teachers were not responsible to them and that hiring and dismissal rested with Indian Affairs and the classroom. They were urged to comment on the qualifications of teachers, the progress of pupils, and the condition of facilities.

Earlier, in his 1889 instructions to Bishop Clut, Vankoughnet had written: "Obedience to rules and good behavior should be enforced, but corporal punishment should only be resorted to in extreme cases. In ordinary cases the penalty might be solitary confinement for such time as the offence may warrant, or deprivation of certain articles of food allowed to other pupils." This vague approach to discipline opened the door to the physical abuse of students. When, in 1895, Indian agent D. L. Clink returned a runaway boy to the Red Deer industrial school, the principal, John Nelson, told the agent he no longer wanted the boy. According to Clink's report, Nelson told him he "would beat him if it was the instruction of the Department, but he would make him run the streets, that he had been severe with him before, but he would be more severe now." Clink was worried that if he "left the boy he would be abused." As a result, Clink took the boy away from the school. He also reported that one boy had a large lump on his head after being hit by a teacher with a stick for looking at a scrapbook against the teacher's orders. When Clink inquired into this and other cases, Nelson told him to mind his own business, adding, "We run this school." Clink recommended that the teacher who had struck the student be dismissed and brought up on charges, since "his actions in this and other cases would not be tolerated in a white school for a single day in any part of Canada." Despite the beatings and floggings, he said, there was very little order at the school, with "the big boys and girls roaming around together apparently unrestrained."

Clink's reports led Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Hayter Reed to recognize the need for a policy on corporal punishment. His response, however, left that need largely unmet. In 1895, he told his staff:

> Instructions should be given, if not already sent, to the Principals of the various schools, that children are not to be whipped by anyone save the Principals and even when such a course is necessary, great discretion should be used and they should not be struck on the head, or punished so severely that bodily harm might ensue. The practice of corporal punishment is considered unnecessary as a general measure of discipline and should only be resorted to for very grave offences and as a deterrent example.

The fact that Reed, the former Indian commissioner for the North-West Territories and Manitoba, was uncertain whether regulations governing corporal punishment existed speaks volumes. His instructions—by not defining "grave offences"—did little to curb the physical abuse of students. School and Department staff often ignored the limits that he did place on abuse. It is doubtful they were even aware of them. In [illegible], Canon S. Gould, the general secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, wrote to Deputy Minister Scott, "Is corporal punishment for disciplinary purposes recognized, or permitted in the Indian Boarding schools?" He

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they were being "clothed, fed, and taught." This, he said, would overcome their objections to sending their children to an industrial school. The industrial schools, which, he claimed, would be the principal means of "bringing Indian children under influences favourable to their proper development," were to be located in or near "centres of civilization," so the students could easily observe "the life of the white man." A second reason for "removing Industrial schools from Indian Country is that it is unlikely that any Tribe or Tribes would give trouble of a serious nature to the Government whose members had children completely under Government control."

Overall, he proposed a system of 212 day schools with 25 pupils each, 14 reserve boarding schools with 50 pupils each, and 8 industrial schools with 100 pupils each—this was at a time when there were fewer than 200 Indian schools of any type in all of Canada. He projected a total annual cost of $362,000: $106,000 for the day schools, $56,000 for the boarding schools, and $200,000 for the industrial schools.

It was essential, he thought, that Indian Affairs, rather than the churches, should have "control of the schools in all essential points." This would include approval of the hiring of staff, the description of the duties of teachers, teacher salaries, and the school regulations. School administrators should be required to make regular reports, the schools should be open to government inspection, and students should be subjected to regular examinations. The *ad hoc* nature of the existing system can be seen in Macrae's insistence that "the observance of regulations, the manner of making returns, the forms of keeping records, the means of encouraging attendance, &c., so far as these can be made general, should be common to all."

The work should be done quickly, since "how much may be saved by hastening the moment at which the country is to be relieved of the burden of maintaining the Tribes." A gradual approach to civilization could result in a "constant retrogression" and the "education of the Indian will never become an accomplished fact, and the money put into the enterprise will be wasted."[illegible]

Vankoughnet's 1887 proposal

In 1887, Vankoughnet recommended increasing the number of day schools so that no student lived more than two miles (three kilometres) away from a school. He also recommended doubling salaries, as current day school salaries were too low to attract "a partially educated or ordinarily competent teacher." Poor day school attendance was the result of "indifference of the parents in the matter of the education of their children and the absence of the exercise by the parents of proper authority over them to compel attendance." He suggested that a midday meal for students would make day schools more attractive to them and their parents.

Where day schooling was not feasible, the gap could be filled with boarding schools. He also wanted to see an increase in the number of industrial schools and in the number of students they could accommodate. Each reserve would be associated with a specific industrial school, and students from the reserve could go to that school and no other. Such a proposal was not compatible with the government's partnership with the churches, who opposed any measure that might see Catholic students attending a Protestant-run school, or vice versa.

Vankoughnet called for an $892,620 capital investment in schools, with over $600,000 of that to be spent west of Ontario. He also called for an increase of $545,000 a year in operating costs, over half of that to be spent in the West. The payoff, he argued, would be in turning the descendants of people who were "a source of expense, into profitable citizens."[illegible] In 1878–79, federal spending on First Nations education was $16,000. By 1888–89, it was $172,900, and by 1908–09, it was $445,237, a far cry from the scale of the operating budget advocated by Vankoughnet.[illegible]

Other than a decision to provide a midday meal for day school students in Manitoba and the North-West, none of Vankoughnet's recommendations were implemented.[illegible]

Reed's 1890 proposal

In 1890, Reed, then the Indian commissioner for the North-West Territories and Manitoba, produced his own set of recommendations for school policy. Reed wished to see residential schooling become the norm for First Nations children: "All Day schools should, as much as possible, be displaced by Boarding Schools, and ... both should be closed when sufficient accommodation for children exists in higher Institutions." Industrial school students were to be recruited from those boarding school students who had "given the greatest satisfaction in other schools, and so proved themselves most worthy of the higher advantages."

Reed believed that industrial schools should not be located close to reserves because "the more remote from the Institution and distant from each other are the points from which the pupils are collected, the better for their success." To prevent students from returning to their home reserves "to deteriorate," he recommended that new reserves for graduates be established near the schools, and be under the supervision of the principal. (An unknown official in Ottawa wrote "Impracticable" in the margin next to this recommendation.) Reed repeated his belief that it would have been better if the churches had not been involved in the establishment of the schools. He acknowledged that "no hope need be entertained of the various denominations relinquishing the hold they already have upon the rising generation through such schools," but he recommended that, in the future, any residential schools that were to be supported solely by the government should be non-sectarian. Reed also recommended that the industrial schools develop an outing policy under which students would be 'farmed out' to settler families for several months at a time.[43]

None of these schemes—each of which was designed by a senior Indian Affairs official—were implemented. The system that came into being, in fact, bore little resemblance to that envisioned by Indian Affairs officials. The federal government was unwilling to make the sorts of investments the recommendations entailed. It had come to believe that the churches represented a source of cost savings, since they could provide staff members who were prepared to work for less than the market rate. The government also believed that by relying on the labour of the students, the schools could become largely self-supporting. As a result, there was no centralized control, distinctions between boarding and industrial schools quickly became blurred, a consistent day schools policy was never developed, and scarce resources were wasted by a system that was becoming ever more dependent on child labour. In this policy vacuum, the churches seized the initiative and shaped the growth of residential schooling.

The growth of the system

Despite the lack of policy, or perhaps because of it, the system grew dramatically between 1883 and 1930. Less than fifteen years after the opening of the first western Canadian industrial school in Battleford in 1883, there were 15 industrial schools, 34 boarding schools (as compared to 8 in 1884), and 239 day schools (up from approximately 140).[44] The average industrial school enrolment in 1890 was forty-eight students, while the average boarding school enrolment that year was ten.[45] (Reporting on the number of each type of school in operation at any given time is complicated. In some annual reports, the Shingwauk, Wikwemikong, Mohawk Institute, and Mount Elgin schools in Ontario were counted as industrial schools, but, in other years, they were counted as boarding schools. Furthermore, in some years, the boys' and girls' schools at Wikwemikong were counted as one school, and, in other years, as two schools. Similarly, the Shingwauk Home for boys and the Wawanosh Home for girls, both in Sault Ste. Marie, were sometimes counted as one school, sometimes as two. As a result of such inconsistencies, the 1890 Indian Affairs annual report states that there were nineteen industrial schools in operation, while the later 1896 report sets the number lower, at fifteen.)[46]

Tables 11.1 and 11.2 provide an overview of Indian Affairs education statistics for the 1895-96 school year. In that year, there were no industrial or boarding schools in the Maritimes or Québec. Virtually all the expansion took place west of Lake Superior—further evidence that the federal government conceived of the schools as effective instruments in the colonization of the western territories acquired after

Table 11.1. 1895–96 First Nations education statistics: number of schools, enrolment, and attendance.

Province	No. of Schools	Enrolment			Average Attendance
		Boys	Girls	Total	
Industrial					
British Columbia	6	162	110	272	232
Manitoba	4	196	144	340	297
North-West Territories	5	382	286	668	586
Totals	15	740	540	1,280	1,115
Boarding					
Ontario	6	246	171	417	362
British Columbia	5	86	151	237	203
Manitoba	3	18	35	53	46
North-West Territories	19	337	256	593	503
Outside Treaty	1	12	10	22	16
Totals	34	699	623	1,322	1,130
Day					
Ontario	77	1,326	1,111	2,437	1,148
Québec	20	388	389	777	361
Nova Scotia	8	83	64	147	57
New Brunswick	5	65	52	117	61
Prince Edward Island	1	22	11	33	13
British Columbia	23	428	400	828	293
Manitoba	48	757	708	1,465	561
North-West Territories	47	498	454	952	415
Outside Treaty	10	155	201	256	222
Totals	239	3,722	3,390	7,112	3,131

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1896*, xxxvi.

Table 11.2. 1895–96 First Nations education statistics: number of schools, enrolment, and attendance.

Kind of School	No. of Schools	Total Enrolment	Average Attendance
Training or Industrial	15	1,280	1,115
Boarding	34	1,322	1,130
Day	239	7,112	3,131
Totals	288	9,714	5,376

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1896*, xxxvii.

Confederation. Four of the industrial schools were in Manitoba, five were in present-day Alberta and Saskatchewan (then the North-West Territories), and six in British Columbia. Nineteen of the boarding schools were in present-day Alberta and Saskatchewan.[47] Most students were enrolled in day schools: 7,112. The industrial school enrolment was 1,280, while the boarding school enrolment was 1,322. The day schools had an average attendance of only 44%. At industrial schools, this figure was 87%, and, for boarding schools, it was 85%.[48]

As noted, the system hit a pre-war peak of eighty schools in 1930.[49] By the end of the 1930s, there were seventy-nine residential schools with a total enrolment of 9,027 and an average attendance of 8,643. The 288 day schools had a total enrolment of 9,369 and an average attendance of 6,417. By then, the government was spending $1,547,252 on residential school operations, versus $404,821 on day school operations.[50]

With the exception of the three original industrial schools (Qu'Appelle, Battleford, and High River), most of the schools were funded on the basis of what was termed a "per capita grant": an annual amount the government would pay for each pupil in attendance at the school.[51] (There were anomalies: in 1893, the boarding school on the Blackfoot Reserve was "allowed food and clothing" in place of a financial grant.)[52] The government also placed a cap on the number of students it would support in each school—this figure was known as the "pupilage." The pupilage was intended both to limit the government's financial obligation and to protect students against overcrowding. Because most schools barely met their costs even when they had full enrolments, there was fierce competition among principals for students. Further, the per capita system provided a financial incentive for principals to ignore instructions to refuse admission to students who were not in good health.

Although the government had the authority to decide if it would fund a residential school, the reality is that the dramatic expansion in the number of schools was undertaken partly in response to a government plan, but was driven in large measure by competition among the churches.

Church-directed expansion

The 1883 decision to turn the management of the industrial schools proposed for Qu'Appelle, High River, and Battleford over to the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches prompted Methodist missionary John McDougall to seek government support for his orphanage in Morley, in what is now Alberta. He promised to provide the same level of training as did the industrial schools in exchange for a sliding per capita grant: $150 each for the first fifteen students, $100 for the next fifteen, and $75 for any additional students. This, he said, would work out to about half the rate the government would be paying to educate students at Battleford.[53] Although Indian

Commissioner Dewdney delayed approval of McDougall's proposal, he said he could see no reason why the Methodists should not receive the same sort of assistance as other denominations received.[54]

The government constantly struggled, and failed, to assert control over the churches' expansionary drive to increase the number of schools they operated. At various times, each denomination established boarding schools without government support or approval, and then lobbied later for per capita funding. When they discovered that the per capita grant they received was too low, they sought to have their schools reclassified as industrial schools to receive money at a higher rate. Building on their network of missions in the Northwest, the Catholics quickly came to dominate the field, usually operating twice as many schools as did the Protestant denominations. The Anglicans were the most successful of the Protestants. The Methodists and the Presbyterians, who were the last to enter the field, operated a much smaller number of schools. Each faith, in its turn, claimed government discrimination against it. Competition for converts meant that churches sought to establish schools in the same locations as their rivals—leading to internal divisions within communities and expensive duplication of services. Table 11.3 indicates the number of schools operated by each denomination in the 1923–24 school year.

Table 11.3. Residential schools by faith in 1923–24.

Church	Number of schools
Roman Catholic	39
Church of England	21
Methodist	6
Presbyterian	7

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1924*, 16.

The 1883 announcement of plans for the Roman Catholic school at High River met with opposition from local Protestants. Alexander Begg, a prominent Alberta rancher, complained that with Father Albert Lacombe as principal, the students would be taught in French and raised as Catholics. This was unfair, he said, to the English-speaking people of the district, who would have to teach the students English before they "could be serviceable as servants," and was considered by the Protestants to be "unjust to the Indians and the country." Failure to address his concerns would result, he predicted, in a big storm led by the Protestants.[55]

That storm never erupted, but, three years later, in 1886, the Church of England began lobbying for an industrial school in Manitoba. To support their claim to manage the new school, the Anglicans argued that their missionaries had done more for First Nations education in Manitoba than all the other denominations combined.[56] In 1887, the department offered to build the Anglicans two industrial schools in Manitoba, each at a cost of $2,500, with an additional grant of $50 per student. The Anglicans responded that the money was not sufficient, making it clear that while they were prepared to run the school, they did not expect to contribute to its construction or operation. In the face of church lobbying, in 1888, the government authorized $27,000 for the construction of two Anglican schools in Manitoba: one at Middlechurch (often known as Rupert's Land or St. Paul's) and the other at Elkhorn. Although they were industrial schools, the federal government declined to cover all their costs, approving instead a student grant of $100 per capita.[57]

Not all Christian churches favoured government support of church-run residential schools. In 1892, the Baptist Ministerial Association of Toronto stepped into the residential school debate. The Baptists stated that although they had no problem with efforts to civilize and convert "the Indian tribes of Canada," and had indeed carried out missionary work in Ontario and Manitoba, the government funding of church schools was "a violation of the fundamental principle of absolute separation of Church and State, which has been agreed on, tacitly at least, as one of the corner stones of our constitutional system." The Baptists observed that the government system was inherently contradictory. After all, the Methodists both believed and taught that Catholic beliefs were "based on deadly error and tend directly to foster ignorance, superstition, and moral and spiritual darkness," while the Catholics thought much the same about the Protestants. "And yet the Government hopes to christianize the Indians by taxing Methodists for the propagation of Roman Catholic teachings and Roman Catholics for the propagation of Methodism, and Baptists and many others who are neither Methodists nor Roman Catholics for the propagation of both."[58] The only government response was that to adopt the Baptist recommendations "would be subversive of the present policy of the Indian Department with respect to the question of Indian education in the North West."[59]

Each church used the funding that another received to justify its own demands. In 1900, the Methodists proposed the establishment of boarding schools in the Battle River and Saddle Lake regions of what is now Alberta. This would entail closing five day schools, including some that Indian Affairs official Martin Benson believed to be doing good work. He said, "The fact of the Roman Catholics having boarding schools in each of these Agencies is enough to make the Methodists ask for the same consideration."[60]

Many schools that had been built without government approval later demanded government support, both per capita payments and reimbursement for construction costs. In 1893, Roman Catholic Bishop Paul Durieu sought per capita funding for the school in Mission, British Columbia, which had been established by the Oblates in 1862. After British Columbia entered Confederation, the federal government provided the school with an annual grant of $500, which was increased to $1,000 in 1882. That grant covered school costs, but the church paid for the students' room and board. Durieu was seeking a per capita grant of $100 for a proposed pupilage of sixty.[61]

In 1895, Father E. M. Bunoz, the principal of the Mission school, petitioned to have his school reclassified as an industrial school, thereby having its grant increased from $60 to $130 per student.[62] Ten years later, the Methodist Missionary Society sought permission to amalgamate its boys' boarding school and its girls' boarding school in Port Simpson into a single industrial school, a measure intended to increase the per capita grant. Benson opposed the measure as being unnecessary, arguing that the local First Nations made a good living from fishing. "Any trades instruction they might receive in such a school would never enable them to compete with white mechanics. The whole object of the petition, as I see it, is to obtain more money."[63]

The boarding school on the Thunderchild Reserve in what is now Saskatchewan stood as another example of this process. In assessing a 1904 church request for assistance, Benson wrote, "There was never any good reason for the establishment of the school in the first place, which was started contrary to the expressed wish of the Department."[64] The school was built with a capacity for thirty students, although the government's initial pupilage was only fifteen students. Roman Catholic Bishop Pascal argued that if the pupilage were increased, it would be possible to close a day school, thus saving money for the federal government. Benson commented, "The Sweet Grass [day] school is poorly attended but it is as much the fault of the missionary as any one. The Bishop evidently wishes to use the plea of inefficiency of the day school to attain his ends. They have also a day school on Thunderchild's Reserve, which they are endeavoring to freeze out."[65]

The chief inspector of Indian agencies in Winnipeg, Glen Campbell, termed the competition between church schools "a curse to the Department and the Indians." In 1912, he reported that the recently opened Anglican school at Gleichen, Alberta (often referred to as the "Old Sun's school"), had five to six staff and only seven students. "This is absolutely ridiculous and more so when one realizes that other churches will ask for the same consideration as the English Church on the same reserve."[66] In the following year, Indian Affairs received a letter from Bishop Grouard informing them that the "Roman Catholic Church have built a second school in the Lesser Slave Lake district." Grouard was seeking a grant for the school.[67] Because the church had not requested assistance in building the school, Duncan Campbell Scott recommended it be given per capita funding for twenty-five students.[68]

The Anglicans even competed with themselves. In 1898, the Anglican boarding school on the Peigan Reserve lost its "most advanced pupils to the industrial school" in Calgary, reducing the Peigan school enrolment to twenty-eight.[69] The following year, Deputy Minister James Smart complained that, as part of a recruiting campaign, the principal of the Anglican school in Elkhorn, Manitoba, was spreading criticism of the Anglican Middlechurch school. According to Smart, the principal coupled his criticisms with offers of payments to parents if they agreed to send their children to his school.[70]

In [illegible], Regina Presbyterian Rev. E. A. Henry responded to Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham's criticism of the Presbyterian Church's school in Regina by accusing Graham of being a poor Presbyterian. Henry said that Graham took no interest in the church's missionary work and had not "darkened the door" of the local church in the past decade.

The churches monitored the treatment that other churches received from government, searching for signs of favouritism. In the face of budget cuts in [illegible], the Roman Catholic Bishop of St. Albert complained that the government was favouring the Protestants, noting, "I have seen at a distance from Regina a splendid establishment which is being erected for a Presbyterian Industrial School," yet he doubted that there were "twenty Presbyterian Indians in the North West." Established Roman Catholic schools were being left "in want," and he suspected that the "sole cause of the parsimony" was the fact that the schools were operated by the Catholics. In response, the government noted that between [illegible] and [illegible], [illegible] had been spent on three Roman Catholic industrial schools in Manitoba and the North-West, compared to [illegible] on four Protestant schools.

In 1897, Paul Durieu, the Roman Catholic Bishop of New Westminster, complained that the Roman Catholics were not receiving an adequate share of school funding. Using the [illegible] annual report of the department, he showed there were [illegible] Catholic Indians in British Columbia and [illegible] Protestant Indians. However, the Catholic school grant was [illegible] and the Protestant grant was [illegible]. In his opinion, although Catholics counted for [illegible] of the [illegible] Indians in the Fraser Valley, they received less than half of the federal education funding. Twenty-five years later, the principal of the Mission school sought to be paid for inspecting the construction of a new barn at his school, citing as precedent the government's decision to pay the principal of the Methodist Coqualeetza Institute in Chilliwack, British Columbia, for inspecting a portion of a new building at that school. In [illegible], the Anglicans complained that the clothing cupboards at the new Anglican school on the Blood Reserve in Alberta lacked the top shelf that had been included in the new Catholic school on the same reserve. Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham said the shelf had been added at the Catholic school as an afterthought, and predicted, "If we have to supply every school in the country with exactly the same accommodation and equipment, our troubles are only beginning." These conflicts were never ending: when members of the Indian and Eskimo Commission of the Missionary Society of the Anglican Church in Canada met with the minister of Indian Affairs in the spring of [illegible], high on their list of concerns was "the injustice of limiting the Church of England in the Province of Saskatchewan to three Residential Schools for [illegible] Anglican Indians while nine Schools of this class were provided for [illegible] Roman Catholic Indians."

The federal government attempted to limit the conflict. In the 1890s, Hayter Reed issued a reminder to all employees that Indian Affairs insisted "upon strict neutrality being maintained by its Officers and Employees with regard to religious matters." He also stated that care was to be taken to ensure that parents of one denomination were not pressured to send their children to the school of a different denomination. Furthermore, parental consent, preferably in writing, was required before children were to be sent to a school operated by a denomination other than the one to which the parents belonged.

The federal government sought to establish zones of influence for each faith. In 1890, Reed opposed the construction of a Roman Catholic industrial school near Prince Albert, pointing out that such a location would "place the Institution in immediate communication with several Protestant reserves." In the past, he said, he had successfully discouraged the Anglicans from establishing a school at Duck Lake and the Methodists from opening one at Fort Alexander, both of which were viewed as being located in areas of Roman Catholic influence. However, the policy of attempting to establish zones of interest ran in direct opposition to the government's practice, dating from at least 1891, of sending children of Protestant parents to Protestant schools, and the children of Catholic parents to Catholic schools. While it was common for churches to view some areas as their own, neither the Protestants nor the Catholics were prepared to abandon any territory. The result was the clustering of Protestant and Catholic schools, often only a few kilometres from each other, such as in southwestern Alberta, southeastern Saskatchewan, and northwestern Ontario. In 1927, Indian Affairs was concerned by Catholic missionary activity on the east coast of Hudson Bay, an area that had been, to that point, largely an Anglican preserve. In a letter to church authorities, the department, expressing concerns about controlling costs of education, warned that "denominations should respect the zones of interest which have been established and not encroach upon them by the extension of missionary effort upon which a demand for separate educational institutions might be afterwards based." The department would not "recognize requests for aid to educational institutions unless by pre-arrangement." This, however, generally proved to be an empty threat.

Church-led expansion also meant that schools were established in remote northern locations where Aboriginal economies were flourishing. Many government officials believed that, because of the separation from their families while they attended school, the children who graduated from such schools lacked the skills they would need to support themselves by living off the land. When one such school burned down in 1927, Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott noted he had never been a "whole-hearted supporter" of residential schools in northern Canada. "It seemed to me very doubtful whether the separation of Indian children from their parents who are gaining their livelihood in the aboriginal fashion was really conducive to their welfare, and I should like to give very serious consideration to the whole problem before any further schools are commenced." Despite the reservations, the school was a failure.

The government also could not stop the expansion of the school system into northern Quebec. The Anglicans began lobbying in [illegible] for support to turn their day school in Fort George, Quebec, into a residential school. Their appeals were turned down by federal officials who appeared to believe Fort George was in Ontario. The Oblates opened a school in Fort George in the fall of [illegible], recruiting many students from Anglican families. In the face of this challenge, the Anglicans opened a boarding school in the community in [illegible]. Two years later, the federal government began funding the Anglican school. By [illegible], a Catholic boarding school in the community was receiving federal funding.

Funding in the Conservative era: [illegible]

Just as the government struggled – and failed – to control the growth of the school system, it also was not able to properly fund it. In his [illegible] instructions to Battleford principal Thomas Clarke, Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney had stressed that "the strictest economy must be practised in all particulars." From the outset of the system, the government was under the spell of two delusions. The first was that the schools would be relatively inexpensive to build. In [illegible], Dewdney had estimated that the construction costs for the High River and Qu'Appelle schools would be [illegible] each. The winning bid for the construction of the High River school was [illegible]. By September [illegible], the total construction costs of the two schools had reached [illegible].

The second, more long-lasting, delusion was that the schools would be inexpensive to operate because the churches and the students would be a source of cheap labour. In announcing the construction of the three initial industrial schools, Edgar Dewdney said that although the starting costs would be high, he could see no reason why the schools would not be largely self-supporting in a few years, due to the skills in farming, raising stock, and trades that were being taught to the students. Deputy Minister Vankoughnet, in support of the Anglican proposal for two industrial schools in Manitoba, outlined to Prime Minister Macdonald:

> It would be well to give a Grant of money annually to each school established by any Denomination for the industrial training of Indian children. This system prevails in Ontario, and it has been found to work very satisfactorily. It costs the Government less than the whole maintenance of the School would cost and it enlists the sympathies and assistance of the religious denominations in the education and industrial training of the Indian children.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Schools
				High River
2	6	6		Girls
20	13	7		Boys
22	19	13		Total
				Battleford
5	1			Girls
2	8	5		Boys
7	9	5		Total
				Qu'Appelle
14	16	3	1	Girls
15	29	11	7	Boys
29	45	14	8	Total
58	73	32	8	Total for all schools

the principal still had much to do if he was to "comply with instructions then issued for the better Government of the Institution." In particular, he said, "Discipline is not what it should be, neither is proper regard had to making the children speak English. During the whole time of my visit there appeared to be a marked lack of endeavour upon the part of the officials to see that they used English in preference to the vernacular."[illegible] In 1888, Reed attributed many of the Qu'Appelle school's problems to a similar lack of firmness.[illegible]

Despite repeated salary reductions, the schools could not survive on the per capita grant. Both the High River and Qu'Appelle schools emerged from the first year on the per capita system with deficits.[illegible] By January 1895, Reed had to acknowledge that the deficits at the Qu'Appelle, High River, and Elkhorn schools had been increasing from month to month, "without any apparent effort having been made to check or diminish them." The problem was, he wrote, that the churches were paying competitive rates for staff. This was not what the government expected. Echoing Davin and Dewdney, Reed took the position that, since the work was "of a philanthropic and missionary character, and the churches have facilities for obtaining, through various societies, men and women to whom remuneration for such work is a minor consideration, it seems only reasonable that a lower, rather than higher rate, as compared with other services, should obtain." Reed, who had once opposed church involvement in the school system, was now a convert to the view that the system could succeed as long as church men and women were willing to do the work for less than market rates.[106]

He also thought the staff was eating too well at the Regina school. Having examined the school expenditures, he had concluded that some food items "might be regarded as luxuries." He noted that clothing that should have been manufactured in the schools was being purchased. When it came to household items, he said the schools were often "positively extravagant." Reed instructed Indian Commissioner Amédée Forget to reduce costs at the schools. If all other measures failed, he was to cut wages and lay off staff.[107]

This tough approach was difficult to implement. In 1896, the St. Boniface school had a $2,500 deficit, which the government covered. The following year, its per capita grant was increased.[108] One year later, in January 1898, Indian Affairs informed the principals of industrial schools that it would no longer be providing assistance in paying off the deficits incurred by their schools.[109]

It is clear that the government had only a limited understanding of the financing of many of the schools. In 1902, four schools in Ontario were receiving per capita grants of $60. The Shingwauk school had a considerable deficit: this was, in Benson's opinion, because the principal, E. F. Wilson, when establishing the school, had "an eye for the beautiful but none for the practical necessities of the work to be carried on as the greater portion of the 95 acres they own is unproductive." He did not think the school could count on grants from the Anglican Church, whose members were, according to Benson, "not specially notorious for free giving to missions." For this reason, he recommended the government cover the school deficit, since "it furnishes the best English and Industrial education of any of the Ontario schools, numbers of boys having passed through and taken up the white man's burden."

Benson felt the other three Ontario schools, Mount Elgin in Muncey, the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, and Wikwemikong on Manitoulin Island, were in much better financial shape than Shingwauk. He noted that the Mohawk Institute "has a liberal grant from the New England Company, Mr. Sheppard of Mt. Elgin is an extensive stock dealer and makes it pay, while I have never found the Jesuits, who conduct the Wikwemikong school, to be unable to find money when they want it."[110] A month later, Benson revised his views about Mount Elgin. Principal Sheppard had informed him that, despite his expansion into stock farming, he was not able to make ends meet. Benson also observed that the financial records provided by the school showed no contribution from the Methodist Missionary Society. The principal argued for a doubling of the per capita rate, and while Benson was unenthusiastic about the education provided at the school, he recognized that, without an increase, "financial disaster" was inevitable.[111]

That same year, Benson found himself compelled to argue for a payment of the full grant to the Regina school, even though the enrolment did not justify such a payment.

If the government were to fund the school simply on the basis of enrolment, the school would have a deficit, which, Benson recognized, would eventually end up at the government's door.[122]

Residential schooling under the Liberals

The drive for economy intensified after 1896, when the Liberal Party under Sir Wilfrid Laurier won the federal election. In opposition, the Liberals had maintained that Indian Affairs was staffed by corrupt, incompetent, and often immoral political appointees. They had also raised questions about the effectiveness of the residential schools.[123] In 1895, Liberal MP David Mills argued that, in the absence of a coherent plan, control of the direction of Aboriginal education had been captured by the churches. The time was approaching, he suggested, when the government should consider taking over the industrial schools.[124] Liberal MP James McMullen opposed the connection between church and state that the schools represented. In 1893, MP Louis Davis of Prince Edward Island said that if the churches wished to evangelize Aboriginal youth, they should do so at their own expense. He also worried that churches would place religious education ahead of practical education.[125]

Upon taking office, Laurier appointed Manitoba lawyer and newspaper publisher Clifford Sifton to serve as both minister of the interior and minister of Indian Affairs. Sifton viewed himself as the minister of western development—his major accomplishment was to bring about a dramatic increase in immigration to western Canada.[126] Having concluded that "in the organized portion of the country there is no Indian population that may be considered dangerous so far as the peace of the country is concerned," he reduced the Indian Affairs budget.[127] He made his first cut at the top: Hayter Reed was dismissed as deputy minister and was not replaced. Instead, Sifton's new deputy of the interior, James Smart, also served as the deputy of Indian Affairs.[128] Much of the day-to-day operation of Indian Affairs was left in the hands of the department secretary, J. D. McLean.[129] Within two years of Sifton's appointment, fifty-seven of the department's employees in the North-West either resigned or were dismissed. While many were replaced, overall, the number of department employees declined from 144 to 133 in that period. Departmental salaries were also cut, in some cases by up to 25%.[130] Education was not to be spared in this cost-cutting exercise. Sifton announced that spending on education had reached its peak. In the future, he said, the government intended to cut education spending.[131]

Martin Benson, who had been with Indian Affairs for four years, prepared two devastating critiques of the industrial schools for the new minister in 1897.[132] Benson judged the industrial schools' mandate to be too ambitious, and concluded that the Canadian system had been modelled too closely on the Carlisle school in the United

States.[133] In Canada, he said, "the education and civilization of the Western Indians is still in its infancy and we should be content to let them creep for a time before they attempt to walk. It is only a few years since they were wild untamed savages, living by the chase, hunting in small bands or families."

According to Benson, not more than one-half of the 700 male students attending the ten industrial schools in Manitoba and the Northwest had been taught to farm. The other half needed to undergo apprenticeships before they could find work. Where, he asked, would the government find work for 200 apprentices in a year? The churches, he said, "do not bestir themselves, so far as I am aware, to secure employment for ex-pupils."[134] The situation was no better in British Columbia, where, he thought, the schools were both unnecessary and useless, since the First Nations people "are all experts in the industries and pursuits they are engaged in [fishing, mining, raising stock, and railway work] and the time spent in these schools will not help to fit them for their after work."[135]

He even drew aim at those former students who were portrayed as doing well. Gilbert Bear, who had been taught the printing trade at the Battleford school, was often cited as an industrial school 'success story,' having gone on to work for the *Ottawa Citizen*. But, according to Benson, Bear was not making enough to pay for his board and clothing, and hated the night-shift hours he worked. When he was fired in a dispute over his hours, Benson helped him get his job back, but said Bear "would rather be back home on the reserve."[136]

He accused the industrial schools of "trying to over-run the country with a lot of half-trained and half-educated so-called Industrial pupils. The needs of the country do not call for all the different trades pupils even if they were turned out as finished workmen." In his opinion, there was no point in teaching printing, shoemaking, and tailoring; it was far better to train the next generation of Aboriginal people to farm. For this, the only trades they needed to learn were carpentry and blacksmithing.[137] Benson explicitly compared Ryerson's proposals of 1847—which stressed agricultural training—with Davin's more ambitious 1879 report, and concluded that Ryerson's focus on training farmers was "the one best suited to the present generation of Indians." In forty years' time, "more elaborate training might be successful."[138]

Benson not only thought the schools' ambitions were too extravagant, but he also saw little evidence that they were, in fact, industrial schools. Students were admitted to the industrial schools at ages varying from four to twenty. "Once they were admitted, little if any distinction is made among pupils of the same sex as regards food, clothing, study, work, recreation, moral and religious training, rest and sleep."[139] He could not see much difference between the industrial schools and the boarding schools, other than the fact that one class of school was much better funded than the other. In British Columbia, he thought, the industrial school rate of $130 per pupil was overly generous, given the climate and cost of living. In his opinion, there was little difference between the Coqualeetza Institute near Chilliwack, which received the industrial rate of $130, and the St. Mary's boarding school at Mission, which received the boarding school per capita rate of $60.[140]

He laid some of the blame for the system's failure on Indian Affairs staff. Many Indian agents looked upon school-related work "as an extra duty which is performed in a very perfunctory manner."[141] He was even more critical of the churches and school staff, questioning whether a "priest or parson is best fitted by education, training or profession to assume the direct control and management of such institutions." The schools were further handicapped by frequent changes in staff and "constant bickering and petty jealousies."[142] In recommending that "ignoramuses, idlers, time-killers and salary grabbers should not be employed," Benson makes it clear he thought they were present, and in significant numbers.[143]

He also echoed the views of many department staff in his conclusion that, by subsidizing teacher-missionaries, the industrial schools were government-funded extensions of the churches' missionary work. When the schools were first established, he said, "too much power and control was placed in the hands of the Church authorities, and it will require the exercise of considerable tact to curtail these powers and withdraw some of the concessions made to them." The churches, he felt, showed too much independence in the hiring of staff: "Teachers, until lately, were removed and replaced without consulting the Department, and complaints of incompetency were made without action being taken by them."[144]

Benson did not recommend that the residential school system be abandoned. What was needed, he felt, was a government takeover of the system. He noted that throughout the British Empire, "where a native population still remains, steps have been taken for the establishment of Industrial Training schools, which are supported wholly, or in part, by the Government, and it is now universally conceded that such Institutions afford the best known means of training the aborigines in habits of industry and the formation of character."[145] Canada was still drawing on the experience of the British Empire globally in developing its Canadian residential school policy.

Deputy Minister Smart signalled in his 1897 annual report that the pendulum was now swinging against industrial schools. By then, there were 22 industrial schools, compared with 31 boarding schools and 232 day schools. As for enrolment, industrial schools had 1,877 students, boarding schools had 874, and day schools had 6,877. Smart wrote:

> There is a natural tendency to run to extremes, and it seems questionable whether the recognition of the undoubted advantages of boarding and industrial schools has not tended to an undervaluation of day schools on the reserves, which in the older provinces especially have done, and are doing a work by no means to be despised. It is true that the transformation from the natural condition to that of civilization can be more speedily and thoroughly accomplished

> by means of boarding and industrial schools, but even then it is questionable whether the day school should not provide the initial stage of preparation for the benefits of the boarding and industrial institutions.
>
> There certainly seems reason to pause before further extending these industrial schools, and before doing so the capacity of those already established should be utilized to the extreme limit. Education must be considered with relation to the future of the pupils, and only the certainty of some practical results can justify the large expense entailed upon the country by the maintenance of these schools. To educate children above the possibilities of their station, and create a distaste for what is certain to be their environment in life would be not only a waste of money but doing them an injury instead of conferring a benefit upon them.[146]

Two years later, in 1899, Sifton announced the government "would not be extending the industrial school system, but where an extension is required, adding to the number of boarding schools."[147] In 1904, he told the House of Commons that while industrial schools would continue to operate, they were no longer the centrepiece of the government's First Nations education policy.

> We have substituted a less elaborate system; a system of what we call boarding schools where a larger number of children can for a shorter time be educated more economically and generally more effectively. What we desire to do is not to give a highly specialized education to half a dozen out of a large band of Indians, but if possible to distribute over the whole band a moderate amount of education and intelligence, so that the general status of the band would be raised.[148]

In downgrading the industrial schools, Sifton was expressing a belief that First Nations people were not ready to benefit from the types of training these schools were intended to offer. "You cannot take the child of the ordinary prairie Indian, put him in an industrial school, keep him there until he is twenty-one years of age and turn him loose to make his living amongst white men. He has not the physical, mental or moral get-up to enable him to compete. He cannot do it."[149]

(In his speeches, Sifton was insistent that, under the Conservatives, students were kept in boarding schools until they were in their early twenties.[150] While there may have been examples of this, it does not appear to have been the general practice.)

In a highly critical assessment of the industrial schools on the Prairies, written in 1902, Benson pointed out that since 1882, $2.1 million had been spent on industrial schools in Manitoba and the North-West Territories. This was for four schools in Manitoba (Brandon, 1895; Elkhorn, 1888; Middlechurch, 1890; and St. Boniface, 1889) and six in the North-West Territories (Battleford, 1883; Calgary, 1896; Qu'Appelle, 1884; Red Deer, 1893; Regina, 1891; and High River, 1884). The government also had spent $750,000 on five boarding schools in Manitoba and twenty-nine in the North-West

Territories. In addition, $250,000 had been spent on forty-five day schools in Manitoba and thirty-four day schools in the North-West Territories.

Of the total of 2,752 students who had been enrolled since 1883, as of June 30, 1901, almost one-fifth, 506, had died, with another 139 reported to be in poor health. A total of 1,700 students had been "discharged" (the formal term for removing a child from the enrolment record), of whom 86 had transferred to other schools. The government could not report on the condition of another 249. Another 123 were judged to have "turned out badly," while 599 students were "doing well." Benson suggested that "doing well" should be interpreted as meaning "not doing badly." By his count, "the cost of educating Indians who have not died or utterly failed amounts to $4000 a head." In his opinion, there were enough schools on the Prairies to meet the educational needs of First Nations children. However, the churches continued to lobby for residential schools because "the life of the mission is in most cases dependent on the establishment of the boarding school." The schools, Benson wrote, should focus on the "improvement, not the transformation of the Indian." Schools were not providing the "practical lessons in self-support" that were needed.[151]

Conditions were no better at the boarding schools. As Anglican Church accountant F. Van Thiel wrote in 1899, under the per capita funding system, "it has been the aim of those interested in the work to increase the number of children at the schools not only for the good of Christian work, but also to increase the assets." Spending under these conditions was limited to the "bare necessities."[152]

Benson did recognize the need to increase funding. In 1902, he recommended that the government cover the Shingwauk school's deficit.[153] In the following year, he recommended that the per capita grant for all four Ontario boarding schools (Mount Elgin, the Mohawk Institute, Wikwemikong, and the Shingwauk Home) be increased from $60 to $100.[154] Instead, the boarding school grant remained at $60 until 1911, even though Benson wrote of Mount Elgin that "with the increased cost of living a school of this class cannot be carried on with a per capita grant of $60."[155] When evaluating whether the government should pick up the Regina school's deficit in 1903, Benson wrote that "although the Department has paid deficits for many of the industrial schools in the past, it did so as a matter of grace, and not of right."[156] The following year, he judged the Lestock school in what is now Saskatchewan to be "the most satisfactorily managed" boarding school in the Northwest. Despite this, the school ran a deficit of $1,000.[157] Regina principal R. B. Heron concluded in 1905 that the cost of running the school was $11,300, while the per capita for full enrolment would fall significantly short of that at $9,425.[158]

Samuel Blake and the campaign to close residential schools

During the ten years that Sifton served as minister of Indian Affairs (1896 to 1905), there was little growth in the system. Under his successor, Frank Oliver, a campaign led by dominant figures within the Protestant missionary organizations nearly resulted in a significant reduction in the size of the residential school system. Two men played a central role in this campaign: Frank Pedley, who was appointed deputy minister of Indian Affairs in 1902; and Samuel Blake, a prominent Toronto lawyer and member of the evangelical wing of the Anglican Church.[illegible]

In his 1904 annual report, Pedley indicated that the government was prepared to re-evaluate the residential schools.

> The questions have been raised repeatedly as to whether the existing method of education by day, boarding and industrial school as at present distributed and conducted is the best that can be devised for the education of the Indian youth, and again as to whether the potentialities of these schools are being exhausted.
>
> The many difficulties in the way of providing and inducing parents to accept for their children such educational advantages as may seem best suited for their several environments, their present requirements and future prospects, have been repeatedly pointed out.

The government was planning to go into these "most important questions exhaustively at an early date." He expected to receive valuable assistance from "the various religious denominations whose experience, co-operation and interest in the work place them in the best possible position to render it."[illegible]

As a leading member of the Toronto legal and political establishment, Blake was well placed to provide the sort of assistance Pedley sought for a campaign to dramatically reduce the number of residential schools and replace them with what were to be termed "Improved Day Schools."

Blake had come to believe that the residential schools were a drain on church resources. This was of particular significance, since the British-based Church of England had begun the slow process of transferring responsibility for support of its work with Aboriginal people in Canada to the Canadian Anglican Church (also referred to as the "Church of England in Canada"). The British-based Church Missionary Society announced in 1903 that it was phasing out its support for missions in Canada and shifting its work to "the densely populated portions of the Heathen World."[illegible]

A key event in this process was the 1902 establishment of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC). The MSCC brought together a variety of Anglican missionary organizations with the intent of assuming responsibility for the work of the British-based Church Missionary Society.[illegible] As a result, the MSCC, which raised most of its money in eastern Canada, was increasingly called upon to provide financial support for residential schools in the West. Blake, who served on the MSCC's management board, questioned the effectiveness of this spending. In 1903, in his words, he began to "procure such statistics as would throw light upon the correctness of the pleasing reports, almost universally presented for information by the Principals, Missionaries, and others immediately engaged in carrying on the work."[illegible] In an inflammatory pamphlet entitled *Don't you hear the red man calling?*, Blake used capital letters to emphasize his belief that "THERE WAS JUSTLY A GENERAL AND STRONG FEELING OF DISSATISFACTION WITH THE MODE IN WHICH WORK AMONG THE INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST AND BRITISH COLUMBIA WAS BEING CARRIED ON."[illegible] The pamphlet also included damning quotes from leading western and northern Canadian Anglicans to support Blake's case. The Bishop of Qu'Appelle was cited as writing in 1906 that he had "always considered the expense of the boarding schools is much too great for its relative importance to the general work of the diocese."[illegible] The Bishop of Saskatchewan wrote in the same year, "The present system of management of Indians in the west is wasteful, detrimental to the Indians, and calculated only to find places and jobs."[illegible] The Bishop of Moosonee wrote of "the appalling death rate amongst the children," and recommended that "instead of schools it may be better to establish two small institutions, one west and the other east, for the training of native teachers and Clergy."[illegible]

Blake was a strong supporter of the work of the Indian Affairs chief medical officer, Dr. Peter Bryce, whose 1907 report drew national attention to the high death rates in the schools. (Bryce's work is discussed in more detail in a subsequent chapter.) To those who said that Bryce's conclusions were based on brief visits to a limited number of schools, Blake responded, "What could he have found out if his visit had been prolonged?"[illegible] Blake noted that at Emmanuel College residential school in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, nearly one-quarter of the students (32 of 133) who had passed through the school during a seventeen-year period had died.[illegible]

Blake said, "The competition of getting in pupils to earn the government grant seems to blind the heads of these institutions and to render them quite callous to the shocking results which flow from this highly improper means of adding to the funds of their institutions."[illegible] The Bishop of Moosonee confirmed Blake's view:

> I also admit that in a majority of schools unhealthy children have been admitted and allowed to sleep in the same dormitories with healthy ones; also that the dormitories have generally been overcrowded and very imperfectly ventilated. It is also true that in many cases the teachers have been untrained and incompetent.

He did point out that the Indian agents had long been aware of these issues.[illegible]

Argening that students were corrupted by their time in the schools, Blake quoted one unnamed western Canadian lawyer as saying, "When they leave the schools the boys are thieves and the girls are prostitutes.” The lawyer claimed it had recently been discovered that every member of a ring of thirteen cattle thieves was a residential school graduate.[illegible] Blake also judged the schools to be a failure in winning converts to the church. In Algoma Diocese, for example, after eighty years of expensive work, there were, at most, 700 Anglicans—many of whom, he suspected, were Anglican in name only.[illegible]

The pamphlet angered many Anglican missionaries and school principals, but Blake was able to gain the support of the leaders of the Presbyterian and Methodist national missionary associations, each of which was facing similar financial pressures. A 1904 Presbyterian inquiry into the relations between the Regina industrial school and the surrounding boarding schools had concluded that the boarding schools were healthier and more popular with parents, and provided students with more attention, while costing only half as much as industrial schools.[illegible]

As a result of Blake’s work, the three Protestant churches held several meetings in Winnipeg, followed by a meeting in Toronto in April 1907, at which they agreed to a joint memorandum. Beyond the regular church calls for compulsory education and an extension on the period of time that students could be kept in school, the Protestant churches proposed that the government take over the full cost of funding the schools. Despite this, the churches remained anxious “to continue to co-operate with the Government in the civilization and Christianization of the Indians.”

Since spiritual and moral development were seen as such an important part of the educational work, the churches argued that, even after they had stopped providing any funding for the system, they should be allowed to appoint the teachers, albeit “on terms to be mutually agreed upon.”[illegible] The churches had asked for a salary of $500 a year for day school teachers, up from $300—a rate that had been deemed insufficient two decades earlier. They also wanted to see the per capita grant raised from $60 to $100 for all schools in Ontario, and to $130 for all schools farther west. In addition, the government should be responsible for “the cost of material for the plant,” including plumbing, heating, and other fixtures. The government was also to make the schools sanitary and sufficiently ventilated and to provide needed medical services. Under this arrangement, the churches were prepared to cover deficits.[illegible] A second memorandum recommended that the number of industrial schools be reduced to three.[illegible]

The Protestants’ apparent willingness to close schools, coupled with their desire to increase the per capita rates for those schools that would remain open, created an opportunity for Pedley. By 1908, the deputy minister had concluded that, rather than establishing industrial schools in the West in the 1880s, it would have been wiser to have carried out such education on the reserves, providing training to both children and adults (who had been disregarded in the past as being beyond redemption). He had, in fact, begun closing industrial schools. By 1907, he was considering closing the Metlakatla school in British Columbia, had closed the Calgary school in Alberta, and had declined to rebuild the Middlechurch school in Manitoba after it had been destroyed by fire in 1906. All three of these schools had been operated by the Anglican Church. Now, he wanted to close the Presbyterian school in Regina and the Anglican school in Elkhorn, Manitoba. The older students from these schools were to be transferred to the Methodist school in Brandon, which provided agricultural training to students from northern Manitoba. He also proposed closing three Protestant boarding schools in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Pedley noted that in [illegible] Ontario, the First Nations people were largely self-sufficient. As a result, he felt, "the policy of removing the children from their parents and separating them from the ordinary vocations by which in their future lives they must obtain a living is questionable."[illegible] In addition to closing the Shingwauk school, Pedley proposed an increase in the per capita rate or additional capital expenditures for schools in that province.[illegible] (In a subsequent letter, Pedley dropped the Onion Lake and Blood Reserve schools from his list of proposed closures.[illegible])

With the money that would be saved by these closures, he proposed to establish what he termed "an improved type of day school" on the reserves formerly served by the schools that were being closed. These replacement schools would employ a teacher, his wife (who would offer domestic instruction to women on the reserve), and a nurse, and would provide "a nutritious and simple" meal at midday and agricultural training. While a number of existing industrial schools would continue to operate, in the future, residential schooling would be restricted to districts where First Nations people had not settled on reserves. In all, he believed that his proposals would see total education spending rise from [illegible] to [illegible]. In [illegible], residential schooling would remain the largest component of his budget.[illegible]

Pedley had the support of the new Indian Affairs minister, Frank Oliver, who had succeeded Sifton in 1905. Before becoming minister, Oliver made it clear that he did not view First Nations people as full Canadians. In 1897, he had told Parliament that "we are educating these Indians to compete industrially with our own people, which seems to me a very undesirable use of public money, or else we are not able to educate them to compete, in which case our money is thrown away."[illegible] Once he became minister, he adopted measures specifically intended to facilitate the surrender of Indian reserve land to non-native settlers. While he said that a First Nations person "should not be deprived of his right without his consent," if the rights of settlers and First Nations were to come into conflict, he made it clear that "the interests of the whites will have to be provided for."[illegible] Nonetheless, he had strong reservations about the residential school system. He questioned the policy of separating children from their parents, both as a failure in and of itself, and as a betrayal of a fundamental religious teaching. In a letter to Blake of January 28, 1908, Oliver wrote:

> My belief is that the attempt to elevate the Indian by separating the child from his parents and educating him as a white man has turned out to be a deplorable

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Scott's statement that it was never the aim to "transform an Indian into a white man" is at variance with the facts. The government had been, and continued to be, committed to transforming Aboriginal people economically, politically, culturally, and spiritually. The only real change was that the government was now dropping any pretense of providing First Nations children with the sorts of skills that would allow them to move successfully into the broader economy. Scott noted that, while there were two orders of residential schools (industrial and boarding), "the work carried on at each is in all essentials the same. The teaching of trades is no longer generally pursued at the industrial schools; carpentry and agriculture are the chief practical subjects, for the boys, and general housewifery for the girls."[illegible]

He also stressed that the schools were a source of social order, and that "without education and with neglect the Indians would produce an undesirable and often a dangerous element in society." He claimed that schools were providing a social service.

> Not only are our schools every day removing intelligent Indian children from evil surroundings, but they are very often ministering to a class which would be outcasts without such aid; I refer to the illegitimate offspring of white men and Indian women who are thrown upon their mothers for support, and who have no legal status as Indians.[illegible]

Scott then set about engineering a set of negotiations that led to a new boarding school funding agreement between the government and the churches in November 1910. The contract provided significant increases in the per capita grant and incentives to improve the quality of the boarding schools. It was based in large measure on the Protestant proposal of 1908—minus any requirement for school closures. A sign of the change in both government and church policy can be detected from the fact that Archdeacon Tims of Calgary was one of the Anglican Church representatives, while his fellow Anglican, Blake, who had advocated for school closures, does not appear to have been present at the meeting.[illegible]

In 1910, per capita rates for boarding schools had not been increased since 1891: they were $60 for schools in eastern Canada and $72 for schools in the West and North. The new agreement divided the country into three divisions: Eastern, Western, and Northern. The divisions did not break down along provincial boundaries; for example, Ontario had schools in all three divisions. There was a single per capita rate for the Northern Division schools of $125, but in the Eastern Division, the rates could vary between $80 and $100, and in the West, they could vary between $100 and $125. The difference in the divisional rates was intended to reflect the higher cost of supplies in the West and the North. Although they represented an increase, the new boarding school per capita rates were still below the rates granted to industrial schools under the 1892 Order-in-Council.

The schools themselves were to be divided into three classes: A, B, and C. (See Table 11.5.) Class A schools were church-owned schools in good condition, and would receive the maximum grant for their division. They had to have substantial buildings in a good state of repair, with a full basement, a stone or cement foundation, a plentiful supply of pure water throughout the building, a proper system of sanitation, hospital accommodation for students with infectious diseases or tuberculosis, modern ventilation, adequate space in dormitories and classrooms for the number of students enrolled, modern heating, and a sufficient land base for farming and gardening. Class B schools were government-owned schools. They would have to meet the same requirements as Class A schools, but would receive only the minimum per capita grant for their division. Class C schools were church schools that, while "sanitary and kept in a good state of repair," did not meet all the requirements of a Class A school. These schools, which were required to have hospital accommodation, modern ventilation, adequate classroom and dormitory space, and an agricultural land base, would receive the minimum per capita grant. Schools that upgraded from Class C to A would receive an increase in funding.

The classification system reflects the poor state of the boarding schools of the day: of the existing sixty-one schools, forty-one were in the lowest class, Class C. Further, the haphazard nature of the expansion of the boarding school system in the West can be seen from the fact that seven of the twelve Class A schools were in Ontario.[205] The average per capita grant under this system was $115.[206]

Table 11.5. Regional breakdown of boarding schools by class, 1910.

Division	Class A	Class B	Class C
Eastern Division (central Ontario)	6	1	0
Western Division Ontario	1	1	1
Northern Division Ontario	0	0	2
Manitoba	2	2	2
Western Division Saskatchewan	2	2	7
Northern Division Saskatchewan	0	0	2
Western Division Alberta	1	2	8
Northern Division (includes schools in northern Alberta and the Northwest Territories)	0	0	10
British Columbia	0	0	9
Total	12	8	41

Source: TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 3:1, box 48, file 3, Assistant Deputy to S. P. Matheson, 25 November 1910. [AAC-090237]

Class A schools were expected to provide 500 cubic feet (14.1 cubic metres) of space per child in each dormitory. On a per-pupil basis, each classroom was to have 16 square feet (1.5 square metres) of floor space and 250 square feet (23.2 square metres) of air space.

Under the provisions of the contract, the churches agreed to "support, maintain, and educate" a specific number of students. They were not to admit any child under the age of seven and required permission from Indian Affairs to keep a child who was over the age of eighteen. No child was to be admitted without the approval of Indian Affairs and a doctor's examination ("where practicable"). The contract limited the schools to children of specific bands. "Half-breed" children could not be admitted unless a sufficient number of "Indian children" could not be obtained.

The schools also had to be operated according to regulations adopted by the government. The government could determine the number of "teachers, officers, and employees" who were required at the school. Teachers had to be able to "speak and write the English language fluently and correctly and possess such other qualifications as in the opinion of the Superintendent General may be necessary." There was no similar provision for French in the contract. The teachers and officers had to be qualified to

> give the pupils religious instruction at proper times; to instruct the male pupils of the said school in gardening, farming, and care of stock, or such other industries as are suitable to their local requirements; to instruct female pupils in cooking, laundry work, needlework, general housewifery and dairy work, where such dairy work can be carried on; to teach all the pupils in the ordinary branches of an English education; to teach calisthenics, physical drill and fire drill; to teach the effects of alcoholic drinks and narcotics on the human system; and how to live in a healthy manner; to instruct the older advanced pupils in the duties and privileges of British citizenship, explaining to them the fundamental principles of the government of Canada, and training them in such knowledge and appreciation of Canada as will inspire them with respect and affection for the country and its laws.

Despite this long list of required skills, there was no requirement that teachers would have formal training. The contract also allowed Indian Affairs to require the church to remove, "for cause," any "teacher, officer, employee or pupil."

Students were to be given sufficient clothing, food, lodging, and accommodation for their "comfort and safety." With certain exceptions, the churches were to provide tools and equipment. Students and their clothes were to be kept clean and vermin-free, and the schools were to be free from flies, insects, and vermin.

Classes were to be held five days a week and "industrial exercises" were to be held six days a week. There could be no more than one month of vacation, which was to be taken between July 1 and October 1 each year. During that month, children were allowed to visit their homes, but Indian Affairs would "not pay any part of the transportation either going or returning." The schools were instructed to observe the King's Birthday, Victoria Day, Dominion Day, and Thanksgiving Day. The churches were to provide reports as required and allow Indian Affairs representatives to conduct "thorough and complete" inspections of the schools. Indian Affairs could also order the churches to make needed changes or alterations to the schools.

The contract placed only three obligations on Indian Affairs: to make quarterly payments based on the school's enrolment; to provide medicine, schoolbooks, stationery, and school "appliances"; and to maintain any government-owned buildings in good repair and to provide for sanitation and "sanitary appliances." If the government believed a church was not adhering to the provisions of the contract, the contract could be cancelled with six months' notice.[207]

The 1910 contract and beyond

The 1910 contract went into effect on April 11, 1911, and was intended to run for five years.[208] In the first few years after the contract was signed, the federal government spent $150,000 a year upgrading many of the Class C schools. This spending ended with the commencement of the First World War in 1914.[209] When the contract lapsed in 1916, no effort was made to negotiate a new one.[210] However, the government and churches continued to operate as if the contract was still in effect, and, when new schools opened, it was used as the template for an operating agreement between the church organization and the government.

Wartime inflation rapidly reduced the value of the increase in the per capita grant. As early as 1916, a senior Oblate in British Columbia, J. Welch, claimed that the $100 per capita paid to the Mission school was

> quite inadequate. We find it impossible to feed, clothe, educate and house a child with this amount, and each year when we have expended on the School the Government allowance, we have to turn for additional help to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, and to the Congregation of Oblates. But this, to my mind, is unfair, for as I have said on a previous occasion it is on the State, and not on the Church, to provide the necessary means for the education of the Indian.[211]

By the following year, the Anglican school at The Pas had a $5,173 deficit. After blaming the church and the former principal for the problem, Indian Affairs official Martin Benson acknowledged:

> The trouble with this school is want of funds. The per capita grant of $110.00 is insufficient. Eighty pupils are provided for which will give them a gross income of $8800 a year. It will require at least $3500 to pay salaries which only leaves $5300. For the year ending December 31, 1916, food and incidental expenses

> cost $5060.33, and clothing cost $885.34 a year, total of $5945.67. No saving could be made in any of these items and it is quite evident that the school cannot be carried on for $110.[212]

In response to these rising costs, Duncan Campbell Scott, who had become deputy minister of Indian Affairs in 1913, proposed that the per capita grant be increased by $10. In a 1917 memorandum, he noted, "This grant, owing to the increased cost of food, clothing and wages, is insufficient to meet the cost of the maintenance and management of these schools." As a result, "with one or two exceptions," the schools were running deficits. He thought the increase could be funded by not building any new buildings that year and by cutting spending on "house furnishings, implements, provisions, transportation of pupils, etc."[213]

While the 1910 contract provided an increase in funding for boarding schools, it provided no increase for industrial schools, which continued to run deficits that the government continued to cover. A 1913 Indian Affairs inspection of the Red Deer school's books recommended that the government not cover the school's $2,754.98 deficit, since it "was incurred through want of management and lack of experience." The farm, for example, which was operating at a loss, was in the hands of a "young Englishman only 22 years old." In making this recommendation, Martin Benson acknowledged that the Methodists were well aware that the government had covered other school deficits in the past and expected to "receive the same liberal treatment that has been accorded" the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic schools.[214] Three years later, Benson recommended that the department cover the then $10,000 deficit at the Qu'Appelle school in Saskatchewan, which Principal Hugonnard claimed was the result of fires and increases in the cost of supplies and salaries. Benson noted that the $130 per capita grant being paid the Qu'Appelle school was not enough to cover the cost of running an industrial school in the West.[215] In 1918, the Methodists complained that they could not continue to operate their schools on the $130 rate that was provided to industrial schools west of the Great Lakes.[216] In 1919, the federal government instituted another increase of $10 in the per capita rate, this time increasing both the industrial and boarding school rates. Another $10 increase was granted in 1921.[217]

The number of industrial schools continued to decline. The Regina school closed in 1910, the Battleford school in 1914, the Elkhorn school in 1918 (although it would later reopen), the Red Deer school in 1919, and the High River school in 1922.[218] By 1922, there were only sixteen industrial schools, and, from 1923 onwards, the department stopped making any distinctions between boarding schools and residential schools.[219]

In 1921, J. H. Edmison, of the Methodist Board of Home Missions and Social Services, wrote, "During the years of the War we have simply tided things over. In regard to our buildings and equipment in the schools, everything has gone threadbare."[220] Many boarding schools and industrial schools were running deficits.[221]

In the 1920s, the federal government began to acquire most of the church-owned boarding schools, although the churches were allowed to continue to operate them. The churches were anxious to be rid of financial liabilities, while the government, which also agreed to cover school capital costs, believed this move would allow the churches to spend more on "better instruction, food and clothing."[222] The government was prepared to pay for church schools that were in good condition, but some schools were in such a state of disrepair that the government argued they had no economic value. For example, it judged the value of ten Anglican-owned schools (out of the total of twenty-one Anglican schools) to be "nil, because of the poor condition of the buildings or their situation." Similarly, Indian Affairs believed that two Methodist-owned schools (out of a total of seven schools) could be obtained for free. Three of the four Presbyterian-owned schools were deemed to be modern and well designed, while the fourth was "dilapidated, and we would pay nothing to the Church when we decide to rebuild."[223]

In cases where the church and government could not reach an agreement, the school remained in church hands and the government made a commitment to provide capital supports.[224] By 1934, there were ten church-owned schools (seven of which were in Alberta) for which the government paid capital expenses. At that time, Indian Affairs director Harold McGill lamented that the "lack of written records and agreements makes it very difficult to determine the nature and extent of this responsibility." In particular, he was frustrated by the fact that churches were undertaking repairs and renovations without getting government approval, and then requesting afterwards that the government cover their costs. In an effort to regain control over departmental spending, McGill announced the government would provide grants towards the cost of buildings only if prior written authority had been granted.[225]

The fact that schools were penalized if they did not have full enrolment was also an ongoing issue. In 1922, the Manitoba Provincial Council of the Oblates pointed out that never in the history of the Pine Creek school had there been a year in which the church received the full amount that would have been allocated if it had recruited its allotted enrolment.[226] In 1938, the Oblates estimated that running a school with a pupilage of less than 125 was economically unsound, based on the current per capita grant, and a figure of 150 was ideal. At the time, only one of the schools it operated (at Qu'Appelle) had a pupilage of over 125. Five of its schools had pupilages of less than 100.[227]

Between the ongoing need to cover school deficits and the government's increasingly ad hoc approach to school funding, the classification system developed in the 1910 contract had broken down by the 1920s. In 1924, the federal government did away with the regional divisions and classes, and a per capita rate was set for each school.[228] For example, in 1927, there were five different rates for thirteen United Church schools in western Canada: $145, $155, $160, $170, and $175.[229] (The United Church had been created in 1925 through a merger of the Methodist Church, the Congregationalist Church, and many Presbyterian congregations. In the process, the United Church assumed responsibility for all Methodist schools and all but two Presbyterian schools.)[230] At the same time, there were at least three rates for Catholic schools in Alberta: $140, $155, and $170.[231] By 1931, the average grant was $175 (up from $115 in 1911).[232]

The Shubenacadie school in Nova Scotia did not open until 1930. Pressure for a school in the Maritimes, however, had been mounting for two decades. As early as 1911, the Reverend J. J. Ryan, the provincial superintendent of schools in New Brunswick, lobbied the federal government for an industrial school in the Maritimes.[233] In 1924, Indian Superintendent A. J. Boyd recommended that an industrial school be established in a central location in Nova Scotia. He said that such a school should not only teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, but also provide technical training that would allow students to go on to "become self-sustaining and useful citizens of their country." He repeated this recommendation in 1925.[234] Father F. C. Ryan supported Boyd, saying that without such an industrial school, federal spending on Aboriginal education "seems a huge waste of money." He believed there were at least 100 "delinquent Indian children, orphans and those who will not go to school" who would benefit from being sent to such a school. Currently, he said, these children "run wild about the shores," exerting a negative influence on those who were attending school.[235]

In 1927, Scott concluded that a school with a capacity of 125 students should be established in Nova Scotia. In large measure, the decision was determined by economics, since, according to Scott, Indian Affairs was already paying to house "a large number of children in institutions in Halifax and elsewhere and there are others for whom we are paying board while they reside in foster homes on the reserve."[236] Roman Catholic authorities in Halifax responded positively to the government's proposal that they manage the school and recommended that the staff be drawn from members of the Sisters of Charity.[237]

The Shubenacadie school was the only residential school the government operated in the Maritime provinces.[238] With its opening, the system hit a peak of eighty schools operating at the same time.[239] From then until the 1950s, the opening of new schools would be balanced with closures. In 1931, the residential school enrolment was 7,831 and the average attendance was 6,917. (Enrolment could be higher than attendance at residential schools because enrolment could include enrolled students who had run away, who had not returned from holiday, or who were being treated for illness in hospital.) The average day school enrolment was 8,584 and the average attendance was 5,314.[240] At that time, according to Indian Affairs, there were 21,190 First Nations children between the ages of six and fifteen (inclusive), meaning that about 37% of school-aged First Nations children were enrolled in residential school.[241] The Roman Catholic Church operated forty-four of the schools; the Anglicans, twenty-one; the United Church, thirteen; and the Presbyterian Church (comprised of those Presbyterian congregations that had rejected the 1925 merger) operated two schools. That year, four new main buildings were constructed at schools in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Construction also had begun on new buildings at Birtle, Manitoba; Lestock and Beauval, Saskatchewan; and in Blue Quills, Alberta.

This sort of expansion could not be sustained in the face of the international economic depression of the 1930s. In 1932, without any prior consultation, the federal government cut per capita grants by 10%. The cut was imposed in March and made retroactive to January. The rate was cut again the following year by another 5%. In response to protests, Indian Affairs director Harold McGill wrote that not only would the cuts be maintained, but it also might be necessary to make more cuts in the future. He said, "I can offer no assurance that anything can be done in the way of building new schools or rebuilding those that have been destroyed by fire." The government announced in 1935 that it would be partially reversing the reductions, but, in the face of worsening economic conditions, it cut the per capita grant once more in 1936.

Table 11.6 outlines the impact of these cuts on the school grants (spending on medical costs and textbooks and other supplies was not cut during this period, but received no increase).

Table 11.6. Residential school funding cuts during the mid-1930s.

Fiscal year ended	Average attendance	Residential school expenditure		Average per capita
March 31, 1932	7,400	Per Capita	1,545,573.49	209
		Medical costs	20,000	
		Textbooks, supplies, repairs	19,045	
March 31, 1933	7,813	Per Capita	1,320,299.58	169
		Medical costs	20,000	
		Textbooks, supplies, repairs	20,000	
March 31, 1934	7,760	Per Capita	1,254,018.03	162
		Medical costs	20,000	
		Textbooks, supplies, repairs	18,295	
March 31, 1935	7,882	Per Capita	1,280,825.79	165
		Medical costs	20,000	
		Textbooks, supplies, repairs	19,941	
March 31, 1936	8,061	Per Capita	1,402,276.00	174
		Medical costs	20,000	
		Textbooks, supplies, repairs	20,875	
March 31, 1937	8,136	Per Capita	1,414,313.20	174
		Medical costs	20,000	
		Textbooks, supplies, repairs	20,000	

Source: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7185, file [illegible], part 1, R. A. Hoey to Dr. McGill, 9 November 1936. [illegible]

Former Manitoba cabinet minister R. A. Hoey compared these figures to the October 1938 per capita costs for the Manitoba School for the Deaf in Tuxedo ($642.40), and the Manitoba School for Boys in Portage la Prairie ($550), which were more than three times greater than those paid to Aboriginal residential schools. According to Hoey, in British Columbia, the provincial government paid $288 a year to support children under the care of the children's aid society; in Alberta, the rate was $365 a year; in Saskatchewan, $182; and in Ontario, $274. Meanwhile, in the United States, the annual per capita rate at the Chilocco Indian Residential School in Oklahoma in 1937 was $350. According to the American Child Welfare League, the per capita costs for well-run institutions in that country ranged between $313 and $585, depending on the institution's size and how well equipped it was.

The Canadian residential school system could operate on such a low per capita grant because of the low wages it paid staff of religious orders, the value of the output of the farms from student labour, the clothing donated by many missionary societies, and the supplementary financial contributions of mission societies. In 1938, for example, the Presbyterian Church contributed an additional $7,745 to the operation of the Birtle school.

In Hoey's opinion, a fixed per capita grant made no sense, since it gave the government no ability to respond to differences in costs of supplies. In the short term, however, he called for a reversal of the most recent cut. At the same time, he also wanted to transfer more costs to the schools, such as the payment of night watchmen, the freight charges on shipping clothes the churches sent to the schools, and the cost of transporting students to and from the schools. He also believed that a restoration of funding had to be accompanied by an understanding "that the Churches will provide greater facilities for manual training, instruction in handicraft, auto mechanics, weaving, etc."[217] Hoey's advocacy led to a 5% increase in the per capita grant in the following year.[218]

The American experience

There were no nationwide evaluations of the Canadian residential school system during the 1920s or 1930s. However, a 1928 study of Indian boarding schools in the United States by the US Institute for Government Research raised the same concerns that Samuel Blake had identified in his writings on the Canadian system twenty years earlier. *The Problem of Indian Administration*, more commonly referred to as the "Meriam Report" for its lead author, Dr. Lewis Meriam, painted a devastating picture of the American boarding school system, which had grown to seventy-eight institutions. Buildings were overcrowded, students were underfed and the work they were required to do bordered on child labour; student medical care was minimal, staff and not meet proper qualification standards, discipline was punitive, and the curriculum was outdated. Those students receiving vocational training were often being trained for vanishing trades. The report questioned whether "much of the work of Indian children in boarding schools would not be prohibited in many states by child labor laws, notably the work in the machine laundries." It recommended an increase in community involvement in all levels of education, more day schools, and better salaries and standards for school staff.

The report sparked a number of changes. In 1929, US Commissioner Charles Rhoads issued an order forbidding the flogging of students. An increase in boarding school funding in 1930 meant, according to historian Margaret Szasz, that "for the first time children in boarding schools were guaranteed enough food and clothing." There was also a concerted effort to close the schools.

Further American change came in 1933, when John Collier was appointed commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a position he held until 1945. Collier was a social reformer who had organized education and recreation programs for immigrant communities in New York and San Francisco during and immediately after the First World War. Demoralized by the war and the period of political reaction that followed, he travelled to New Mexico, where he was inspired by the tenacious survival of Pueblo culture. He was a remarkable choice for the position of commissioner of Indian Affairs: unlike previous commissioners, he disparaged European, not Aboriginal, culture. In a 1938 speech, he called Europeans (a category that, in his mind, included the descendants of Europeans living in the Americas) a "shattered race—psychically, religiously, social and esthetically shattered, dismembered, directionless." Collier launched what was termed the "Indian New Deal." One of his first measures was to decree that there be "no interference with Indian religious life or ceremonial expression." He also made it clear he would not tolerate corporal punishment in the schools.

Collier wanted to allow children to be raised in their own community and culture. He also wanted them to gain the skills that would enable them to make a living when they returned to their own communities and reservations. Under his administration, initiatives were undertaken to make the curriculum more relevant, to establish community schools, to close residential schools, and to improve the quality of staff. Experiments in cross-cultural education were undertaken, and new professionals and new resources were drawn into the school system. When a decision was made to offer courses on Aboriginal history, the Bureau discovered that it had little information on the topic. Efforts were made to recruit and train bilingual teachers and to write and publish bilingual books. From 1933 to 1943, the number of day schools increased from 132 to 226 and their enrollment almost tripled.

Collier also sought to end the boarding school system. During his first year in office, ten boarding schools were shut down or turned into community schools. However, he was not able to implement retrenchment. The campaign to close boarding schools was slowed by growth in the Native American population and by Congressional impact on the Bureau of Indian Affairs budget. Without the money to establish the number of additional day schools needed to meet the population growth, the boarding schools continued to operate.[illegible] In [illegible], there still were forty-nine boarding schools in the United States.[illegible]

In [illegible], Canada's Indian Affairs department prepared a brief comparison of the Canadian and American Indian school systems. The American boarding schools, with an average enrolment of [illegible], were much larger institutions than their Canadian counterparts, which had an average enrolment of [illegible]. The average enrolment in a U.S. day school was fifty-two, while in Canada, it was thirty-four. In addition to the federal government-run schools, the US also paid for the tuition of Native students in public schools. The Canadian government made no such payments, although it did operate an additional nine "White and Indian Schools." These day schools had a total enrolment of [illegible] students. In the US, [illegible] of the Native American children enrolled in schools were in boarding schools, while in Canada, [illegible] of First Nations children enrolled in school were attending residential school. The American appropriation for funding this system (both day and residential schools) was [illegible], or [illegible] per student. The Canadian appropriation for the year ending March 31, [illegible] was [illegible], or [illegible] per student. In other words, even though Canada was making greater use of a more expensive schooling system (residential schools), it was spending seventy-two cents for every dollar the Americans were spending on Aboriginal students.[illegible]

CHAPTER [illegible]

The struggle over [illegible] [illegible]

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As time went on, the list of reasons why Aboriginal parents might not wish to send their children to residential school only increased with bitter experience. The amount of work the students were required to do, the poor quality of the education they received, the health risks they encountered, the limited and often inadequate diet, the discipline to which they were subjected, and the physical and sexual abuse that some experienced all served to strengthen parental opposition to the schools. A number of Aboriginal memoirs provide evidence of the role that parents and grandparents played in opposing residential schooling. George Barker, born in 1896 on the Bloodvein Reserve in Manitoba, attended day school on the Hollow Water Reserve. In his memoirs, he wrote:

> I liked school and maybe would have continued, but my school friend, Arthur Quesnel, was about to leave to go to the Catholic boarding school in Fort Alexander. He wanted me to go with him, but grandmother wouldn't allow it. She was not too impressed with the white man's teachings. This pretty much ended my life as a school boy.[7]

Lazare John attended the Fort St. James, British Columbia, school for one year. During that year, his mother had moved from the family's home community of Stoney Creek to Fort St. James to be near her son. However, according to the memoirs of Lazare's wife, Mary John, "He was so unhappy away from Stoney Creek that he and his mother returned to our village after one year, and Lazare was never sent to school again."[8]

As a result, recruitment was a persistent problem for residential schools. In his annual report for 1884, Indian Commissioner Dewdney acknowledged that

> no little difficulty is met with in prevailing upon Indians to part with their children; and even after the latter have been cared for in the kindest manner, some parents, prompted by unaccountable freaks of the most childish nature, demand a return of their children to their own shanties to suffer from cold and hunger.[9]

Parental resistance to industrial schools was so strong that it actually contributed to the failure and eventual closure of most of the industrial schools on the Prairies. From 1894 onwards, the government put in place an increasingly restrictive set of laws and regulations regarding enrolment and discharge. Many school and government officials were either not well versed in the laws and regulations governing enrolment, or disregarded them. It is clear that, on occasion, officials exceeded the authority granted them by the *Indian Act* and related regulations.

Parents often were compelled to send their children to residential school because federal policy decisions had robbed them of alternatives. For example, federal decisions not to build day schools, or decisions to close the existing day schools, meant that parents who were committed to seeing that their children would get an education were forced to send them to residential school. The federal government's unwillingness to invest in First Nations economic development, particularly on the Prairies, meant that many families existed in a state of dire poverty and were sometimes dependent on government-supplied relief rations. In such conditions, parents might send their children to school in hopes they would be properly fed and cared for there. In some cases, federal officials denied relief rations to parents in need who refused to send their children to school. The enrolment problems in the schools would have been worse if the schools were not also serving as child-welfare facilities, taking in orphans, the sick, and children whose families were judged to be unable to care for them.

The federal government's First Nations education policy was devised and put in place by men who already made regular use of compulsion in their dealings with First Nations people. When he was the Indian commissioner, Edgar Dewdney used compulsion and the withholding of rations to disrupt a First Nations campaign to negotiate Treaty revisions and establish a First Nations homeland. Dewdney used the 1885 North-West Rebellion as a pretext for persecuting much of the First Nations leadership, despite the fact that the vast majority of First Nations leaders and their people did not participate in the uprising.[10] When he was the assistant Indian commissioner, Hayter Reed advocated and implemented the pass policy. Under this policy, which had no legal authority, First Nations people on the Prairies had to seek government permission to leave their reserve. In the absence of a legal basis for the policy, the government charged individuals who left their reserve without a pass with "trespass." In other cases, it denied rations to those who did not comply with the pass policy.[11] Amendments to the *Indian Act*, which banned the traditional Potlatch ceremony on the west coast as well as various sacred dances on the Prairies, are other examples of the policy of compulsion. Between 1900 and 1904, there were at least fifty arrests and twenty convictions for violations of the laws against dancing. One of the convicted, Chief Piapot, then in his mid-eighties, was sentenced to two months in jail.[12]

Regulating attendance: 1884–1893

In 1884, the *Indian Act* was amended to give First Nations band councils responsibility for "the attendance at school of children between the ages of six and fifteen years."[13] This was the first reference to school attendance in the *Indian Act*. At the time, only four provinces—Ontario, British Columbia, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island—had any compulsory education laws. The Ontario law of the day required that children between the ages of seven and twelve attend school for at least four months a year. British Columbia's law required six months of attendance, and Prince Edward Island's required twelve weeks.[14]

Almost immediately after the industrial schools were established, principals began calling on the government to institute some form of compulsory enrolment. It took

Qu'Appelle principal Joseph Hugonnard a year to recruit the thirty students he was initially authorized to enrol.[15] As early as 1885, High River school principal Albert Lacombe urged Indian Affairs "to bring pressure in some way to bear upon those Indians who refuse their children, as by threatening to deprive them of their rations."[16] In 1886, Hugonnard reported that a recent recruiting expedition to three reserves had netted him only the promise of two new students. "The objections of the Indians are that they do not like to send their children away nor to have them attended to by a doctor, nor to let them work, and also to their taking the habits of the white people."[17]

In 1888, Robert Ashton, the principal of the Mohawk Institute, reported that in the previous year, twenty-one boys and twenty girls had left the institution. The average length of attendance had been two and three-quarter years for boys and two and one-quarter years for girls. In light of the fact that most students were leaving school long before they could derive "much lasting advantage from the course of training provided," Ashton recommended that the government require parents to commit their children to the school for specific periods of time.[18]

When he was Indian commissioner, Edgar Dewdney thought that compulsory attendance was inevitable, but recommended it not be introduced immediately. "As Indians become amenable to restraints on their reserves," he wrote, "attendance should be made compulsory."[19] Hayter Reed, his successor as Indian commissioner, was also initially cautious. In 1889, he said, "The time is approaching, when pressure will doubtless have to be brought to bear upon Indian parents to compel them to send their children to school, but this must be done with great caution, and very gradually." He noted that he had, in certain circumstances—Battleford, for example—"given instruction to Agents to bring pressure to bear, and I will act in the same direction wherever and whenever I feel satisfied that to do so will be attended with good results."[20] By 1892, he had become much more aggressive, recommending that the government enact legislation that would require "children being retained in Industrial Schools pending the Department's pleasure." Deputy Minister Lawrence Vankoughnet rejected that idea; he did not think

> the Indians of the North West are sufficiently advanced in civilization to render such drastic measures advisable, as respects the control by the Dep't—which it actually would be—of their children. As you are aware, Indians are particularly sensitive in respect to their children and the Dep't is preparing them gradually for the more stringent measure of compulsory education by endeavouring to induce the Chiefs and Headmen of the different Bands to co-operate with the Indian Agent for the passage of rules and regulations under the Indian Act rendering attendance at the schools compulsory on the part of Indian parents.[21]

The only real question under debate was when—not if—parents would be compelled to send their children to residential schools.

But, if there was debate about recruitment, there was none about whether parents should be allowed to withdraw their children from the schools once they were there. In 1891, officials in Ottawa were concerned that students at industrial schools, particularly at Qu'Appelle, were being withdrawn long before they could have learned a trade. Reed was instructed to ensure that "no pupils shall be admitted to or taken from or allowed to leave any of the institutions without your express authority having been obtained."[22] Reed felt that Hugonnard was giving in too easily to parental requests to remove their children from the school. He visited the school at the same time that a group of parents were seeking to remove six children from the school. "By the exercise of firmness I convinced each of the applicants that they must leave their children unmolested and the Principal's eyes were opened to the fact that resistance would accomplish all I claimed." Reed told Hugonnard that if he felt himself unequal to the task of refusing parents, in the future, he should simply send for him.[23]

Compulsion and the disruption of First Nations government

Efforts to force First Nations children to attend residential schools also led the federal government to interfere directly with First Nations governments. The cases of Wahpeemakwa (White Bear) and Ahchacoosahcootakoopits (Star Blanket), in what is now Saskatchewan, stand as examples of the government's willingness to disrupt and ignore First Nations government.[24]

In the 1880s, Wahpeemakwa was the chief of a Saulteaux-Cree band in the Moose Mountain area of Saskatchewan. Under his leadership, the band members limited the role of missionaries, and many refused to send their children to school, particularly to the residential schools. An Anglican attempt to establish a school on the reserve failed in 1885. Although Indian Affairs removed Wahpeemakwa from his position as chief in 1889, he remained an influential figure. Indian agent David Halpin reported in 1897:

> It is very difficult to get the parents to allow the children to be sent away to school, more especially those Indians who are in any way connected with the deposed chief White Bear and his sons, who will have nothing to do with anything in the shape of education, and who try to live as they did before treaty was made with the North-west Indians, and they will hardly allow any one to talk on the subject of education to them and simply say that their 'God' did not intend them to be educated like white people; they will not allow that there would be any benefit to be derived from having their children taught, and say they would much prefer to see their little ones dead than at school.[25]

The federal government removed Wahpeemakwa's son Kah-pah-pah-mah-am-wa-ko-we-ko-chin from his position as headman in September 1897.[26] This move also backfired, and the band continued to refuse to co-operate with the government.

Eventually, Wahpeemakwa was restored as chief. At the same time, departmental secretary J. D. McLean rejected Wahpeemakwa's request for a day school on the reserve, because "it would prove a hindrance to the work of getting children into the Industrial Schools."[27] Halpin later reported, "White Bear, since his reinstatement by the department as chief, has not been so much against having children educated, but he still holds back with regard to allowing them to be sent far from home to school."[28]

Ahchacoosahcootakoopits, or Star Blanket, was the chief of the Star Blanket Band in the File Hills area of southern Saskatchewan. He should not be confused with another chief known as Star Blanket or Ahtahkakoop (Atakakup). Ahchacoosahcootakoopits was the son of Wapiimoosetoosus, one of the Cree chiefs who signed Treaty 4. He had been part of the 1884 movement to seek Treaty improvements, and was arrested but never charged after the 1885 North-West Rebellion.[29] Star Blanket opposed Indian agent efforts to repress the Sun Dance, to amalgamate four bands in the File Hills area, and to send children to residential schools. As a result, the federal government deposed him, giving as its grounds his "incompetency." The band refused to accept the government decision and refused to co-operate with the Indian agent. In 1895, Star Blanket was restored to office. At the same time, he agreed to allow one of his sons to attend the residential school in Regina under the conditions that his hair not be cut, and that he would be exempted from religious studies, military drill, or the brass band. In 1898, the federal government once more threatened to depose him for not sending more of his children to residential school.[30] So intense was the conflict between the government and Star Blanket that, in 1898, the federal deputy minister of Indian Affairs thought it significant enough to relate in his annual report that "Star Blanket, who so long persistently opposed sending children from his band to school, has during the last month, allowed three to go, two to Qu'Appelle, and one to the boarding school here."[31] Star Blanket successfully resisted government efforts to have the band surrender some of its land for the File Hills Colony that Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham was developing for former residential school students.[32]

Into the early twentieth century, Star Blanket continued to campaign to have the government live up to its Treaty commitments. His 1912 letter to the Duke of Connaught, then governor general, gives eloquent expression to his sense of betrayal.

> We have waited patiently for many years for a chance to speak to some one who would carry a message to the Government and our white brothers in the east. The first part of our message Great Chief is one of Good wishes and peace to yourself first and then to the Government. For as I was born with two legs and as these two legs have not yet quarreled, so I wish to live in peace with the white people. When I was in middle life the Government of the Great White Mother sent some wise men to ask us to give them much land. A large camp of Indians was made near Qu'Appelle and there the Government and Indians after much talking signed a treaty, on paper and much was promised as well. One of these

> papers has been carefully kept by us, and by it we Indians gave to the Government a large piece of land and held back for ourselves some small pieces as Reserves. In the treaty we made then the Government promised to make a School for every band of Indians on their own Reserve, but instead little children are torn from their mothers' arms or homes by the police or Government Agents and taking [sic] sometimes hundreds of miles to large Schools perhaps to take sick and die when their family cannot see them. The little Ants which live in the earth love their young ones and wish to have them in their homes. Surely us red men are not smaller than these Ants.[33]

Indian Affairs official Martin Benson prepared a disingenuous response to this letter. He acknowledged that Treaty 4 did oblige the government to "maintain a school in the reserve," but then said that the educational needs of the children on Star Blanket's reserve were being met by the Qu'Appelle industrial school and a boarding school "in the immediate vicinity of the reserve."[34]

The *Indian Act* amendments and regulations of 1894

In 1893, Lawrence Vankoughnet was forced into retirement and Hayter Reed was elevated to the position of deputy minister of Indian Affairs. Reed was then able to put his more aggressive policies into practice. In 1894, he reported that parental opposition to sending their children to boarding schools had decreased to the point where the government felt justified in the introduction, "without fear of exciting undue hostility, of measures for securing compulsory attendance at schools."[35] In that year, the *Indian Act* was amended to authorize the government to make regulations "to secure the compulsory attendance of children at school." These regulations could be applied to "the Indians of any province or of any named band." The amendments also authorized the government to establish "an industrial school or a boarding school for Indians." (The schools were, of course, already in existence.) The government was also authorized to commit to these schools "children of Indian blood under the age of sixteen years." Once committed, they could be kept there until they reached the age of eighteen.[36]

Under the authority of this amendment, the government adopted its first school-related regulations, the *Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children*. These regulations stated: "All Indian children between the ages of seven and sixteen shall attend a day school on the reserve on which they reside for the full term during which the school is open each year." Exemptions were allowed if the child was being instructed elsewhere, if the child was sick or otherwise unable to attend school, if there was no school within two miles (3.2 kilometres) for children under ten years old, or within three miles (4.8 kilometres) for children over ten, if the child had been excused from attending school to assist in farm or domestic work at home, or if the child had already passed a high school entrance examination.

Indian agents were authorized to appoint truant officers, who would have "police powers." The truant officers were to investigate cases of non-attendance, and could lay complaints against non-compliant parents with justices of the peace or Indian agents. Refusal to comply with the order of a truant officer was punishable by a fine of up to $2, ten days in jail, or both.[37]

Most of the regulations dealt with day school attendance. However, if an Indian agent or justice of the peace thought that any "Indian child between six and sixteen years of age is not being properly cared for or educated, and that the parent, guardian or other person having charge or control of such child, is unfit or unwilling to provide for the child's education," he could issue an order to place the child "in an industrial or boarding school, in which there may be a vacancy for such child." In Manitoba and the North-West Territories, such an order could be issued without the need to give any notice to the "parent, guardian or other person having charge or control of such child." In the rest of the country, prior notice was required and, if the parents requested, an inquiry could be held before the child's committal. Under these orders, a child could be committed to residential schools until the age of eighteen.

If a child placed in the school under these regulations left a residential school without permission, or did not return at a promised time, school officials could get a warrant from an Indian agent or a justice of the peace authorizing them (or a police officer, truant officer, or employee of the school or Indian Affairs) to "search for and take such child back to the school in which it had been previously placed." With a warrant, one could enter—by force if need be—any house, building, or place named in the warrant and remove the child. Even without a warrant, Indian Affairs employees and constables had the authority to arrest a student in the act of escaping from a residential school and return the child to the school.[38]

The regulations specifically identified twenty-three industrial residential schools: four in Ontario,[39] four in Manitoba,[40] four in what is now Saskatchewan,[41] four in what is now Alberta,[42] and seven in British Columbia.[43] The regulations also specified eighteen boarding schools: three in Manitoba,[44] seven in what is now Saskatchewan,[45] six in what is now Alberta,[46] and two in British Columbia.[47] The decision to list the specific schools created enforcement problems in later years as some schools closed and new ones were not specifically listed in the regulations.

In 1895, Regulation 12 was amended. Previously, it had authorized the search for, and return of, any student who had been placed in the school; that is, children who, Indian Affairs had concluded, were not "being properly cared for or educated." It was amended to allow for the return to the school of *all* truant students, including those who had been voluntarily placed in the school.[48] Enrolment—at least on paper—was still voluntary; discharge would be much more difficult to obtain.

Reed made sure that these newly granted powers were put into force. Shortly after they were adopted, he instructed the assistant Indian commissioner, "Power is given by these regulations to bring back deserters and you are at liberty to exercise your discretion about putting them into force." Reed also instructed, "Schools which have not their full complement of pupils, such as Battleford and Regina, can now be filled and the Department would like you to communicate with our Agents with a view to securing orphans to fill vacancies."[illegible]

When parents in northern Manitoba resisted sending their children to the Methodist industrial school in Brandon, Reed instructed the school's principal to call the parents' attention to *Indian Act* provisions "for the compulsory education of Indian children." He said that although the department was reluctant to enforce the regulations, it would do so unless parents demonstrated "their willingness to have their children educated." He suggested the parents could take comfort from the fact that, although students would not be allowed to leave at their own will once they were admitted, their parents would be allowed to visit them at school.[illegible]

Threats were part of the government arsenal. In 1895, when members of the [illegible] Band in what is now Saskatchewan refused to send their children away to boarding school, the Indian agent told them

> if they would not let them go willingly that in all probability the Department would take them by force and send them to whatever school was thought best. The consequence was that when paying Treaty there on the 22nd inst. the Indians offered me all their children if I would place them in the Duck Lake Boarding School.[illegible]

The government followed up on its threats. In 1896, an Indian agent asked if it was necessary to conduct a trial before returning a child to the school. Reed argued that the regulation allowed a child to be returned to a school on the basis of a warrant issued in relation to the regulation.[illegible]

Reed was far from satisfied with the results of the campaign of enforcement he had initiated. His 1896 annual report contained a warning: "In some localities persuasive powers have failed to obtain such an attendance as the number of children would warrant, so it may yet become incumbent upon the department to adopt more stringent measures to secure increased attendance."[illegible] Through his campaign against day schools, he also worked to limit parental options.

The campaign against day schools

In 1895, Reed announced it was his intention "to do away as far as funds and circumstances will permit with day schools on the reserves and substitute industrial and boarding schools at a distance from them."[illegible] He stated that "much lasting good cannot be expected from day schools, owing to the fact that home influences so readily counteract any good which may be attained through them." In 1896, he wrote that in the Northwest, "day schools are being closed, and it is expected that by the expiration of the present fiscal year the number of schools thus closed will have been materially increased."[13]

Treaties 1 through 6 had committed the government to establishing on-reserve schools, and the later Treaties had stipulated the provision of teachers once reserves had been established. None of them made any mention of residential schools.[14] However, the federal government was slow to establish day schools. In 1885, Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney favoured delaying the opening of a school on a reserve until it was apparent there would be a regular attendance of at least twenty students. Children from reserves without schools were to be sent to "Industrial Schools, in the success of which I have every confidence."[15] While it is apparent that many parents were not prepared to force their children to attend day school, it was also recognized at the time that the schools provided a very poor quality of education. In an effort to improve the quality of the teachers being recruited, Dewdney recommended in 1885 that the day school salary be increased from $300 to $500 a year.[16] It appears there was little progress on this front: in 1908, Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Frank Pedley recommended that the salaries at Indian Affairs schools in eastern Canada be between $300 and $500.[17]

Reed continued with his campaign to close down established schools. In 1894, he told the principal of the Gordon's residential school in what is now Saskatchewan to recruit students from the day school on the Gordon's Reserve. "By this means," Reed wrote, "it may be possible to close up some day schools, and devote the funds which would otherwise be expended on them to increasing the number of pupils at the Boarding School."[18] The opening of the Anglican boarding school on the Blood Reserve in what is now Alberta had an impact on the three Anglican day schools that were operating on the same reserve by the 1880s. By 1895, one of the day schools had closed and, in another, enrolment had dropped by a third. In some years, the average attendance was six students. By 1904, only one of the three schools was operating.[19]

The impact of Reed's campaign to close day schools was apparent in the annual reports of many Indian agents during this period. Again and again, the agents noted there were no school-aged children and no day schools in many of the communities they visited. In 1898, Indian agent J. B. Lash's report on the situation at Piapot's Reserve said, "The industrial schools at Qu'Appelle and Regina have a number of pupils from this reserve, and there are very few children of school age left on the reserve."[20] He made similar observations about the Muscowpetung and Pasqua (given in the report as Pasquah) reserves.[21] That same year, in the report on the Sarcee Reserve, Indian agent A. J. McNeill wrote that "all of school age are now either in the Calgary Industrial or boarding school on the reserve."[22] The report of E. J. Bangs for the Stony Reserve, home of the McDougall Orphanage (an early boarding school), noted that the two day schools were "practically closed."[illegible] In British Columbia, a report on the Fountain, Seton Lake, and Okanell bands noted that most of the children were attending the Mission or Yale boarding schools.[illegible]

The impact of the day school policy can be detected in the following 1900 reports on conditions on the Ochapowace, One Arrow, and Beardy's and Okemasis bands: "Most of the children in this band of school age attend boarding school"; "there is no day school on this reserve. The children of school age are sent to the Duck Lake boarding school"; and, "There is no day school on these reserves, the children of school age being sent either to the Duck Lake boarding school or the Regina industrial school."[illegible]

Even after Reed left office in 1897, the lack of day schools in the West left parents with limited options. In 1903, R. R. Heron, the principal of the File Hills school, supported a request from parents for a new day school for children from the Pasqua, Muscowpetung, and Piapot reserves (all reserves that Indian agent Lash had earlier noted as being devoid of school-aged children). The parents said File Hills was too far from their reserves. As a result, at least thirty children were not being sent to school. Heron wrote to his supervisors in Toronto that if the Presbyterians did not establish a day school that would allow it to "get these 30 children (and there are many more will [sic] be of school age in a short time), most of them will be drafted into the nearest school – the R.C. school at Lebret (the Qu'Appelle school)."[illegible] The inspector of Indian agencies at the time, W. M. Graham, opposed the move. Instead of building a day school, he thought, the department should simply force the parents to send their children to File Hills. There would be, he said, "no evil consequences if the act were put into force."[illegible] After the 1908 closure of a day school on the Quamichan Reserve in British Columbia, families had little alternative but to send their children to the Kuper Island residential school.[illegible]

Policy change under the Liberals

Hayter Reed was dismissed as deputy minister after the Liberal victory in the 1896 federal election. His replacement, James Smart, backed away from Reed's approach to compulsory enrolment. In 1898, he wrote that "the Department's policy is as long as possible to refrain from compulsory measures, and try the effect of moral suasion and an appeal to self interest."[illegible] The Liberals were looking for ways to cut Indian Affairs spending – they viewed industrial schools as being costly failures and recognized that day schools were much less expensive to operate. Forcing more children to attend residential schools would only increase government costs.

Residential school principals, who still struggled to fill their schools, opposed the new approach. Principal Hugonnard at Qu'Appelle said:

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day schools and open a boarding school in The Pas, he wrote that "there is no reason why day schools should not be made effective. This could be done by raising the present salaries and holding out inducements to efficient teachers to take charge of these schools." He pointed out that over the previous six and a half years, $2 million had been spent on residential schools in the West. "If a portion of this sum had been expended in bettering the Indians' condition on the reserve and improving the existing day schools, better results would have been obtained."[illegible]

As noted in the previous chapter, by 1908, the Liberals were considering a radical policy change that would close many industrial and boarding schools and replace them with improved day schools. Although that policy was abandoned, the churches and the government were still in conflict over the issue of enrolment. In 1909, the Anglican Synod recommended, "All Government donations in excess of Treaty obligations should be withheld from such parents as refuse to send their children to school."[illegible] The following year, Indian Affairs departmental secretary J. D. McLean told Edmonton-area Indian agent U. Verreau that "it is not the policy of the Department to use compulsion for the purpose of placing children in industrial or boarding schools, except in cases provided for in the Regulations relating to the Education of Indian Children." McLean argued that, with great effort on the part of staff and missionaries, parental apathy could be overcome to "persuade the Indians to avail themselves of the opportunities offered by these schools."[illegible]

Rev. W. C. Gandier, the principal of the Gleichen, Alberta, school, reported in 1912 that the school had opened the year before with accommodation for forty students and an enrolment of just thirteen. "Compulsion," he wrote, "has to be used to get the parents to bring their children to the school."[illegible] This view was supported by British Columbia Indian agent Thomas Deasy, who also wrote that "we shall never make the Indian realize the importance of education until we take hold of him and compel attendance at school." Left at home, he thought, children fell under the influence of the older members of the community, who were

> imbued with their old customs and habits; they realize little the necessity for morality or compliance with our laws and customs. Their forefathers lived without the assistance of the whites, and the Indian has nothing in common with us. Some of the older men consider their ways best, and there is a something underlying the character, habits and traits of the Indian that it will be hard to eliminate.[illegible]

Although the churches and government officials thought the government should be enforcing its attendance regulations more strictly, the Liberals were not as lax in enforcement as the church criticism implies. In March 1901, Indian Commissioner David Laird recommended that the Indian agent for the Sarcee Band, A. J. McNeill, "exert if not exactly compulsion, fairly energetic measures, for instance, cutting the rations down, etc."[illegible] In December, McNeill reported he had taken the recommendations to heart. To recruit five more students for the Sarcee Boarding school, he had resorted "to the extreme measure of stopping the rations of the whole Band for the past eleven days." The band, he said, was "rather hostile at first," but had eventually come to realize "they cannot quite do as they like."[113] Laird pointed out that it might have been sufficient to simply stop the rations of the recalcitrant families, as opposed to those of the whole band, and instructed him not to take such measures in the future without approval from his superiors.[114]

The Indian Affairs annual report for 1906 notes that in the Kwawkewlth Agency, "a few parents were fined for not sending their children to school."[115] That same year, Laird, responding to a situation at Onion Lake where the school-aged children of twelve families receiving government relief were not attending school, sought and received authorization from Ottawa to

> withhold rations from such parents for the children at home who are fit to attend school, but are not sent thereto. This is a hardship of which they could relieve themselves by complying with the wish of the Department and sending their children to the school of their choice where they would be fed and clothed.[116]

Admission and discharge policy

As parents were to discover to their sorrow, once they enrolled their child in a residential school, there was no question that the child's continued residence at the school was anything other than compulsory. It was departmental policy that no child could be discharged without departmental approval—even if the parents had enrolled the child voluntarily. The government had no legislative basis for this policy.

As early as 1891, it was government policy to require parental consent for admission to residential school whenever the parents of one faith wanted to have their child educated at a school operated by a different church.[117] Samuel Lucas, the Indian agent on the Sarcee Reserve in what is now Alberta, reported in 1893 that "eight parents or guardians have signed an agreement to give up their children for an indefinite time."[118] In 1895, A. E. Forget, then the assistant Indian commissioner for the Northwest, issued a circular to all industrial school principals and Indian agents, instructing them that "in all cases of pupils admitted into Boarding and Industrial Schools it is desired that a written application for such admission be taken from the parents by the Agents, Principal, or other official to whom the application is made." Ottawa would provide blank application forms for this purpose.[119]

Onion Lake Roman Catholic principal W. Comiré wrote in 1897 that parents "seem unwilling to sign the forms of application for admission required by the department. They prefer to keep the liberty of leaving or withdrawing their children from the school at will."[120] By 1892, the department required that all parents sign an admission form when they enrolled their children in a residential school. In signing the form, parents gave their consent that "the Principal or head teacher of the Institution for the time being shall be the guardian" of the child. In that year, the Department of Justice provided Indian Affairs with a legal opinion to the effect that "the fact of a parent having signed such an application is not sufficient to warrant the forcible arrest against the parents' will of a truant child who has been admitted to an Industrial School pursuant to the application." It was held that, without legislative authority, no form could provide school authorities with the power of arrest.[110] Despite this warning, Indian Affairs would continue to enforce policies regarding attendance for which it had no legal authority well into the twentieth century.[111]

The form in use in 1900 stipulated that the parent was making application for admission "for such term as the Department of Indian Affairs may deem proper." The form also still required parents to consent to the provision that the "principal or head teacher of the institution for the time being shall be the guardian of the said child."[112]

Sometimes, parents persuaded the school principal to discharge their child in spite of the regulation. In August 1894, Whitefish Lake Chief James Seenum (also known as Pakan) called on the Red Deer school to try to take his son out of the school. Principal John Nelson initially said no, the boy could not be discharged without the permission of the department. Nelson later wrote that if Seenum had "manifested an arrogant spirit I might have easily resisted his entreaties, but he seemed almost heart broken and wept when he realized the unfavourable prospect of securing his son's discharge." The principal was so moved that he told Seenum that although he could not discharge the boy, he "would not say he should not take him," adding that such a measure would likely displease the government. Seenum took the hint and left the school with his son.[113] Chief Henry Prince of the St. Peter's Reserve in Manitoba was not so fortunate. When he removed his son from the St. Boniface school in 1895, the school officials had a police constable seek the boy's return. Prince resisted their efforts, and was charged and convicted for interfering in police work.[114]

In some cases, Indian Affairs refused to discharge children who had been voluntarily enrolled until they turned eighteen. In 1903, when the government refused to discharge two brothers who were over fifteen, the students ran away from the Middlechurch school. They were apprehended and returned to the school on the basis of a warrant issued under the 1894 regulations. Their father, William Cameron, went to court and got a writ of habeas corpus. Normally, such a writ requires that the person under arrest be brought before a court. According to Martin Benson, Judge Richards of the Manitoba Court of Queen's Bench found on the father's behalf, and wrote, "The regulations for the detention of children until they reach the age of 18 years do not apply to children who have been voluntarily placed in the school and that to such children the parents have a right to get them out of the school at any time they wish to demand them."[115]

In other words, the government's discharge policy for students who had been voluntarily enrolled had no legal basis. But this court victory did not change the policy. In 1907, it was still government policy that children, whether voluntarily enrolled by their parents or committed under the provisions of the *Indian Act*, could not be removed without the minister's permission.[116] In his report for the year ending March 31, 1910, Duncan Campbell Scott, then superintendent of Indian Education, wrote that "pupils of residential schools are not usually allowed to leave the institutions until they reach the age of 18."[117] Clearly, the government was willing to ignore court rulings.

For their part, the churches thought the discharge policy was not strict enough. Principal Father Hugonnard thought that eighteen was too low a discharge age, and that "many who go back to pure Indian surroundings will be liable to lose many of the benefits of the education they have received." He believed students should be discharged only "when the character is sufficiently formed, and when there is reasonable hope of the ex-pupil not lapsing into an uncivilized mode of life."[118] In 1904, Dr. Sutherland, the general secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society, lobbied the federal government to increase the discharge age from eighteen to twenty-one.[119]

In the early twentieth century, British Columbia Indian agent A. W. Neill observed that school-discharge policies effectively discouraged parents from enrolling their children. While many wanted to see their children get some schooling, he wrote in 1906, parents "think the time is too long to be separated from them. They would agree to part with them for, say five years, but think that to put a child into the school at seven or eight years of age, and not get it out again until it is eighteen years old is too long."[120] He made the same point five years later, observing that

> the system of keeping the children in until they are 18 years of age is against the success of the school. It makes parents reluctant to sign them in, it leads to trouble in the maintenance of order and discipline in the school, and too often tends to lower the vitality of the pupils, so that the health of ex-pupils is often found to be undermined.[121]

Neill's reports not only highlight parental resistance to enrolling their children, but they also demonstrate the degree to which the government and the schools ignored the legal rights of parents when it came to discharging students. Until 1908, the federal school regulations set the maximum age for compulsory school attendance for Aboriginal children at sixteen. In that year, the age was lowered to fifteen.[122] While the regulation allowed the government to commit a child to a residential school until the age of eighteen, that was only in situations where it had been concluded that the child was being neglected or was not being properly educated. These conditions would not apply when parents were voluntarily enrolling a child. Yet, it is clear from Neill's letters that British Columbia schools and Indian Affairs had taken the position that even voluntarily enrolled children would not be discharged until they were eighteen.[123]

Parental resistance and the demise of industrial schools

The industrial schools that the federal government established in western Canada in the late nineteenth century were the centrepiece of the federal government's residential school policy. Deliberately built at significant distances from First Nations communities, they were intended to separate students permanently from their home communities, cultures, and economies. Industrial schools also had a higher per capita rate than church boarding schools. After fifteen years in operation, they were judged to be failures: most of them were closed by the 1920s. The industrial schools failed for a variety of reasons: they were, for example, poorly conceived, poorly built, and poorly managed. Because they were funded on a per capita basis, the industrial schools could succeed financially only if they had full enrolment. The fact that many parents refused to send their children to these schools sealed their fate. The existence and effectiveness of this parental resistance should not be overlooked.

Resistance to the industrial schools was strongest on the Prairies. Between 1883 and 1922, the federal government opened nine industrial schools in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. By the end of 1922, only two of these schools were still in operation: the Qu'Appelle school in Saskatchewan and the Brandon school in Manitoba. The rest of the industrial schools had all been closed, in large measure as the result of parental opposition.

Battleford

The Anglicans opened the Battleford industrial school in December 1883.[124] The next year, school inspector T. P. Wadsworth described the school classroom as "cheerless," largely lacking in furniture and what there was of it was not "of a proper kind."[125] By January of 1885, there were local news reports of boys attempting to run away from the school.[126] The staff abandoned the school during the North-West Rebellion, and the students dispersed. It was not until October 1886 that Principal Thomas Clarke was able to reoccupy the school, which had been used as a barracks by the military.[127] Recruiting remained difficult. That year, Onion Lake Indian agent G. G. Mann reported that, despite his numerous requests, parents had refused to send their children to Battleford because they "did not like the way the boys were treated that had been sent there & that one died soon after & the other had been expelled on account of being a bad boy."[128] By July 1887, the enrolment was forty-four—thirty-two boys and twelve girls. Clarke attributed the increase to the efforts of Assistant Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed, Major Cotton of the North-West Mounted Police, and the Indian agents at Prince Albert and Onion Lake.[129]

In 1891, enrolment increased to 120, a figure that held into the mid-1890s.[130] But, by the beginning of the twentieth century, enrolment had gone into a decline from which it would never recover. In 1901, Principal Edward Matheson reported that "the difficulty here is to get all the pupils we want."[131] The following year, he complained about the opposition to the school from First Nations communities, where "many of the old people are still bitterly opposed to any change from former customs, and so constantly work against all progress on the part of the rising generation in the direction of civilization and its methods."[132] In 1907, Matheson blamed his school's poor enrolment on the lacklustre efforts of local Indian agents, who would neither recruit students nor allow him to visit reserves.[133] That year, he had 59 pupils enrolled in a school with a capacity for 150.[134]

Things did not improve in subsequent years. In 1911, Inspector W. J. Chisholm reported:

> The reluctance of the Indians to allow their children to be taken away from home is no less than in former years. Of the pupils admitted the majority come from Montreal Lake, which is more than two hundred miles distant; and the change from the freedom and relaxation of their northern home to the confinement and discipline of residential school life is most trying to their frail constitutions.[135]

In 1912, Duncan Campbell Scott, by then the Indian Affairs superintendent of Indian Education, had concluded that the Battleford school had outlived its usefulness. Enrolment had dropped to thirty-five, and the school deficit had climbed to over $2,000. He recommended that the school be closed, with the students being sent to a day school to be constructed at the Red Pheasant Reserve, or to a boarding school to be constructed at The Pas, Manitoba.[136] The Battleford school was closed on May 31, 1914.[137]

High River

The St. Joseph's Roman Catholic school at High River in what is now Alberta closed in 1922. Its history had been one of near-continuous rejection by First Nations parents and children. The school had opened in October 1884, a year after the Battleford school. The November school diary of that year noted that the eight Blackfoot boys recruited appeared to be "too big and too well acquainted with the Indian fashion to remain in an institution like this." Later that month, three of the boys left with a group of adult First Nations people who had been visiting the school. In January 1885, an interpreter, Jean L'Heureux (who was eventually forced to resign in the wake of allegations of sexual abuse), brought in nine boys from the Blood and Peigan reserves. The school diarist observed, "Three of them are very big, and not likely to remain here."[138] By the end of the year, the school had recruited ten boys.[139] In later years, Oblate

Albert Lacombe undertook fruitless recruiting trips to the Sarcee, Blood, and Peigan reserves.[140] In his 1885–86 annual report, Lacombe lamented that "we have not succeeded in retaining the boys at this school, and I may say they have nearly all deserted. Most of the boys were compelled to leave the school by their parents or guardians, while a few of the older ones, by making themselves so extremely unmanageable and rebellious, forced us to send them away."[141]

When the North-West Rebellion broke out in the spring of 1885, there were only five students at the school. This number quickly dwindled to one as parents withdrew their children. Post-Rebellion efforts to rebuild enrolment were ineffectual. In September 1885, the one student recruited in the previous month was withdrawn by his mother. At the urging of the local Indian agent, the school accepted as a student "an insane Indian hunted by the police for threatening the Rev. Mr. Sims, minister of the Church of England."[142] The acting principal, E. Claude, explained that the plan was to recruit two of the man's children as students. "No idea can be formed of the trouble I had, for three days, to obtain these children although the parents were expected to be rationed and to remain here." The father eventually became angry with Claude and left the school with his children.[143]

In February 1886, Assistant Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed informed Claude that all he needed to do was to send an order to the Indian agent at the Blood Reserve and children would be dispatched to the school. The order was issued, but the only message back from the agent was that "no one could be found who liked to come to the school." Claude often tried to convince First Nations families travelling by the school to leave their children with him. The parents would stay for a few days, accept Claude's food, and leave with their children. In the fall of 1887, letters to three Indian agents among the Blackfoot produced no new students.[144]

In 1887, the school had an enrolment of thirty, only two of whom were from Blackfoot reserves.[145] The following year, a local First Nations leader, Chief Alexander, refused to help recruit students for the High River school, but promised support if a residential school were built on his reserve.[146] Chief Alexander's request was a common one. Many Aboriginal leaders were not opposed to schools, or even residential schools, just as long as they were not in distant locations. When Lacombe and Claude went on another recruiting trip through the Peigan and Blood reserves in 1887, Lacombe reported, "We received only four children. Always the same excuses and same reasons." Despite this, he proposed that the federal government support the Oblates in establishing a residential school on the Blood Reserve. Pointing to the Anglican and Methodist presence on the reserve, he commented, "I think we have a right as any one to have our share in the schools of that reserve."[147]

By the early 1890s, a new principal, Albert Naessens, reported that parents "seem to be more contented to be separated from their children, and do not visit the school as frequently as heretofore, greatly to the advantage of the children."[148] However, the Blackfoot never accepted the school. In 1897, Naessens was forced to acknowledge that "for some reason or other the old time opposition of the Indians of Treaty No. 7 towards sending their children to this school, seems to be re-awakened. The Blackfeet are the worst in this respect. We have received no recruits from this agency since January, 1893."[149] Although the school's pupilage had been increased to 130, by 1898, it had only 105 students, and by 1910, enrolment was down to 62 students.[150] In 1917, Indian Affairs reprimanded Indian agent Harry Gunn for not doing a better job of recruiting children from the Brocket, Alberta, area for the High River school.[151]

Those parents who did enrol their children in the school had trouble getting them out. In 1906, an Indian agent wrote to High River principal Naessens that Chief Little Plume had been "bothering me for some time over the discharge of his adopted son Thomas Charlie." The agent noted that the boy was now eighteen years old and asked the principal to please let him know what was being done about his discharge.[152]

In 1917, Indian agent W. J. Dilworth reported that no Blood children had been sent to the High River school in the past two years. Parents were angered by the fact that the school's new principal, George Nordmann, was not honouring commitments that his predecessor had made as to the age at which children would be allowed to leave the school. The level of hostility was so great that Dilworth predicted that no one on the reserve would willingly send their child to the school.[153]

The federal government wanted to close the school. Instead, the Oblates appointed a new principal, Alfred Demers, who, they believed, could turn the troubled institution around. But in 1922, Demers asked to be relieved of his work, due to his declining health. Over the previous three years, according to his superiors, Demers had "travelled all over the country, visiting all the Indian reserves, in order to get pupils. All his efforts have not met with the success they so well deserved." The Oblates concluded, "Indians seem to be more and more opposed to the idea of sending their children to Dunbow [High River] and to-day there are only about forty students in a school capable of accommodating a hundred." They recommended that the Bishop of Calgary, J. T. McNally, approach the federal government to arrange the closure of the school.[154] The school was closed in the fall of 1922, and its equipment was given to the principal of the Catholic boarding school on the Hobbema Reserve.[155]

St. Boniface

The Roman Catholic school in St. Boniface, Manitoba, opened in 1889 under Oblate management.[156] By 1893, Sister Hamel, the principal, was reporting:

> The difficulty in that respect comes from the parents, who, though pleased with the institution, seem unable to control their inclination for unrestricted liberty and their unreasonable fondness of having their children with them. A good deal

> has been done towards overcoming this inclination, but there is still room for improvement.[157]

Indian Affairs inspector Albert Betournay reported as early as 1896, "It has always been found very difficult to recruit pupils" for the St. Boniface school.[158] By 1902, it was clear to the Oblates that the St. Boniface school needed to be replaced by schools that were on reserves. Oblate official J. P. Magnan wrote, "I have frequently given instructions to our Rev. Fathers Missionaries [sic] on the Reserves, to induce the Indians to send their children to that school, and I can attest that they have done all they could reasonably do under the present circumstances; but it has been to no avail."[159] The school was closed in the spring of 1905. In exchange for closing the school, that same year the Oblates opened two boarding schools in Manitoba (at Sandy Bay and Fort Alexander) and one in northwestern Ontario (at Fort Frances).[160]

Aside from the Battleford, High River, and St. Boniface schools, three other prairie industrial schools (Middlechurch, Calgary, and Regina) closed in rapid succession during this period. In the 1890s, the Middlechurch school in Manitoba had experienced difficulty in recruiting students from distant locations because government policies made it impossible for the students to return to their homes for vacations.[161] By 1900, the school was at its full capacity of 125 and was actually turning students away.[162] By 1903, however, the school was in decline, with average attendance down to eighty.[163] The school burned down in 1906 and was not rebuilt.[164] At the end of the 1905 school year, enrolment at the Calgary industrial school was down to twenty-seven. Principal George Hogbin blamed the parents and "the fact that those responsible for the boarding schools do not appear to use all the influence they might to secure the transfer of the older (and probably most promising and bright) pupils, as they arrive at the usual age."[165] The school closed by the end of 1907.[166]

In 1896, the Indian agent at Birtle, J. A. Markle, wrote that the parents of his agency objected to sending their children to the distant Regina school, since "they cannot hope to see them in the event of the serious illness of those near and dear to them." To address this need, he proposed an increase in the pupilage of the Birtle school.[167] In 1897, the Regina school had a capacity of 100 and an average attendance of 50.[168] In 1905, the principal reported that there were "very few available children" on local reserves, and noted "it will be more difficult to get recruits from more distant reserves."[169] A few years later, an attempt to increase the number of children enrolled in the school failed because "the parents will not send them."[170] Declining enrolments and poor management led to the school's closure in 1910.[171]

Red Deer

The Methodist industrial school in Red Deer opened in 1893 and closed in 1919. Throughout its history, it was largely shunned by First Nations people. Principal John Nelson initially had no trouble recruiting fifty-two pupils, more than the school's allowed maximum. However, he found that some of the students "were too old, and with habits formed, aspirations well defined, fresh from the free and untrammelled life of the reserve, the association with younger children must necessarily produce an undesirable effect." As a result, these boys were discharged. Nelson's successor as Red Deer principal, C. E. Somerset, had great difficulty in recruiting students of any age. He conducted an unsuccessful recruiting expedition in 1897 that led him to conclude that parents "prefer to keep the children around their own homes."

Somerset's successor as principal, Arthur Barner, felt that nothing less than house-to-house recruiting was needed if he were to fill the school. He spent much of the fall and early winter of 1908 visiting families on the White Whale Lake, Saddle Lake, Whitefish, and Goodfish and Battle River reserves. He had limited success: the following school year opened with only forty-three students. Barner wrote, "It has been said that Alberta has the poorest class of Canadian Indians. I can well believe it, for ignorance and dirt they would be hard to beat. I can truly say that no amount of money no matter how great would hire me to spend another week as I spent the one referred to." In 1909, W. E. S. James, a Protestant missionary in the area, reported that on the Paul's Reserve, he was able to recruit only three of forty school-aged children for the school. He said the parents wished to send their children to the school, but "the grand-mothers refuse to let them go."

Chiefs who might have been expected to support the Methodist-run Red Deer industrial school, such as Methodist Chief Samson of Hobbema, had opposed the school's construction because of its distance from their reserves. Instead, Samson lobbied for an on-reserve boarding school. To Barner's dismay, both the Hobbema and Morley reserves boycotted the Red Deer school.

Even though Barner had led the charge to halt the attempt to close industrial schools in 1909, he also expressed deep reservations about the industrial school's prospects, concluding that such a school was "at least a generation ahead of its time." He had become a convert to the construction of smaller boarding schools closer to First Nations communities. In a confidential letter to Methodist officials, he gave voice to an even more heretical idea:

> There is another thing I think should be done if any change is to be made, viz. have some kind of consultation with the Indians concerned, no matter what the scheme may be, try to secure their co-operation. I believe this can be accomplished by some wise agent clothed with authority. There is a feeling abroad among our Indians that they would like to have something to say about the ed-

> ucation of their children and Indians must all be accomplished by confidence and co-operation than any kind of compulsion.

Conflicts between parents, principals, and Indian agents continued into the second decade of the twentieth century. In 1911, Whitefish Lake (Red Stone) Reserve [illegible] came into conflict with the Red Deer school administration when he refused to return his daughter to the school. He said that when he had enrolled her in the school, he and [illegible] had reached an understanding that she would attend for only one year. The year was up and he needed her at home because his wife was ill. [illegible] to the local Indian agent on the issue ended with a request to "try and come over before you send the police after me." The following year, a new Red Deer principal, J. F. Woodsworth, wrote letters to parents who had not sent their children back to school after the summer vacation that informed them that if the children were not returned within a week, "I shall send a policeman to bring them." Later that month, he issued a warrant for the arrest of fifteen runaway students. By 1919, the school was in a state of crisis brought on by chronic underfunding and a devastating bout of influenza. In recommending a permanent closure of the school, Woodsworth observed that "it has been in the wrong place from the first, being too far from the homes of the Indians." He noted that the enrolment problem stemmed from the government's failure to act on a recommendation made ten years previously to close the school and build boarding schools on the reserves, but the placing of the schools at a distance from the reserves had not been an accident or an error: it was a deliberate policy decision.

Shingwauk and Elkhorn

The Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, sought to expand into western Canada in the 1880s in the hope of addressing its inability to recruit students locally. In 1886, E. F. Wilson, the school principal, said:

> It is annoying and discouraging to have good buildings and good teachers, and all in excellent working order, and yet only half the proper number of pupils, and to know that in many cases it is not the pupils themselves who are to blame, but the parents, who often retain their children, and prevent their completing their education, in order to satisfy their own selfish ends.

Four years later, he wrote:

> I have been 20 years now labouring as a missionary among the Indians, and my institution has been 17 years in operation. I may say that it has been a time of almost constant trial and anxiety owing (1) to the difficulty of getting the pupils we wanted (2) our inability to detain them for a proper period owing to the unreasonable and unreasoning action of parents and other relatives.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Resistance in British Columbia

[illegible]

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The appointment of Duncan Campbell Scott

[illegible]

and grasp the complicated nature of the Indian business."[208] Scott played a leading role in developing policies to suppress Aboriginal culture, to make it easier for the government to gain control over Aboriginal land, and to implement more compulsory measures in relation to school attendance. He pushed aside those who advocated a more aggressive—and therefore more costly—approach to the treatment of tuberculosis among Aboriginal people. He was also responsible for the 1910 contract, which provided for the largest increase in residential school funding prior to the Second World War. Scott had the confidence and support of his ministers and Parliament throughout his long career. It is important to recognize that this confidence was in large measure due to the fact that the policies he implemented were completely in keeping with Canada's historic approach to Aboriginal people.

In 1912, the police were used fifteen times to force students to attend the Qu'Appelle school.[209] In 1914, Scott sent a circular to all Indian agents, pointing out that the government had the power under the *Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children* to place children "who are not being properly cared for or educated" into residential schools. He instructed them to bring all such cases in their agency to the attention of the department. He also reminded them, "When recruiting, orphan children and children neglected by their parents should have the preference." At the end of each quarter year, agents were expected to submit a list of all school-aged children in their agency who were not attending school, along with an explanation for the child's absence.[210]

In 1914, Indian agent W. J. Dilworth reported he had sent a parent from the Blood Reserve in Alberta to jail for ten days for taking his son out of a residential school without permission.[211] Department secretary J. D. McLean supported Dilworth's position, urging him to remind school principals they should not make promises to parents that implied they would be allowed take their children out of school after they had been admitted. McLean noted that "the printed form of admission distinctly states that the child is to remain in the school for such time as the Department may deem fit and that the principal or the head teacher of the institution for the time being shall be the guardian of said child."[212] In an effort to improve enrolment at the High River school and at the Anglican and Roman Catholic schools in Cardston, Alberta, Dilworth announced that "children of school age that are not attending school without a reasonable excuse shall receive no free rations at the ration house."[213] In 1915, parents refused to return children to the Norway House, Manitoba, school at the start of the school year because of complaints over the school's lack of food and poor quality of clothing in the previous year. Methodist Church representative T. Ferrier reminded Chief Berens, "These children can be taken back to the school by the Department, in spite of whether the parents are willing or not now that they have been entered as pupils of the school."[214]

The government's weak legal position on discharge was underscored in 1918 when federal Deputy Minister of Justice E. L. Newcombe informed Indian Affairs that the powers under Section 12 of the 1894 regulations applied only to students who had been committed to the schools because it was believed the child was "being not properly cared for or neglected." In order for the government to have the legal authority to force Aboriginal students to stay in school longer, he recommended that the regulations be amended to ensure that even when "a parent or guardian voluntarily surrenders the child to the industrial school," the "child shall then be held in all respects as if committed."[515] Although the regulation was not amended at that time, Newcombe's letter helped pave the way for significant changes to the *Indian Act* in 1920.

The *Indian Act* amendments of 1920

In 1919, the churches intensified their pressure for enforcement of compulsory attendance. In apparent response, Assistant Deputy Minister A. F. MacKenzie sent out a circular to Indian Affairs staff, stating that parents who did not send their children to school "shall not be regarded as being eligible for relief or other assistance from the Department."[516] In 1920, the Anglican Church complained that the Indian agent did not provide support to the church in its efforts to recruit students to its boarding school in The Pas. In one instance, T. B. R. Westgate, the field secretary for the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, said that students were not delivered to the school until five months after their admittance had been approved. In another case, two boys had been placed in the schools "because they were a nuisance on the reserve."[517] This continuing pressure from the churches, coupled with the growing realization that the government lacked the legislative authority for its current discharge policy, led to a complete rewrite of the education section of the *Indian Act* in 1920. Under the new provisions:

> 10. (1) Every Indian child between the ages of seven and fifteen years who is physically able shall attend such day, industrial or boarding school as may be designated by the Superintendent General for the full periods during which such school is open each year. Provided, however, that such school shall be the nearest available school of the kind required, and that no Protestant child shall be assigned to a Roman Catholic school or a school conducted under Roman Catholic auspices, and no Roman Catholic child shall be assigned to a Protestant school or a school conducted under Protestant auspices.
>
> (2) The Superintendent General may appoint any officer or person to be a truant officer to enforce the attendance of Indian children at school,

> and for such purpose a truant officer shall be vested with the powers of a peace officer, and shall have authority to enter any place where he has reason to believe there are Indian children between the ages of seven and fifteen years, and when requested by the Indian agent, a school teacher or the chief of a band shall examine into any case of truancy, shall warn the truants, their parents or guardians or the person with whom any Indian child resides, of the consequences of truancy, and notify the parent, guardian or such person in writing to cause the child to attend school.
>
> (3) Any parent, guardian or person with whom an Indian child is residing who fails to cause such child, being between the ages aforesaid, to attend school as required by this section after having received three days notice so to do by a truant officer shall, on the complaint of the truant officer, be liable on summary conviction before a justice of the peace or Indian agent to a fine of not more than two dollars and costs, or imprisonment for a period not exceeding ten days or both, and such child may be arrested without a warrant and conveyed to school by the truant officer: Provided that no parent or other person shall be liable to such penalties if such child, (*a*) is unable to attend school by reason of sickness or other unavoidable cause; (*b*) has passed the entrance examination for high schools; or, (*c*) has been excused in writing by the Indian agent or teacher for temporary absence to assist in husbandry or urgent and necessary household duties.[258]

It should be noted that the 1920 amendment did not make residential schooling compulsory for all First Nations children. The provision stipulated that students "shall attend such day, industrial *or* boarding school" (italics added). Indeed, the federal government never constructed a sufficient number of residential schools to accommodate all First Nations children. Where, in the past, the federal government could commit a child to residential school only if it judged that she or he was not "being properly cared for or educated," the new amendment gave it the authority to compel any First Nations student to attend residential school. It also made it legal to keep the child in that school until they turned fifteen. (However, the department was to take the position that the Act gave it the right to keep children in school until they turned sixteen.)[259]

Scott recognized that the amendments had significantly increased the government's power of compulsion. In his annual report, he wrote:

> Prior to the passing of these amendments the Act did not give the Governor in Council power to make regulations enforcing the residence and attendance of Indian children at residential schools, as the department could only commit to a residential school when a day school is provided, and the child does not attend.

> The recent amendments give the department control and remove from the Indian parent the responsibility for the care and education of his child, and the best interests of the Indians are promoted and fully protected. The clauses apply to every Indian child over the age of seven and under the age of fifteen.[220]

The schools as child welfare institutions

The enrolment difficulties that the schools experienced would have been more severe were it not for the fact that they also served as what would now be described as "child-welfare" institutions. Writing in 1883, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald predicted that until parents overcame their opposition to industrial schools, enrolment would depend largely on "orphans and children who have no natural protectors."[221] In reality, orphans and the children of parents who could not afford to care for them constituted a considerable portion of the schools' enrolment not only throughout this period (1867 to 1939), but also throughout the 130-year history of the system.

In 1893, Mohawk Institute principal Robert Ashton pointed out that the general education progress at the school was being lowered by "the admission of orphans and neglected children, who are generally quite ignorant on admission; but as this class is admitted for long terms the decrease of numbers in the higher classes will be only temporary."[222] A decade later, the enrolment of the Shingwauk Home was fifty-seven. Principal G. Ley King reported that "nineteen are motherless, nine fatherless and seventeen have neither father nor mother." In other words, of the fifty-seven students enrolled, only twelve had both parents living.[223] Children were also taken from parents who were deemed to be unfit. In 1911, for example, Indian Affairs placed two ten-year-old girls in British Columbia's Coqualeetza Institute. According to Indian Affairs, "Their mothers, notoriously bad women, were unfit to have charge of them. Aided by some Indians and bad white men, they fled from place to place, to prevent the girls being placed in school. The girls are now doing exceptionally well, being quite contented and happy, and the Indians are quite reconciled."[224]

In the wake of the 1918 influenza epidemic, Indian Affairs decreed:

> In view of the number of Indian children made orphans by the recent epidemic of influenza, who will have to be provided for, it is the wish of the Department that no children whose parents are alive should be admitted to residential schools, unless under very exceptional circumstances, as long as there are orphans of this class to fill the vacancies.[225]

By 1924, this temporary measure was official policy. According to that year's annual report, "Orphans, children of destitute parents and those living some distance from day schools on the reserves are given the preference, when the number of vacancies is limited."[226] In 1921, 112 of the 129 students at the Mohawk Institute were under the category of "orphaned and neglected."[227] Basil Johnston, who entered the Spanish, Ontario, boys' school in the late 1930s, recalled that most of that school's students "came from broken homes; some were orphans, having lost one or both parents; others were committed to the institution as punishment for some misdemeanor; and a few were enrolled by their parents in order to receive some education and training."[228]

Other students were taken in because they were in poor health. In 1909, W. McWhinney, the principal of the Presbyterian school at Kamsack, Saskatchewan, wrote of how, in the school's early years, many of the students who had been recruited "should never have entered school." Many of these students died.[229]

In other cases, parents enrolled their children in the schools out of financial desperation. Charles Constant of the James Smith's Band in Saskatchewan applied to have his eleven- and thirteen-year-old daughters admitted to the Anglican school at Onion Lake in 1929, even though there was a day school near to his home. As he explained to the Indian agent, "I am poor, hard up and cannot feed my children properly and I think it will be better for my older girls to be in a boarding school."[230] Seven years later, a Chilcotin father wrote to his children attending the Cariboo school at 145 Station, British Columbia, "I didn't make much money this year, just enough to buy grub to live on. You are lucky to be in school where you get plenty to eat. If you were home you would be hungry many days."[231]

By the 1930s, the schools were part of a far-reaching system by which the federal government sought to regulate Aboriginal life. In 1935, E. A. W. R. McKenzie recommended that the daughter of a relationship between a member of the Kahkewistahaw Band and a "French half-breed" be admitted to a residential school. In this case, the girl's mother had died and the father had remarried and "relinquished all claim to the child," who was being raised by her maternal grandmother. The agent recommended that the girl be admitted to the Grayson, Saskatchewan, residential school.[232] In 1936, G. A. Dodds recommended that a six-year-old child be admitted to the File Hills, Saskatchewan, school, arguing, "There are four children to this family and the father has no great store of energy or ambition, that I feel it would be a kindness to the child to admit her to the school."[233] In 1936, Indian agent F. J. Clarke sought to have four children who were attending the Peguis Centre day school in Manitoba transferred to the Brandon residential school. He explained that there were seven children in the family and the "father has not been able to support the family properly. The Principal of the school had to outfit these four boys with clothing before they could go to the school."[234] In April 1938, Indian agent W. B. Murray sought to have a four-year-old girl admitted to the Morley, Alberta, school. He wrote that "her Mother died leaving 7 children. The oldest child is discharged from school, 4 are now in school, a baby has been given in adoption, and the father, from the wish to keep the family together as much as possible, asks to have this child in school."[235]

The Shubenacadie school was established specifically to serve as a child-welfare facility.[236] In the spring of 1937, the father of two children attending the Shubenacadie school wrote to his seventeen-year-old daughter, saying that "he hoped she would not be coming home as they were starving" in their home community in Restigouche, Québec.[237] As a result, a decision was made to delay the children's discharge from the school for at least a year.[238] In 1938, Richibucto, New Brunswick, Indian agent Charles Hudson recommended that a girl whose foster father was "inclined to ill use her" be admitted to the Shubenacadie school.[239]

Some children from Summerside, Prince Edward Island, were sent to Shubenacadie in 1939 because their "parents were very poor, and of a roaming nature."[240] That same year, some parents tried unsuccessfully to have their children admitted to residential school. Indian agent Hudson recommended against admitting a Richibucto woman's children to Shubenacadie. He said that although the woman was a widow, her children were well-cared-for and attending a local day school. According to Hudson, "She wishes to marry a very much no good Indian and he does not want her children around."[241] At the same time that Indian Affairs was rejecting this woman, a different Indian agent was recommending that two children who were "wandering about the reserve from one home to another" be admitted to Shubenacadie.[242]

Indian agents were also consulted when children were discharged. In 1937, when two students were of age to be discharged from the Chapleau, Ontario, school, the Indian agent consulted with their mother, who said she was "not actually able to take care of these two children being hardly able to feed the rest of the family with the relief allowed." As a result, she asked that they be kept in the school, and the Indian agent concurred with her request.[243]

The use of inducements

Faced with parental hostility, principals offered parents incentives to enrol their children. This practice, generally frowned upon by government, was followed no matter what the decade and no matter which political party was in power. Principal E. F. Wilson lamented his efforts to recruit students for his new school in Elkhorn, Manitoba. In 1888, he said that "it is almost impossible to get [children] except by bribes of money or presents, a system to which I utterly object—indeed I always tell the Indians that the thanks must be on their side not on mine if I take their children to my schools."[244]

Although the federal government discouraged this recruiting practice, other principals were not as high-minded as Wilson. Their agreements might come to the attention of the federal government only if parents felt the principal was not adhering to his side of the bargain. For example, in 1891, a First Nations woman, Es-qua-sis, had transferred her son from the Anglican school at Onion Lake to the Roman Catholic school at Qu'Appelle. She did it because the principal, Joseph Hugonnard, had promised to discharge the boy in the spring so he could help with farm work—along with his young uncle, who was also enrolled at the school. He had also given her $8 to cover transportation costs. But, when spring came, she complained that Hugonnard had not released either boy as promised.[245]

Indian Commissioner David Laird reported in 1902 that the Indian agent for the Cowessess Reserve believed "it has been a rule with the Roman Catholic Schools to be generous to the parents of pupils they may get." Laird added, "This 'generous' practice is not confined to R.C. Schools, and I have had occasion within the last year to censure what appeared more like a payment for pupils than mere generosity."[246]

In examining an allegation that the Brandon school principal was paying parents to send their children to the school, Indian Affairs official Martin Benson wrote that it was likely the principal was providing parents with gifts of clothing "to induce them to part with their children as it is said to be pretty generally the practice in the West to fill up the schools by this means. The denominational schools have clothing sent them, and I have learned from outside sources that they use it for this purpose, as the Indians will not give up their children voluntarily."[247]

In the following decade, W. J. Dilworth, the Indian agent on the Blood Reserve in Alberta, sought to end what he saw as a practice "to literally buy children into school. One principal here no longer [sic] than last spring told me that he is always asked by the parent to give him $5.00 for the child. He said that he would loan the parent $5.00 expecting never to have it returned and it never is."[248]

The practice continued into the 1930s. When Indian Affairs attempted to resolve a conflict between the principals of the Anglican and Catholic schools on the Blood Reserve in Alberta in 1933, it was revealed that the Catholic principal, E. Ruaux, had paid the parents $10 for a saddle and $5 for delivering their son to the school. The $5, they said, was not a bribe, but had been given to them to alleviate their poverty. Indian Affairs, which had originally ruled that the boy should go to the Anglican school, allowed the boy to continue to attend the Catholic school, but determined that, in the future, Ruaux was not to make "clothing, gifts, nor funds for the purchase of same" prior to the admission of a student.[249] In February 1935, J. H. O. Allard, the principal of the Thunderchild school in Delmas, Saskatchewan, offered parents between $1 and $3 to offset the cost of bringing their children to school.[250] By August, he reported, "Our savages did not need coaxing to come for the promised three dollars. Last year at the same time, we had 12 entries; this year, we have 60, including five new recruits."[251]

The degree to which the schools were successful in employing financial inducements is a sign of the widespread poverty among Aboriginal people, a condition that was largely the result of the federal government's failure to live up to what were supposed to be legally binding Treaty commitments.

"Virtually being kept a prisoner": Coercion from 1920 to 1940

The closing of the hated industrial schools, the adoption of heightened powers of compulsion, the priority given to child-welfare cases, and the ongoing use of inducements all contributed to increased enrolment. By 1925, Deputy Minister Scott reported that residential schools were full to capacity and enrolment at day schools had also increased. In the 1919–20 fiscal year, 4,719 students had been enrolled in seventy-four residential schools. Five years later, enrolment in seventy-three schools was 6,031. During the same period, average attendance had increased from 4,133 to 5,278. Day school enrolment in the same period had gone from 7,477 to 8,191, and average attendance increased from 3,516 to 4,601.[232]

Although students could be withdrawn from school once they reached the age of sixteen, in the 1920s, the government policy was to encourage parents to keep their children in school until they turned eighteen. Russell T. Ferrier, the director of education for the department, wrote, "Indian Agents, principals and others interested in Indian education are urged to make every possible endeavour to persuade parents to leave their children in school for a longer period than prescribed by the Act."[233]

In a 1927 letter to an Indian agent, Ferrier wrote that "you will realize that the majority of residential school pupils will considerably benefit by remaining in such schools until they are eighteen years of age or even older—this is especially true of the girls for reasons which will readily suggest themselves to you."[234] Departmental secretary J. D. McLean maintained the same approach, instructing the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, to ensure that "every effort is bent to have those who should remain longer stay until they are 18 years of age." If parents were to request the discharge of students who were sixteen or seventeen, McLean advised the principal to tell them that "the matter will have to be referred to the Department."[235]

While Ferrier and McLean were advocating a policy of persuasion and delay, Indian Commissioner William Graham, the senior Indian Affairs official on the Prairies, essentially took the law into his own hands. It was his policy to refuse to grant a discharge to any student under the age of eighteen. His practice came to light only in 1926 when he complained to Ottawa that the principal of the Joussard, Alberta, school was discharging students at the age of sixteen. Graham called this "an irregular proceeding and contrary to the Regulations of the Department, which required the education of Indian children up to the age of eighteen." He said he had been careful to guard against granting applications from other schools to discharge students before they reached the age of eighteen.[236] When McLean pointed out that the *Indian Act* provided for compulsory attendance only for children between the ages of seven to fifteen,[237] Graham responded that while he was well aware of the *Indian Act* provisions, he thought the government had a regulation "whereby we were expected to keep children in school until the age of eighteen.” He said this regulation was similar to the regulation that required band members to request passes from the Indian agent before leaving the reserve, although he was also well aware there was no formal regulation regarding passes. The impact of Graham’s personal policy making was significant to many First Nations families. According to his report, he received at least 100 applications a year from parents who were seeking to have their children discharged once they turned sixteen. By this, his own evidence, at least 100 First Nations youth a year were being illegally required to attend residential school against the will of their families.[illegible]

Meanwhile, the churches continued to believe that attendance regulations were not being enforced with sufficient vigour. At their 1925 convention, the principals of Catholic residential schools passed a resolution that, since some parents “show negligence or repugnance to send their children to school or encourage truancy,” the federal government be requested to enforce the compulsory attendance provisions of the *Indian Act*. They maintained their opposition to day schools, asking that none be constructed “within the recruiting grounds of a residential school.”[illegible] Fifteen months later, in 1927, all Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officers and constables were appointed truant officers.[illegible] From then on, the RCMP was with increasing regularity called upon to return runaway students and to compel parents to send their children to residential schools.[illegible] In 1928, an Indian agent had a parent from the Blood Reserve jailed for refusing to send his children to school.[illegible] The *Indian Act* was amended in 1933 to incorporate the appointment of Mounted Police officers as truant officers, reflecting their 1927 appointment.[illegible]

In 1930, the *Indian Act* was amended to increase the discharge age from fifteen to sixteen. The minister was allowed to order that a child be kept in school until he or she turned eighteen if it was thought “it would be detrimental to any particular Indian child to have it discharged from school on attaining the full age of sixteen years.” In this case, the government was legalizing its existing practice. As Scott wrote in the 1931 annual report, “The usual practice at Indian residential schools is to encourage pupils to remain until they are 17 or 18.”[illegible] Departmental director of education Ferrier struck a different, more moderate, note and explained to T. B. R. Westgate of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, “It is not intended that compulsion to the 18th birthday be applied to all Indian children or even to a large number.” Instead, he said, it was to be used only “when home conditions very strongly suggested such action.”[illegible]

Coercive measures were used throughout the 1930s to compel attendance. In 1933, Mrs. John Chakita (alternately Tchakta) visited the Thunderchild school in Delmas, Saskatchewan, and, against the desire of both the principal and the sisters, removed her daughter Mary, who, she said, was suffering from poor health at the school.[illegible] The local Indian agent chastised the principal and ordered him to seek the girl’s return.[illegible]

When the principal's efforts failed, the Indian agent, S. L. Macdonald, obtained a court summons ordering the mother to return the girl to school.[illegible] The following year, the Indian agent sent a letter to a member of the Moosomin Band that said, "The Principal of the Delmas School has made a complaint that you have not returned your boy to the School." The father was told, "Please see that this boy is taken back to the school at once, as if it is found necessary to use the Police, you will be liable as well as have to pay the expenses of the action."[illegible] In October [illegible], the police visited the Poundmaker Reserve on behalf of the school, and told the parents of seven children who had not returned to school the previous month to send their children to school. Within five days, all the children were back in school.[illegible]

In [illegible], the principal of the Fraser Lake school in British Columbia was reprimanded by Indian Affairs for allowing Chief Maxime George to withdraw his son from the school to do work at home. Indian agent R. H. Moore noted, "In view of the fact that we had to prosecute Maxime to get his boy into the school in the first place as well as many other inconveniences to this Department, I cannot help but feel that it was unwise to allow this boy to return to his parents."[illegible]

Indian Affairs found itself locked in a series of conflicts with parents in northern Alberta in the late 1930s. In April [illegible], John Gambler and his wife visited their two daughters at the Desmarais, Alberta, school. According to Principal L. [illegible], Gambler said that he and his wife "were lonesome without their children and wished to bring them back" to their home in Calling Lake, Alberta. When [illegible] objected, "the parents walked away with their children, threatening to shoot whomsoever would endeavour to stop them from taking their children back home."[illegible] A local magistrate, who had attempted to stop Gambler from removing his children, said that Gambler had "not actually threatened them but had given them to understand he would use force if necessary to take his children."[illegible] [illegible] wanted Indian Affairs to have the RCMP enforce the return of the girls to the school, fearing that if forceful action was not taken, other parents might follow his example.[illegible] Indian Affairs official M. Christianson was, however, reluctant to dispatch the police. The distance that police officers would have to travel was considerable, the roads were poor, and the likelihood of locating Gambler was uncertain. The expense of such an expedition would also be charged back to Indian Affairs. Rather than authorizing a costly police expedition, Christianson wrote to Calling Lake storekeeper J. H. McIntosh, asking him to tell Gambler to return his children to the school. In his letter to McIntosh, Christian wrote, "I wish to bring to your attention that an Indian by the name of Gambler" had gone to the Desmarais school and "took his two daughters out of the school without the permission of the principal."[illegible] However, this was not the first that McIntosh had heard of this matter. One month earlier, Indian agent N. P. L'Heureux had written a letter to McIntosh, informing him of the events at the school. He then went on to write:

> As the above mentioned [illegible] Gambler is in receipt of a monthly ration, [illegible] order that same be cut off entirely until such time as I am able to [illegible] children. This cannot be expected until the children are both in school at [illegible] and Gambler's accounts presented to the Principal and [illegible].

[illegible], apparently without the approval of his superiors, was attempting to starve the Gamblers into sending their daughters to school. Gambler, it appears, was not dependent on relief rations. He had not returned his children by February 1, 1936, when [illegible] wrote the Indian agent asking whether a guard might visit Gambler's and take the children to the school. The Indian agent was not prepared to undertake such a mission, which would have involved the hiring of a plane, since Indian Affairs was not prepared to reimburse the costs. In July 1936, [illegible] sent Gambler a letter telling him that if he did not send his two daughters (he had withdrawn the three [illegible] and eleven years of age) and two younger daughters to the [illegible] school on September 1, "a charge will be preferred against you under the Indian Act" and the children would be "conveyed to school under escort of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police." In its review of the records, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not located any court records to indicate that such prosecution ever took place. However, it was not until October 1936 that Gambler enrolled his two younger daughters in the [illegible] school.

[illegible] used the threat of prosecution against other families in this period. In January 1936, he reported that Agnes Cunningham (also referred to as Mrs. Frank [illegible] Cardinal) had been refusing since September to send her daughter, [illegible] Cardinal, to the [illegible], Alberta, school. In October 1935, she had told [illegible] that "the reason she would not send her child to school was because 'they learn nothing in those schools.'" [illegible] had the RCMP serve her with a notice requiring her to bring her daughter to the school. She ignored it, and a second notice was served on her in December. By January, [illegible] was seeking permission to have the case taken to court. He also wanted John Felix Brown brought up on similar charges for failing to send a child to school. He argued that if the cases were not prosecuted, other parents would withhold their children from school. At the end of January, Indian Affairs had decided to prosecute Mrs. Frank [illegible] Cardinal and John Felix Brown. The Indian Affairs superintendent of Welfare and Training, R. A. Hoey, advised Alberta government officials that Indian Affairs was "not anxious to register either fines or jail sentences on parents but our primary desire is to have the children given an opportunity of obtaining an education." While it is not clear if the cases ever went to court, in April 1936, [illegible] father, Frank Cardinal [illegible], who supposedly had favoured her admission to [illegible], signed an application for admission to school. [illegible] also threatened [illegible] Cardinal (also known as [illegible]) with prosecution in 1936 unless he returned his granddaughter to the [illegible] school. Sergeant [illegible] was unable to locate Cardinal when

[illegible]

[illegible]

Residential schools in the broader Indian Affairs agenda

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

government, with the support of leading figures in the Protestant churches, sought to dramatically reduce the number of residential schools, replacing them with day schools. Opposition from the Roman Catholic Church and Protestant missionaries in western Canada blocked this effort. Instead, the federal government finally implemented a significant increase to the per capita grant received by boarding schools and attempted to impose basic health standards for the schools. This resulted in a short-term improvement. However, the wartime inflation eroded the value of the grant increase, and the grant was actually reduced during the Great Depression. By the end of the 1930s, Indian Affairs officials recognized that the per capita grants were too low and that the per capita system itself was an ineffective funding mechanism, since it bore no relation to costs. Not surprisingly, parents resisted sending their children to underfunded, unhealthy, and often distant schools. It was only in the area of attendance that the government had developed any regulatory powers—and, as time passed, these became increasingly authoritarian in nature. This institutional and regulatory history creates much of the context for the daily life of the schools. The following chapters deal with the dominant themes of that life.

First Nations family at the Regina, Saskatchewan, school.

Saskatchewan Archives Board, [illegible].

Students travelling to the Christie, British Columbia, school.

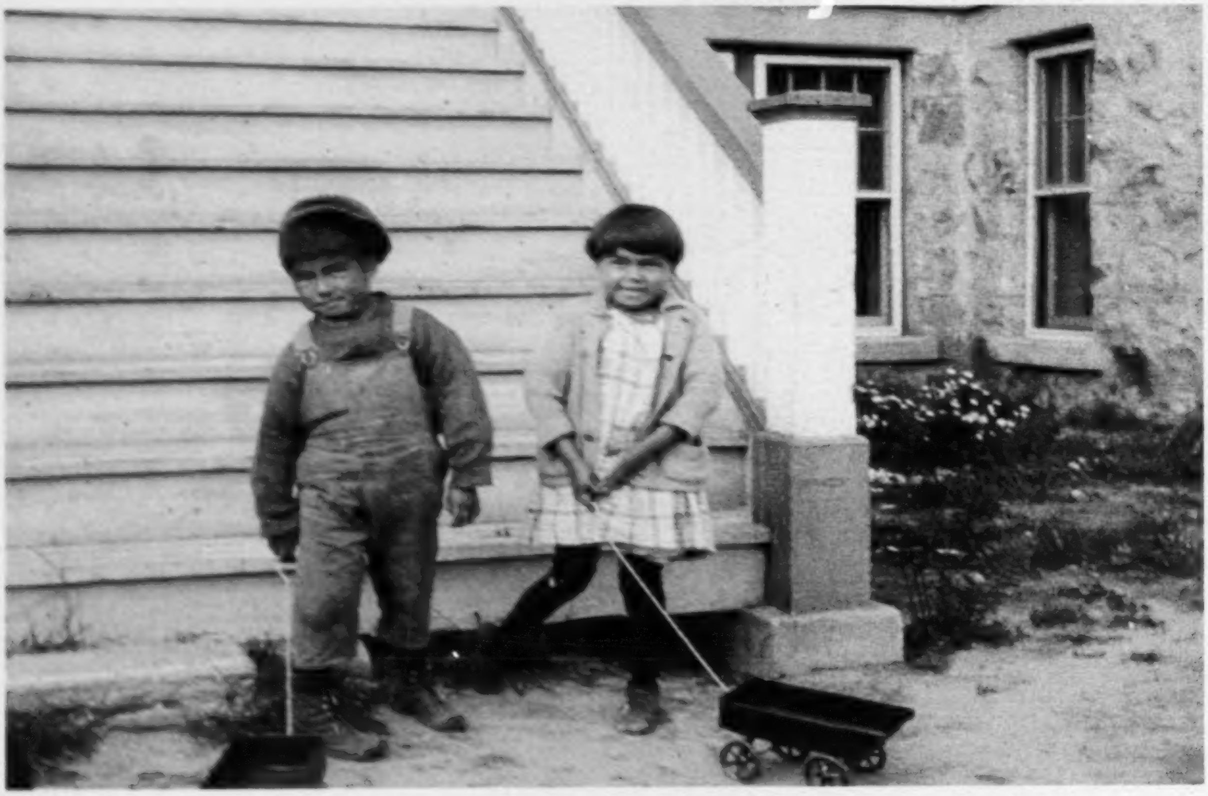
British Columbia Archives, [illegible].

Children at the Sarcee, Alberta, school.

General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P7538-635.

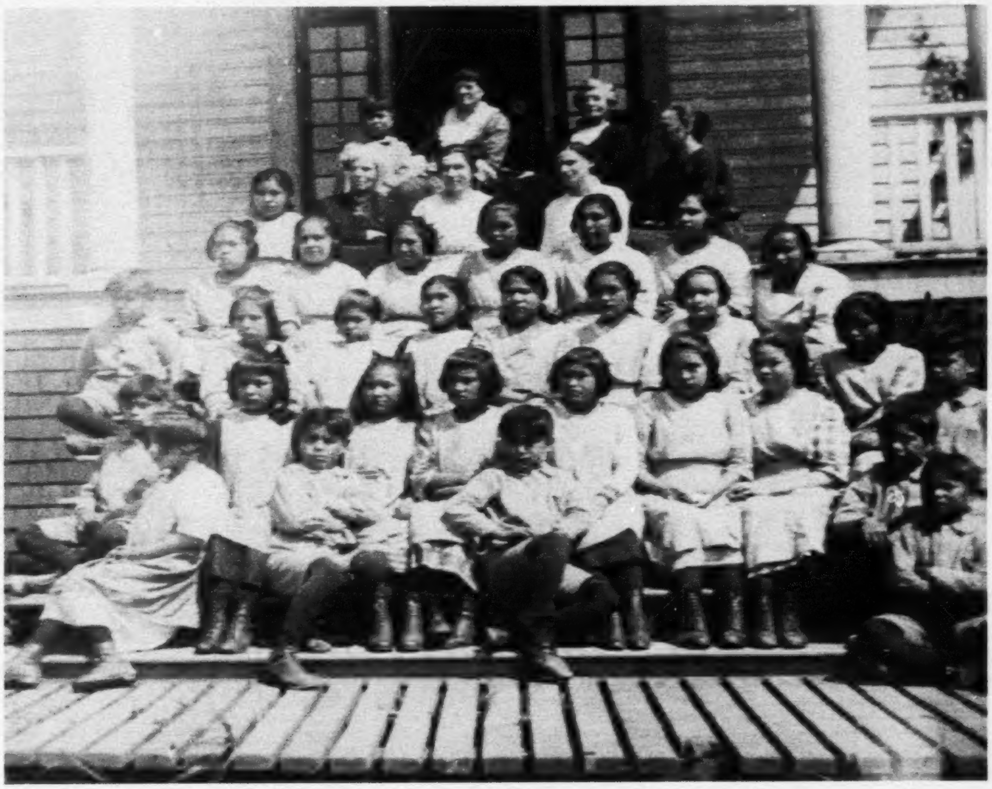
Children at the Gleichen, Alberta, school.

General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P75-103-S7-194.

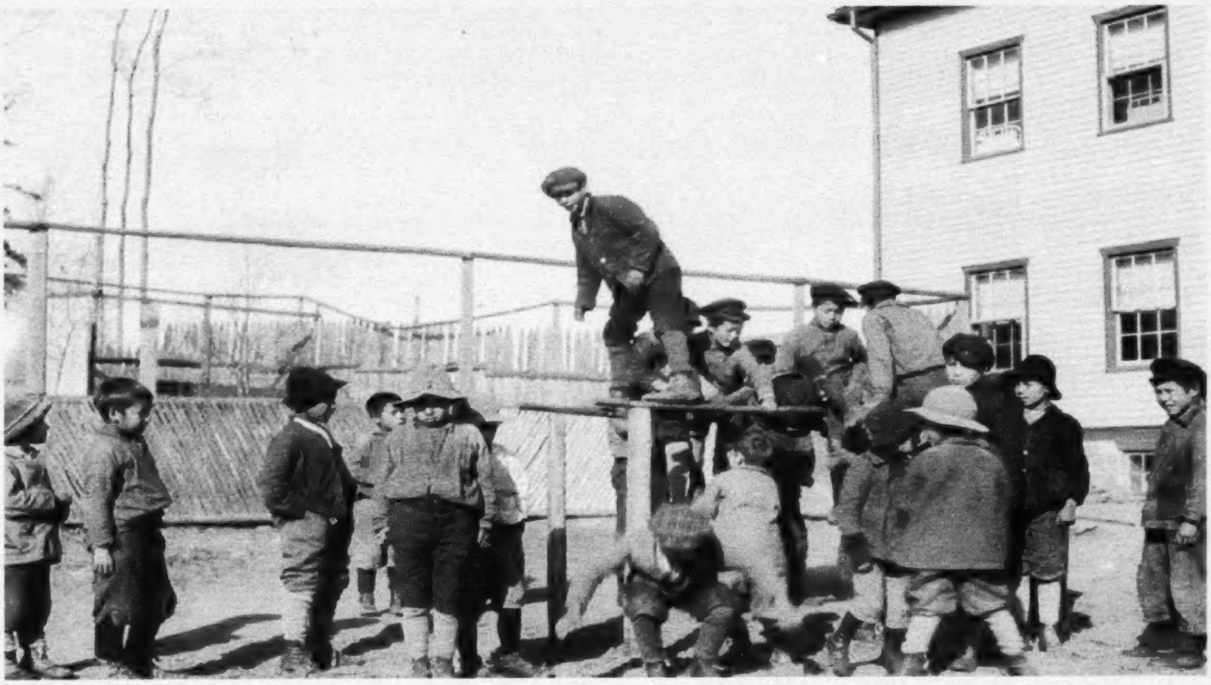


Children at the Chapleau, Ontario, school.

General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P8801-85.



Children at the Kitamaat, British Columbia, school.
United Church of Canada Archives, 93-049P466N.



The boys' playground at the Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan, school.
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P7538-230.

The girls' playground at the Carcross school in the Yukon Territories.
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada. P7538-621.

In response to lobbying from the Anglican Church, the federal government agreed to build two industrial schools in Manitoba, one at Middlechurch (pictured above) and one at Elkhorn.
Provincial Archives of Manitoba, N16969.

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Schools went considerable periods of time without being inspected. In 1903, for example, the Red Deer, Alberta, school had gone three years without inspection, and the Elkhorn, Manitoba, school (pictured above) had gone seventeen months without an inspection.

General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, PA-182261.

Indian Industrial School, Brandon, Man.

The decision to establish many of the industrial schools near urban centres (such as the Brandon, Manitoba, school, pictured above) was part of a federal government attempt to encourage students not to return to their reserves when they had completed their education.

Ruth Kitchen Collection, Library and Archives Canada, C-030122.

Minister of Indian Affairs Edgar Dewdney wrote in 1890 that he thought it "highly desirable, if it were practicable, to obtain entire possession of all Indian children after they attain to the age of seven or eight years, and keep them at schools of the industrial type until they have had a thorough course of instruction."

Library and Archives Canada, [illegible]

Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs Hayter Reed wrote in 1895 that "In the boarding or industrial schools the pupils are removed for a long period from the leanings of this uncivilized life and receive constant care and attention. It is therefore in the interest of the Indians that these institutions should be kept in an efficient state as it is in their success that the solution of the Indian problem lies." Despite his disdain for Aboriginal culture, Reed had a large collection of Aboriginal clothing. He and his stepson Jack Lowery were photographed wearing this clothing at the 1896 Historical Fancy Dress Ball in Ottawa.

Library and Archives Canada, [illegible]

The Regina, Saskatchewan, industrial school, pictured here in 1908, closed in 1910.

Canada, Department of Interior, John Woodruff, Library and Archives Canada, PA-[illegible]

The construction of both a Roman Catholic boarding school (top) and an Anglican boarding school (below) at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, was a result of the inter-church competition that plagued the residential school system.

Library and Archives Canada, PA-[illegible]; General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P[illegible].

In [illegible], Indian agent D. L. Clink was highly critical of the disciplinary policies at the Red Deer, Alberta, school (staff and students pictured above). He wrote that the actions of one teacher "would not be tolerated in a white school for a single day in any part of Canada."

United Church of Canada Archives, [illegible]

The Shubenacadie school in Nova Scotia, which did not open until 1930, was the only residential school the government operated in the Maritime provinces.

Nova Scotia Museum, Ethnology Collection.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

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CHAPTER 13

The educational record of residential schools: 1867–1939

Residential schools were intended to be far more than simple educational institutions. But, as their name makes clear, they were schools, and it is appropriate to assess their educational record. The government and churches had goals for education in the schools, although in large measure they were poorly defined. During the debate over the establishment of the schools, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald said he expected the industrial schools would produce "native teachers, and perhaps native clergymen, and men who will not only be able to read and write, but who will learn trades. The Indians are more apt to take to trades such as carpentry, blacksmithing, & etc. than to the cultivation of the soil."[1]

Deputy Minister Lawrence Vankoughnet wrote in 1888 that the purpose of the schools was to impart

> a practical knowledge of husbandry [farming] and mechanical trades. The principals are to charge themselves with the duty of seeing that the intention of the Department in this respect is fully carried out, as well as that the children are instructed in the art of reading and speaking the English language, and in the elementary studies generally pursued at school.[2]

The 1892 government order that placed a number of existing industrial schools on the per capita funding system mentioned education only in passing: managers of government-funded schools were required to "keep the schools at a certain standard of instruction."[3] That standard was never defined.

To meet these limited objectives, the schools were given total control over the students for twenty-four hours a day, for at least ten months of the year—and often longer. Despite this level of control, during this period (from 1867 to 1939), only a small fraction of the students ever finished the six grades (or "standards," as they were initially called) the schools offered. The amount of vocational training offered was minimal. Many observers, including government officials, came to the conclusion that, rather than preparing students for adulthood, the system was leaving them unprepared for the future. This was such a common concern that government officials actually developed their own word for it—wondering whether the schools were "unfitting" students for the lives they would lead.

It is clear that even by the standards of the period in which they operated, residential schools failed to provide students with an adequate education and the promised vocational training. The government and the churches failed the students at the policy level, the funding level, and at the classroom level. Government officials were well aware of these failures throughout the history of the system.

The following conclusions are undeniable:

- The federal government did not establish a clear set of goals for education in the residential schools.
- The residential school curriculum was in essence an elementary school curriculum, reflecting a belief that Aboriginal people were intellectually inferior.
- The government never developed or enforced a system-wide policy on teacher qualification.
- The teaching staff was under-qualified, poorly paid, and overworked.
- The curriculum was not relevant to the children's experiences, interests, or needs. As a result, few of them ever completed their schooling.
- Students left the schools lacking the skills to succeed in their home communities or to succeed in the broader labour market.

The daily routine

Most of the residential schools operated on what was referred to as the "half-day system." Under this system, students were in class for half the day and in vocational training for the other half. In some ways, the term *half-day system* is misleading, since it masks the amount of work that students did in residential schools. Often, as many students, teachers, and inspectors observed, the time allocated for vocational training was actually spent in highly repetitive labour that provided little in the way of training. Rather, it served to maintain the school operations. Above and beyond the half-day that students spent in vocational training, it was not uncommon for them to also do chores both before and after school. As a result, students often spent more than half a day working for the school.

While it was referred to as the "half-day system," it is important to note that it was not a formally established system with rules or regulations. Some schools did not use the half-day system, and those that did use it implemented it on their own terms. In 1922, Indian Affairs recommended that the Chapleau, Ontario, school implement the half-day system. In his letter of instruction, Russell Ferrier, the Indian Affairs superintendent of Indian Education, informed the Chapleau principal that "in most schools it is used the year round." In providing a sample timetable, Ferrier acknowledged "there are many variations from this routine; but, as near as I can remember, it is the general plan in use." In other words, thirty-nine years after the opening of the first industrial schools in the West, Indian Affairs did not have a formal description of the half-day system: in order to describe the so-called system, the department's senior education official could refer to only what he had observed in other schools.[4]

Table 13.1. High River school summer schedule, 1887.

Rising	5:30 o'clock.
Prayers and mass	6:00 o'clock.
Making beds, cleaning for inspection	6:30 o'clock.
Breakfast	7:00 o'clock.
Fatigue, trade instruction	7:30 o'clock.
School	9:00 o'clock.
Recreation	11:30 o'clock.
Falling in, getting ready for dinner	11:45 o'clock.
Dinner, recreation	12:00 o'clock.
School and trade instruction	1:00 o'clock.
Singing class	3:30 o'clock.
Fatigue	4:00 o'clock.
Falling in, getting ready for supper	5:45 o'clock.
Supper, recreation	6:00 o'clock.
Prayer, falling in, going to dormitory	8:00 o'clock.
Lights out	8:30 o'clock.

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1887*, 180–181.

According to Ferrier's description, the principal of a 100-student school would divide students into three groups: 35 older boys and girls who would work in the morning, 35 older boys and girls who would work in the afternoon, and 30 younger students who would be "in school and at play" all day.[5]

Timetables from Indian Affairs annual reports of the 1880s and 1890s show that school life was highly regimented, generally starting as early as 5:30 a.m. and running to 8:30 p.m. Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney believed that such a highly structured life would play an important role in "civilizing" a student. As he put it in 1889:

> The value of time is practically exemplified to him in the class room, at recreation, or in any fatigue work which he may be required to perform, by the recurrence every day of the hour at which each duty has to commence and again of the time by which it should be completed. The importance to an Indian child of such instruction cannot be overestimated, as innate in him, inherited from his parents, is an utter disregard of time, and ignorance of its value.[6]

"Fatigue duty" is a military term for non-military duties to which a soldier might be assigned—often as a punishment. In residential schools, that same term was used, generally referring to chores assigned to the children. Table 13.1 shows the schedule by which students at the High River school in what is now Alberta were regulated in 1887.

In the winter, the day started an hour later, with school commencing at 8:30 a.m., evening prayer at 7:30 p.m., and lights out at 8:00 p.m.[7]

While the half-day system was supposed to apply only to the older students, the reality was that at most schools during this period, every student worked. At High River, students who were not learning a trade could count on two hours a day of fatigue duty in the winter and four hours in the summer. According to Principal E. Claude, "To these youngest ones pertained the weeding of the garden and the house work on their side of the school, and I must say, that this summer none denied our watchword, 'No idleness here,' as all work was exclusively done by the pupils."[8]

Table 13.2 reproduces the schedule in force at the Qu'Appelle school in 1893.

Table 13.2. Qu'Appelle school schedule, 1893.

Pupils rise	5.30
Chapel	6.00
Bedmaking, washing, milking and pumping	6.30 to 7.15
Inspection of pupils in the school rooms to see if they are clean and properly dressed, their condition, health & c., a note being taken of those requiring attention, if of clothes, this is done by the sister directly after dinner	7.15 to 7.30
Breakfast	7.30
Fatigue for small boys	8.00 to 9.00
Trade boys go to work	8.00
School with 15 minutes recess	9.00 to 12.00
Prepare for dinner	12.00 to 12.10
Dinner	12.10 to 12.40
Recreation	12.40 to 2.00
School and Trades	2.00 to 4.00
Fatigue, such as milking, carrying coal, ashes, filling tanks, wood boxes, pumping, sweeping	4.45 to 6.00
Prepare for supper	6.00 to 6.10
Supper	6.10 to 6.40
Recreation	6.40 to 8.00
Prayer and retire	8.00

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1893*, 173–174.

Sundays were not much different from other days. They started with breakfast, then fatigue duty, followed by dressing for church, church parade, church service, dinner, a doctor's inspection, and then recreation until 2:30 p.m., when the children went to prayers. These were followed with chores, followed by an hour-long lecture from the principal at 5:00 p.m. on morals and religion.[9]

At the Wikwemikong, Ontario, school in the 1890s, boys in Standard 5 took manual training from 7:00 a.m. to 10:00 a.m. and from 3:30 p.m. to 6:00 p.m., while boys in standards 3 and 4 took training from 7:00 a.m. to 9:00 a.m. and from 4:30 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. In addition, all the students at the school spent "a few hours daily" on such chores as "sweeping, scrubbing, sawing and splitting wood, dairying, gardening, stock-feeding, helping in the kitchen, in the mill, on the farm, & c." The principal claimed, "They like these various occupations and become quite industrious."[10] In 1907, the Wikwemikong principal used nearly identical language to report that, in addition to the vocational training students received, "all the pupils are employed about two hours daily each, according to sex and ability, at various kinds of labour, such as sweeping, scrubbing, sawing and splitting fire-wood, dairying, gardening, feeding stock, helping in the kitchen and on the farm."[11]

At the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, in 1884, the working hours for the boys were from 6:00 a.m. to 7:00 a.m., from 7:30 a.m. to 8:00 a.m., and from 5:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. Boys were required to wear tin badges on their arms while they were working. Students wearing such badges were not allowed to play. Those boys who were undergoing apprenticeship training worked ten hours a day and then attended classes in the evening.[12]

Middlechurch, Manitoba, principal W. A. Burman wrote in 1893:

> The rule of half day classwork has been carried out as far as practicable, though, owing to the lack of larger children for necessary work, some of these have frequently had to work at their various occupations full time. It has, however, the advantage of preparing them gradually for the kind of life they must expect in the near future.[13]

By the end of the nineteenth century, this regime was universal in the industrial schools. In his 1898 annual report, the Battleford principal wrote, "All pupils, excepting the smallest or most backward, attend on the 'half-time' system."[14] At the High River school that year, "all boys do farm work, even the apprentices in different shops not only work on the school farm, but go out to work for the farmers during haying and harvesting."[15] At the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school, "all the boys work as usual from two to three hours daily."[16] At Williams Lake, British Columbia, "with the exception of the small boys all take lessons in farming and gardening, learn to milk and work at the hay."[17]

Table 13.3. Standard courses of study, Manitoba and the North-West Territories, 1889.

Branch.	Standard 1.	Standard 2.
Reading and recitation in.	Alphabet and tablets.	First half of First Reader.
Spelling.	Simplest words.	Words in first half of First Reader.
Writing.	Elementary strokes on slates.	On slates. To transcribe letters and simple words from print or black-board.
Dictation.		Letters and short words.
Arithmetic.	Figures–to count Addition and Subtraction (mental) of units.	Tables 2 to 5 times, mental exercise in addition and subtraction.
Object lessons with English conversation.	Explanation of all common objects; verb acting; instructive movements and conversation.	
English study and Grammar.	To name common objects, learn names of days, weeks, months, &c., &c.	To name common objects, and make simple statements intelligibly.
Geography.	Verbal instruction in facts necessary to understanding thoroughly geographical 'definitions.'	
Vocal music.	Simple Hymns and Songs.	
Religious instruction.	Scripture Reading; Ten Commandments; Lord's Prayer; Life of Christ, &c., &c.	

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1889*, 171.

Some students did nothing but work. In June 1898, the principal of the Calgary industrial school, which had opened the year before, reported that the school had been without a teacher until April. This, he suggested, was in reality an advantage, since "it has enabled us with few hands to give more time to outdoor occupation and so get things in order much more expeditiously than we could have done had more time been spent in the study rooms."[18] One boy, Nelson Peters, ran away from the Mount Elgin school in Muncey, Ontario, so often that the principal concluded that the costs involved in returning him were too high. He initially planned on discharging the boy, but then proposed that he "stay and work in the fields with a team and not go to school." The boy agreed, and stayed at the school for at least another two years without attending class.[19]

Standard 3.	Standard 4.	Standard 5.
First Reader.	Second Reader.	Third Reader.
Words in First Reader.	Words in Second Reader.	Words in Third Reader.
On slates and paper. Words and short sentences from Reader or black-board.	Sentences from Reader, on slates and paper or books.	To copy well from script or print.
Words from First Reader.	Sentences from First and Second Reader.	Sentences from Second and Third Reader.
Multiplication Tables, Notation and Numeration, Mental +, -, x, \, and simple exercises in same on slates, divisors and multipliers under 12.	Same-Division and multiplication tables, thoroughly. Tables weights and measures, +,-,x,\ divisors and multipliers over 12. Mental exercises.	All simple rules; thoroughly grounded in reduction. Mental exercises well performed.
Same-The intelligence of the pupils to be cultivated to keep pace with the progress they make in reading, i.e., they must be made to understand thoroughly-what they read and not to advance in mechanical reading quicker than in understanding. Object lessons should be designed to illustrate what is read as well as what is seen upon every hand, and instructive conversation commonly held.		
To express thoughts well in simple English, but grammatically.	To compose simple sentences to know verbs, nouns and adjectives.	To name parts of speech, understand their uses and identify them.
	Definitions and maps of Canada, local Geography, the World, &c., &c.	

The half-day system contributed directly to the educational inadequacy of the residential school system. Throughout this period, non-Aboriginal students attended schools that provided them with academic training on a full-time basis. A 1921 timetable for a one-room public school shows classes starting at 9:00 a.m. and running to 4:00 p.m., with two fifteen-minute recesses and an hour-long lunch break. The students ranged from grades One to Eight. The older students had as much academic class time as the younger students.[20] In British Columbia, Indian Commissioner D. M. MacKay noted in 1939 that at one residential school he visited, "I inclined to believe that there is too much non-educational production labour." In his opinion: "Where the children have such a long day and work on the half day plan with considerable heavy productive work, the tendency would be to reduce the efficiency of the school as an educational institution. This is probably true in most of our residential schools in British Columbia."[illegible]

Whether in class, in the field, or even in the community, it was a regimented life that many students came to hate. Margaret Stonechild, who attended residential schools in Manitoba and Saskatchewan in the 1930s, grew tired of the constant regimentation. "'Line up here, line up there.' 'Oh, here comes the cows,' we heard people saying and laughing because we were all in a line, marching into church in Brandon."[illegible]

The curriculum

When the industrial schools were established in the 1880s, the instructions provided to principals gave little guidance about either curriculum or teacher qualification. Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney's 1883 letter to Battleford principal Thomas Clarke stipulated that the staff should include a principal, a farming instructor, and "a woman to act as Matron as well as to do the cooking." No mention was made of hiring any additional teachers.[illegible] The rules and regulations that Deputy Minister Lawrence Vankoughnet issued for the Cranbrook, British Columbia, school in 1889 made no reference to either the hiring of staff or to goals for education, other than to say that the principal "should give instruction, with such assistance as he may employ for that purpose, to the pupils in the ordinary branches of education." The school foreman, who was to "take charge of the boys at outside work," was to be expected to teach whichever trades in which he was skilled.[illegible] The 1894 *Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children* dealt almost solely with matters of attendance: no mention was made of education standards or of teacher standards.[illegible] Under these conditions, curriculum was left in the hands of church-appointed principals.

However, in 1889, Indian Affairs published in its annual report the "Standard Courses of Study for Manitoba and the North-West Territories" (Table 13.3). It was an elementary school curriculum, with five standards through which industrial school students were expected to progress. The curriculum (which includes typographical mistakes from the original) was dominated by the "Four Rs": reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion. Music was taught, but the emphasis was on hymn singing.[illegible]

In 1894, Indian Affairs published its "Programme of Studies for Indian Schools," which apparently applied to all its schools across the country (see Table 13.4). The program was issued in the same year that the government adopted its first formal regulations for Indian education. Together, the program and the regulations represented the government's first attempts to impose a degree of order on the network of boarding and industrial schools that existed across the country. According to the program, a teacher was required to follow it "as far as the circumstances of his school permit."[illegible] While changes could, theoretically, be made only with government permission, inspection, particularly in the West, was limited and lax.[illegible]

With its heavy emphasis on the Four Rs, the program did not differ significantly from what was being taught in public schools at that time. Despite the fact that in Standard 3, students were supposed to be taught "Stories of Indians of Canada and their civilization," it is highly unlikely that public schools in Canada were providing any real instruction on the topic of Aboriginal culture or accomplishment. Well into the twentieth century, Canadian textbooks, when they spoke of Aboriginal people at all, spoke of them largely in negative and stereotypical terms. A 1928 textbook, *A First Book of Canadian History*, described them as being "of a somewhat primitive type. They had not learnt the art of making metal tools and utensils, but made use only of stone hatchets, flint arrow heads, and clay pottery. They had no knowledge even of such a simple invention as the wheel." The book's many stereotyped portrayals of Aboriginal people included a quotation from the French explorer Jacques Cartier that told students, "They can with truth be called savages, as there are no people poorer than these in the world, and I believe they do not possess anything to the value of five pennies, apart from their canoes or nets.... They are great thieves, and will steal all they can." Another textbook, *Building the Canadian Nation*, from 1942, described the hardships that missionaries underwent working with "wandering tribes who lived from hand to mouth in a condition of filth and often of privation almost beyond description." According to that book, "The Indian was attached to his superstitions, to his belief in magic, to his feasts and ceremonials which were often no better than wild orgies."[illegible] Based on their training or the available texts, residential school teachers would have been hard pressed to give meaningful instruction on "Indian civilization" or the "Stories of the Indians of Canada."

The program stressed, "Every effort must be made to induce pupils to speak English, and to teach them to understand it." Teachers were encouraged to allow students to restate concepts in their own language—providing the teacher spoke that language. Great stress was laid on the need to teach children to "read loudly and distinctly," and, in coming years, inspectors would lament the quality of the students' spoken English. It is also worth noting that instruction was to be direct, making use of the "voice and blackboard," with "the unnecessary use of text books to be avoided." While much may be said of the value of direct and interactive teaching, the downplaying of the use of textbooks reflected a belief that the schools needed to provide only limited academic training.[illegible] In this way, the program appears to reflect the views of Andsell Macrae and Hayter Reed. In 1886, as the first Indian Affairs school inspector, Macrae stressed the need to teach students "the lessons of life," not the "knowledge of books."[illegible] While he was Indian commissioner, Reed had been impressed by the way much of the education at the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, was carried out by way of object lessons, with little use being made of books.[illegible]

Table 13.4. Program of studies for Indian schools, 1890

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
English	Word recognition and sentence making. Simple sounds of letters of alphabet. Copying words.	Sounds continued. Sentence making continued. Orthography, oral and written. Dictation of words learnt and of simple sentences.	Sounds completed. Simple homonyms explained. Sentence making continued. Orthography, oral and written. Sentences dictated. Compose sentences about objects and actions.
General knowledge	Facts concerning things in school, leading often to already known. Days of week, month.	The seasons. Measures of length and weight in common use. Colours. Commence animal and vegetable kingdoms. Fruit parts and uses, cultivation, growth, &c. Things in and about the school and their parts.	Animal and vegetable kingdoms continued. Money. The useful metals.
Writing	Elementary strokes and words on slates. Large round hand.	Words, &c., on slates. Large round hand.	Slates and copy book No. 1. Medium round hand.
Arithmetic	Numbers 1 to 10; their combinations and separations, oral and written. The signs +, −, ×, ÷; count to 10 by ones, twos, threes, &c. Use and meaning one-half, one-third, one-tenth. Making and drawing one-half, one-fourth, one-eighth, one-third, one-sixth, one-ninth, one-fifth, one-tenth, one-seventh (no figures). Simple problems, oral.	Numbers 10 to 25; their combinations and separations, (oral and written.) Count to 25 by ones, twos, threes, &c. Use and meaning of one-half, one-third, one-fourth, &c., to one-twenty-fifth (no figures). Relation of halves, fourths, eighths, thirds, sixths, twelfths, fifths, tenths (no figures). Simple problems, introducing gallons in peck, pecks in bushel, months in year, inches in foot, pounds, current coins up to 25¢. Addition in columns, no total to exceed 25.	Numbers 25 to 100; their combinations and separations, oral and written. Count to 100 by ones, twos, threes, &c., to tens. Use and meaning of one-twenty-sixth, one-twenty-seventh, &c., to one one-hundredth (no figures). Addition, subtraction, division and partition of fractions of standard 2. Roman numerals I to C. Simple problems, introducing seconds in minutes, minutes in hours, hours in day, pounds in bushel, sheets in quire, quires in ream.

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]			[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
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[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

Standard 4	Standard 5	Standard 6
History of province in which school is situated.	Canadian History (commenced)	Canadian History (continued)
GENERAL—Instruction is to be direct, the voice and blackboard being the principal agents. The unnecessary use of text books to be avoided. N.B.—It will be considered a proof of the incompetency of a teacher, if the pupils are found to read in "parrot fashion" only, i.e. without in the least understanding what they read. And the following remark applies to all teaching, viz.:—Everything must be thoroughly understood, before a pupil is advanced to further studies.		

> pupils in their efforts to overcome the difficulties of the English tongue. Many of the subjects treated of in these books cannot be understood without a wider knowledge of the world than Indians of any age are likely to have.[illegible]

Individual teachers also recognized how foreign the curriculum was to many students. Margaret Butcher realized when she was teaching the Biblical story of the Good Shepherd to her students at the Kitamaat, British Columbia, school that "not one child had ever seen a sheep."[illegible] After a visit to the Hobbema, Alberta, school in 1926, an inspector noted, "Care must be taken, however, to see that the child's earliest vocabulary will appeal to his innate interests—a subject which requires special study in its application to Indian pupils who have no knowledge of the English language before they enter school."[illegible]

The federal curriculum appears to have remained in place until the 1920s. In 1920, Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott wrote, "Our aim is to have the course in our Indian schools conform as closely as possible to the curriculum in the public schools of the districts in which they are situated." To achieve that goal, he commenced negotiations with governments in the prairie provinces to pay provincial inspectors to inspect Indian Affairs schools.[illegible] The following year's annual report stated, "The course of study is that prescribed for the provincial, public and separate schools and is strictly followed."[illegible]

Teacher qualification

In 1880, Sir John A. Macdonald, who was both prime minister and minister of Indian Affairs, wrote in a memorandum to Cabinet that "all Teachers of Indian Schools in the North West Territories and elsewhere, whether appointed by religious denominations or by the Department be required to hold certificates of competency and character and to fyle [sic] the same in the Department."[illegible] However, during this period (from 1867 to 1939), the government never adopted a regulation that would actually require that teachers at Indian Affairs schools meet the level of qualification set down in Macdonald's memorandum. This was in large measure due to the government's unwillingness to meet the cost of hiring qualified teachers.

Problems in recruiting qualified teachers were not restricted solely to residential schools. In the late nineteenth century, teacher qualification requirements, particularly for elementary school teachers, were minimal in all Canadian schools. According to education historian Robert M. Stamp:

> In the years immediately following Confederation a young girl still in her teens or a discharged non-commissioned officer who could find nothing better to do could almost always find a job "keeping" a one-room school. With little training behind them such teachers could resort to little more than an insistence on rote memorization of material with frequent applications of the rod if the pupil's memory was less than perfect.[illegible]

In 1885, just 285 of the 446 teachers in Manitoba's Protestant schools (at the time, the province had both a Protestant and Catholic school system) had some training. Much of this was limited to attendance at four-week sessions at normal institutes (teacher training schools). These sessions were intended to provide unqualified teachers with a measure of training.[illegible]

Rural communities had particular difficulty recruiting qualified teachers. A 1913 survey concluded that 93% of the unqualified teachers working in Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Ontario were teaching in rural schools. The reasons for this are not hard to discern: by 1900, the wages paid to teachers in urban schools were three times higher than those paid to rural teachers. Not surprisingly, every year, a quarter of the rural teachers left their positions.[illegible] The problem persisted: into the 1940s, the Manitoba government continued to issue "special authorities" that allowed untrained teachers to work in the province's public schools.[illegible]

The hiring of residential school teachers was left to the churches, as Martin Benson, an official of the Indian Affairs Schools Branch, observed in his 1897 report on industrial schools. Benson believed that the policy of allowing the churches to hire staff without the department's approval had "led to very unsatisfactory results and seriously interfered with the educational policy of the Department." To address this, he wrote, Indian Affairs had begun to require, where practicable, that the teachers have a provincially recognized teacher's certificate. The rule was not obligatory because of the difficulty in getting qualified teachers "who are willing to accept the remuneration offered for the work required."[45] Those whom the churches were able to recruit were "not as a rule well fitted for the work of teaching, not so much from want of scholarship as from the lack of ability to adapt their instruction to the children's needs."[46]

A decade later, the churches were still in control of hiring. In 1909, British Columbia Indian agent A. W. Neill discovered by accident that the principal of the Alberni boarding school in his agency had resigned and that his successor had already been appointed. In a letter of complaint to his superiors, Neill stated it was his understanding that no school staff member could be appointed without government approval. It was his opinion that this rule was a "dead letter." He wrote that, instead, "the various churches appoint principals and teachers without any reference to the Dept." Once a new staff member was in place, the school asked him, as Indian agent, to "report the fact to the Dept., which sends a formal approval." Neill felt that Indian Affairs was being embarrassed into accepting whomever the churches appointed, since "it would be extremely difficult for the Dept. to object to a man after he brought his family perhaps a couple of thousand miles." He thought Indian Affairs should be vetting appointments before they were in the field.

Given the fact that principals played a central role in the success or failure of a school, Neill also recommended that principals be required not only to have "some college training," but also to "possess the equivalent of a first class teacher's certificate and to have had some previous experience among Indians." Since the incoming principal of the Alberni school, W. A. Hendry, possessed such qualifications, it was a favourable moment, Neill thought, for the department to "announce that its rule must in future be adhered to."[47] The British Columbia Indian superintendent, A. W. Vowell, thought Neill's recommendations regarding qualifications were excellent, save for the fact that they would "further increase the difficulty said to be experienced in securing suitable teachers." If stricter requirements were placed on the churches in regard to teacher qualifications, Vowell wrote, the government could expect the churches to apply for "larger grants." And, as Vowell understood it, Indian Affairs "is not at present disposed to entertain requests for increased grants to Indian boarding and industrial schools."[48] Hendry lasted less than a year as Alberni principal. When his replacement, H. B. Currie, arrived in 1910, Indian agent Neill was once more disheartened. He reported that although Currie and his wife were fine people, "they have absolutely no experience in this work, have no knowledge of school management, or of nursing, or of handling Indians; they do not appear to have even been fully informed of the conditions under which they will have to work."[49]

The 1910 contract between the federal government and the churches, which had established a per capita funding agreement for three different classes and locations of boarding schools, and established the respective responsibilities of government and the churches for the schools, also sidestepped the question of teacher qualification. The school managers, according to the contract, were not to

> employ, except for a period not exceeding six months, any teacher or instructor until evidence satisfactory to the Superintendent General has been submitted to him that such teacher or instructor is able to converse with the pupils under his charge in English and is able to speak and write the English language fluently and correctly and possess such other qualifications as in the opinion of the Superintendent General may be necessary.

The contract also required that the schools provide "teachers and officers qualified to give the pupils religious instruction at proper times."[50] These were minimal requirements that would allow for the continued hiring of untrained teachers.

The schools had a great deal of trouble recruiting staff even though formal requirements were not in place. After his 1908 tour of schools and reserves in western Canada, Indian Affairs inspector F. H. Paget reported that at the Battleford, Saskatchewan, school, "Frequent changes in the staff at this school has not been to its advantage." The problem was not with the principal, but with the fact that "more profitable employment is available in the District and, furthermore, the salaries paid are not as high as are paid in other public institutions."[51] At the Anglican school on the Blood Reserve in Alberta, there were four vacant staff positions. Paget observed, "Great difficulty is experienced in retaining an efficient staff upon the small salaries which are offered and until our schools can offer as high salaries as are paid at other Public Institutions this difficulty will not disappear."[52]

Publicly, the government tried to minimize this ongoing problem. In his 1914 annual report, Duncan Campbell Scott claimed:

> Whenever possible the services of teachers with professional qualifications are secured for the Indian schools, and in the older settled portions of the different provinces a large percentage of our teachers are so qualified. On the more remote reserves, however, it has been found difficult to secure teachers with certificates. The salaries offered to teachers in these localities are thought to be liberal, and residences are provided, but this hardly compensates for the isolation and lack of society. Many of our teachers who have not professional qualifications have had long experience, and a number of them are meeting with considerable success.[53]

He repeated this message, often with no changes, in the next eight annual reports.[54] In 1923, after an actual increase in funding, Scott reported, "Salary schedules have been raised and the services of better qualified teachers are being secured."[55] In his report for the following year, Scott sounded less confident, saying there had been "a determined effort to secure the services of better qualified academic and vocational instructors for the boarding schools."[56] One year later, he reported, "Better trained teachers are being engaged and more classroom, vocational and recreational equipment is being supplied in an effort to make the instruction more attractive."[57]

Despite Scott's optimistic reports, in reality, progress in hiring qualified teachers for both residential and day schools remained slow. An inspection of the Roman Catholic school on the Blood Reserve in Alberta in 1914 noted that neither of the school's teachers held teaching certificates.[58] Nine years later, Indian Affairs secretary J. D. McLean informed the principal of the same school that the provincial inspector "has reported so unfavourably concerning the instruction and teaching ability" of the school's two teachers that he had to ask that they be replaced.[59] In 1925, McLean wrote the principal again, saying that the inspector had given an unfavourable report on the English-language skills of one of the teachers and that "I shall be pleased if you will arrange in the immediate future for a better qualified instruction."[60]

In 1922, the Anglican Indian and Eskimo Commission acknowledged that in the past, it had accepted as teachers "any Christian men or women who expressed a willingness to serve in that capacity, whether they possessed suitable qualifications or not." The new policy was not to accept anyone whose "literacy standing would not satisfy the requirements of one or other of the Departments of education in the provinces throughout the Dominion."[61]

Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham frequently raised concerns about the qualifications of both the vocational instructors and the classroom teachers. In 1923, he wrote to Scott, "A large percentage of the ex-pupils on leaving many of our Industrial and Boarding schools to-day know little or nothing about the care of stock and do not display as much intelligence along the lines as do many Indians who have never attended school."

> We have men at the head of some our important institutions at which they are supposed to teach practical farming, care of live stock, etc. who do not know the first things about these essential branches of the work; men who could not begin to make a living at farming and who, nevertheless have the responsibility of training our Indian youth in these important matters.[62]

In a second letter that year, Graham wrote:

> In these three provinces [Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta] many of our schools are staffed by persons who are not qualified to teach or instruct our Indian children in the various departments over which they have charge. A great many of our teachers would not be allowed to teach in an ordinary country school. In support of this statement I need only refer you to the reports you have received from the various Inspectors of the Department of Education in these provinces. Have not these reports shown that in many cases the teaching and methods in our schools are very poor?[63]

According to Graham,

> the teachers at the Old Sun's School are not qualified in so far as that they have not received Normal training. The reports of the Provincial School Inspectors on Indian schools have been in the majority of cases unsatisfactory, and these gentlemen have invariably stressed the necessity for employing as teachers in our schools only men and women who have received Normal training.[64]

The problems were not limited to small and remote mission schools. The quality of teaching at the Qu'Appelle school, one of the largest and oldest industrial schools in the West, was a source of constant irritation to Graham. In 1922, he reported to Ottawa that, in the opinion of a school inspector, the teacher of the boys' senior classroom at the school was "an absolute failure, lazy and to use his own words, unfit to occupy the position he holds." The teacher was reported to have "a very poor pronunciation," spoke "poor English," and had "no certificates." The brass band and the Boy Scouts had ceased to function as a result of his lack of attention. It was recommended that he be dismissed.[65] At the same time, the school had also promised to remove a female teacher who had been judged to be unsatisfactory.[66] At the end of the year, Graham remained frustrated:

> The whole trouble here is that the parents of these children are demanding better care for their children and a better education and training. This school is not what it should be. The Department have [sic] been informed of this. I had reason to believe that a change would be made, but this has not taken place, and there will alway [sic] be dissatisfaction about getting children to attend this school, especially those of graduates. I am at a loss to know why the Department have [sic] not taken action on the reports that have been sent in by the Inspectors. This school is far from what it should be.[67]

In 1925, the provincial inspector recommended that all four teachers at the Qu'Appelle school take normal school courses.[68] Four years later, the school received a more positive assessment:

> The teachers of this school are not trained in teaching according to the methods employed at the Provincial Normal School: by years of experience the lady teachers have worked out their own methods for the instruction of the Indian child and these are successful in a large measure. The male teachers are better qualified academically and are employing satisfactory methods.[69]

But, in 1932, there was only one teacher at the Qu'Appelle school who had a teaching certificate, and she, according to Sister Pulvermacher, was "too tired to teach."[70] A 1936 report on the Qu'Appelle school observed:

> In the rooms taught by the sisters the problem was the same as it has ever been during the past eight years; there should be greater variety of exercises to take the place of the unchanging rotations of activities. A stronger appeal should be

> made to the children to get them to think independently and with some degree of consistently [sic].[71]

When, in 1923, the chief inspector of schools for the Department of Education in Saskatchewan, J. H. McKechnie, advised Indian Affairs that "certified teachers, only, be engaged in the future for Indian work," he was informed by Russell T. Ferrier, the superintendent of Indian Education, that "it is the aim of this Department to gradually employ better qualified teachers." Ferrier had to acknowledge that many of the churches often nominated "missionary teachers." He suggested this subsidization of local missionary work could be seen as an overall benefit, since "the general good influence on the reserve of these Christian workers often offsets any loss in classroom efficiency." He said, "When Parliament is fully seized with the importance of educating our wards, we will be able to offer larger salaries to prospective teachers and we can then demand properly certificated workers."[72] In short, the children were still being taught by unqualified teachers because the government was not prepared to offer competitive salaries.

In the opinion of the people the government paid to inspect the schools, this lack of qualifications had an impact on the quality of the education provided. Inspector R. H. Cairns believed there should be at least "one Normal trained teacher" at each residential school. He wrote, "Practically all teachers who have not had Normal School training are seriously handicapped in the classroom." His observations were prompted by a 1925 visit to the Cranbrook school, where neither of the two teachers, both in their early twenties, had a teacher's certificate.[73] A 1926 inspection of the Sandy Bay, Manitoba, school found two teachers with seventy students. Neither teacher had any professional qualification to teach. The inspector said, "The methods employed by these teachers is [sic] not up-to-date when compared with our public school standards. The methods employed to teach these non-English-speaking pupils could be improved."[74] That same year, Duncan Campbell Scott wrote to Roman Catholic Archbishop Alfred Sinnott in Winnipeg, "It is my policy to only recognize qualified teachers for all class-room work, that is teachers who are the holders of Provincial certificates. We are meeting with a fair measure of success I am glad to say, and I think the quality of our teachers has been much improved."[75] The facts suggest that Scott was overly optimistic. Two years later, following a visit to the school at Round Lake, Saskatchewan, an inspector observed, "The junior classroom work should be under a qualified teacher instead of that it is under a mere lad and I understand that this is the first school he has taught in."[76] Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham recommended that a teacher at the Roman Catholic school in Kamsack, Saskatchewan, be dismissed in 1931 because she was not qualified. He wrote, "We are doing our best to keep the teaching staff at our various schools up to date, but when cases such as this creep in we cannot make any headway."[77]

The Indian Affairs Schools Branch maintained that the principals and the staff were "appointed by the church authorities, subject to the approval of the Department as to qualifications."[illegible] In reality, the system tended to operate in the manner that Neill had described back in 1910: the churches hired staff and the government then rubber-stamped their selections. In 1922, Graham informed the field secretary of the Anglican Missionary Society that while he would allow the former farm instructor at the Gleichen, Alberta, school to live in a cottage at the Elkhorn, Manitoba, school, that was no guarantee that Indian Affairs would approve the man's appointment as farm instructor at Elkhorn. The field secretary, T. B. R. Westgate, informed Graham that, in his opinion, "the only officer over whom the Department have [sic] control is the Principal." Graham said this flew in the face of a pamphlet on the operation of the schools that had been issued in May 1921.[illegible]

For their part, the churches' key requirement for staff during this period was religious commitment. A 1936 United Church document on First Nations education policy stated that the staff of all United Church schools should be composed of people who had a "Christian motive, or, in other words, a missionary purpose coupled with skill in some particular field to teach his specialty to the Indians." Staff members were expected to be "closely related to and actively interested in the work of the nearest United Church" and be acquainted with, and sympathetic to, "the religious education programme of the United Church." Having laid out these fairly specific requirements, the policy document added that "some minimum educational qualifications for staff members should be outlined."[illegible]

In 1939, the Oblates' Committee on Indian Missions endorsed the principle that residential school staff "should be duly qualified." The committee recommended that "teaching nuns who do not have the required qualifications, complete the pedagogical education through summer courses."[illegible] That such an endorsement was seen as necessary in 1939, and that such training was still required, clearly reflects the fact that, despite stated hiring expectations for teacher qualification, the federal government failed to ensure that all residential school teachers were properly qualified.

Workload

Limited funding meant that unqualified teachers were hired. It also meant that those teachers, many of whom were quite young, had very heavy workloads. Throughout this period, inspectors regularly made comments on the high student-to-teacher ratios in the schools. Qu'Appelle school principal Joseph Hugonnard's 1894 report observed, "For the boys there are two teachers, who on alternate days remain with them from a quarter past six in the morning till eight in the evening; making a very long and arduous day."[illegible] At Mount Elgin in 1898, "two second-class professional teachers have handled an average of over one hundred pupils successfully."[illegible] In the same year at the Shingwauk Home, two teachers taught seventy-three students.[illegible] The Middlechurch school had only two teachers.[illegible]

At the Pine Creek, Manitoba, school in 1911, the boys and girls were taught separately, with one teacher taking all the girls and the other teacher taking all the boys. As result, one had a class of twenty-six, while the other had almost twice as many: forty-nine. An inspector suggested that the classes be mixed, with one teacher taking the lower grades and the other taking the higher grades.[illegible] In 1915, two teachers at the same school were responsible for 103 students: sixty in one class, forty-three in the other. The teacher for the senior class was eighteen years old, and had some experience working in a rural orphanage, but no teaching qualifications. Each of the women, who were nuns, was paid $150 a year.[illegible]

At the Qu'Appelle school in 1911, Sister McGurk had seventy-five girls in the junior classroom. The inspector of Roman Catholic schools reported to Ottawa that this was an "almost impossible" situation. Indian Affairs secretary J. D. McLean instructed the school to add a second teacher.[illegible] Inspector R. H. Cairns was concerned by the fact that, in 1915, Coqualeetza Institute (in Chilliwack, British Columbia) principal George Raley refused to turn down any application for admission, advising that "Raley will need to be restrained or he will overcrowd his school." Cairns also noted that "100 pupils is [sic] all that the two teachers can manage with efficiency." At the time of Cairns's report, there were 120 students enrolled in the school.[illegible]

At the Mount Elgin school in 1915, there were two teachers and an authorized enrolment of 125.[illegible] Eleven years later, it was even worse: in the spring of 1926, two teachers were responsible for 140 pupils. A provincial inspector said there was a need for at least three teachers, and noted that "there have been too frequent changes of teachers" during the previous year.[illegible] At the end of December 1927, the same inspector observed, "I think there are relatively too many pupils for each teacher. Two teachers cannot efficiently manage and teach 140 pupils."[illegible] One year later, two teachers were still responsible for 148 pupils. The inspector repeated, yet again, his recommendation that an additional teacher be hired, pointing out that many of the students "come here without a speaking knowledge of the English language."[illegible]

A 1922 school inspector's report curtly noted that the children at the Roman Catholic school in Kenora, Ontario, "need the attention of two teachers."[illegible] In 1926, there were sixty students in the junior classroom at the Alberni, British Columbia, school. The principal recommended hiring an additional teacher. Inspector R. H. Cairns thought the junior students should be put on the half-day system. He said, "Indian pupils will not do good work and maintain their health and strength if they are kept indoors too much." If the students were kept in class for five or six hours a day, he said, the school death rate was likely to increase, and he noted there had been four deaths in the previous year. As late as 1935, Indian Affairs gave orders to the principal of the Shingwauk Home to institute the half-day system to reduce crowding in classrooms.

Turnover

Given the low pay and high workloads that characterized the life of a residential school teacher, staff turnover rates were high. When the teacher at the Calgary industrial school resigned in October 1901, the school recruited a new teacher. But, before he took up the position, he accepted "a more lucrative post in the Western Canada College." The principal filled in as teacher until February, but admitted that, given his other responsibilities, this "was not completely satisfactory." When a new teacher was finally recruited after five months, he had to be let go, since he was "not living quite up to our standard."

The 1903 Indian Affairs annual report observed that at the Red Deer school in what is now Alberta:

> During the three and a half years preceding the inspection there had been seven different teachers employed, some of them well qualified for their work, but others very poorly adapted, at least for their particular duties here. The consequence was that the class work was somewhat disorganized, though the examination revealed in the case of some of the senior pupils the results of efficient teaching at an earlier stage.

According to the Indian Affairs annual report for 1906, at the Battleford school:

> During the preceding 18 months there had been four teachers in charge of the classes for short intervals, two of them having professional qualification, the other two none. The salary paid was $50 a month, with board and lodging, which is as high as the revenue of the school would admit of, but in spite of this it was found impossible, to retain the services of a well qualified teacher.

In 1910, frequent changes in staff at the Presbyterian school in Shoal Lake, Ontario, were viewed as having a negative impact on student achievement. According to the Indian Affairs departmental secretary, the school returns showed that "there are twenty-seven pupils in the first standards who have been two years and over in the school. Three of these pupils have been six years in the first standard, two five years, three four years, eleven three years, and eight two years." It was, the secretary observed, "most unsatisfactory."

Two young women—one twenty years of age, and one eighteen years of age—were in charge of eighty-eight students at the Anglican school in Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, in 1920. Two years later, both of them were gone, replaced by two other women in their mid-twenties, one of whom, according to the inspector, was "fresh from Normal school.[illegible] In a report on the Anglican school at The Pas, Manitoba, in the late 1920s, an inspector noted that, with the exception of the matron, the entire staff was new.[illegible]

Religious education

It should not be surprising that schools operated by churches placed a heavy emphasis on religious training. In the minds of some principals, religious training was the most valuable training the schools provided. In [illegible], [illegible], Manitoba, principal [illegible] wrote that "while it is very important that the Indian child should be educated, it is of more importance that he should build up a good clean character." Such a heavy emphasis was required, in [illegible] opinion, to "counteract the evil tendencies of the Indian nature."[illegible] Under the heading of "Moral and Religious Training," A. E. Wilson, the principal at Elkhorn, wrote in the [illegible] Indian Affairs annual report that "more attention is paid to this part of our pupils' education than any other, and the results show that we are not working in vain."[illegible] Certainly, a great deal of time was devoted to religious study and service. In [illegible] at the Battleford school, every day the students would "read the Bible, catechism, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, and attend morning and evening prayers. On the Lord's Day they attend morning and evening divine services and Sunday school in the afternoon."[illegible]

At the Methodist school in Brandon in [illegible], there were "religious exercises every morning and evening. The additional services on the Sabbath are morning song service, Sabbath school in the afternoon and regular evening service."[illegible] The Anglicans followed a similar regime. At their school in Middle Church in [illegible], prayers were:

> held morning and evening in the dining room and religious instruction is given in the school rooms daily. All the pupils attend St. Paul's church every Sunday at 11 a.m. and at [illegible] p.m. Sunday school is held in the school at [illegible] p.m. every Sunday, when each member of the staff teaches a class and the Rev. [illegible] [illegible], incumbent of the parish, teaches the Bible class.[illegible]

In the same year, the principal at the Roman Catholic school in St. Boniface, Manitoba, reported, "Religious instruction is given everyday in school; also morning and evening prayers; on Sundays the pupils go twice to church, and the principal has Sunday school during the afternoon."[illegible] Louise Moine recalled that religious instruction and observation were a constant part of life at the Qu'Appelle school in the early twentieth century. "From the time we got out of bed at the sound of the bell, we went down on our knees to pray. After we had washed and dressed, we headed for the chapel to attend Low mass which was always held at 7 a.m."[illegible]

Biblical studies also featured in the school curriculum, as evidenced by these questions that appeared in an [illegible] examination given students at the Shingwauk Home in Ontario:

> [illegible]
>
> [illegible]
>
> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> was no evidence of anything in the way of "motivation" or "self-activity"—the key-words in education today.

He said, "The showing made by all classes was decidedly weak, and below the average of other schools."[110]

Slow progress was not uncommon. In his 1928 inspection report on the Christie school on Meares Island, British Columbia, R. H. Cairns wrote, "The educational standing of this school is very low. It will be noticed that there are five boys and one girl in the fifth grade. All other pupils being below that Grade."[111]

Inspectors often spoke of the failings of young and inexperienced teachers. At the school in Ahousaht, British Columbia, an inspector wrote in 1914 that the principal's son was in charge of the classroom and that educational progress was slow. The problem was an ongoing one at the school, which had had four different teachers since 1911.[112] A 1923 report on the Norway House school in Manitoba noted, "Miss Smith is doing her first year's teaching and naturally shows the marks of the amateur."[113]

In some cases, it appears that principals and teachers had low expectations of their students. Wikwemikong, Ontario, school principal R. Baudin wrote in 1883, "What we may reasonably expect from the generality of children, is certainly not to make great scholars of them. Good and moral as they may be, they lack great mental capacity." He did not think it wise to expect them to "be equal in every respect to their white brethren," but he thought they could become good artists and mechanics. "They can imitate and re-produce in a wonderful manner the work of others."[114] In commenting on the impressive scores students had achieved on an 1891 mathematics test, a later Wikwemikong principal, Dominique duRanquet, wrote that the result was "so much the more worthy of notice as it is well known that Indian children naturally have little taste and aptitude for that branch of learning."[115] In preparing a 1928 report on the Anglican school at Onion Lake, a Saskatchewan government school inspector expressed his belief that "in arithmetic abstract ideas develop slowly in the Indian child."[116] Principal S. R. McVitty wrote in 1928 that at the Mount Elgin school, "classroom work is an important part of our training, but not by any means the most important." He added, "In the case of the Indian 'a little learning is a dangerous thing.'"[117]

There were also many positive assessments of the work being done in residential schools. In 1905, for example, British Columbia inspector A. E. Green wrote, "I am satisfied that the best results of Indian education are obtained from the boarding schools. In travelling, I meet with ex-pupils who are a credit to these institutions."[118] A report on the Anglican school at Onion Lake in 1915 stated, "The pupils have a good practical use of English according to their different grades and give evidence of a fair understanding of what they read."[119] In 1924, inspector W. M. Veazey gave the Delmas, Saskatchewan, school a very positive assessment. The three teachers were "energetic and untiring in their efforts," the children were "good at word recognition," the school was "splendidly equipped," and, while there was "some difficulty in teaching the

English perfectly [sic]," he felt that "practical education was excellent."[140] Two years later, a different inspector of the same school said, "I do not see how the work could be done much, if any, better and the entire staff deserves commendation." Of the intermediate class, he wrote, "The pupils read fairly and being questioned shewed [sic] a pretty good knowledge of the subject matter. The spelling was almost perfect and I gave the words myself. Few public school pupils could do better." The major problems he identified were the insufficient use of teaching methods that related to the students' lives and experiences, and the pupils' lack of English.[141] An inspection from a decade later gave a similarly positive assessment: the rooms were well lit and airy, the teachers showed excellent leadership, and the pupils were orderly, anxious to do well, and thoughtful.[142]

It is clear from reading these reports that many of the people who worked in the schools were dedicated to teaching. There were also many children who were interested in the work and applied themselves to their lessons. A 1922 report on the Birtle, Manitoba, school observed, "A good tone prevailed in the class rooms, teachers are capable and interested in the work. There is evidently the best spirit of co-operation between teachers and classes." The inspector was "very much pleased with the progress the children had made."[143] A 1926 report on the Anglican school at Onion Lake described one teacher, Kate Beanland, as "very energetic and is doing good work." The other teacher, Elizabeth Turner, was "a strong teacher, clear and careful in presentation and maintains a good standard of work." They were seen to be "well selected for their departments."[144] At the Gordon's Reserve school in 1926, it was reported that in the senior room, "the different grades compare very favorably with those in similar grades in the public school, but the pupils here are somewhat older for the same grade." The junior room teacher had no previous teaching experience, and, as a result, "the order is not as good as might be desired."[145]

Inspector R. C. Moir was impressed by the work in the Lestock, Saskatchewan, school in the early 1930s. He said, "Written language has reached a very satisfactory standard. Good methods in oral language teaching were observed in the primary room."[146] The following year, he observed, "In drawing and industrial art, writing and written language, high standards of work are expected from the children. I note that increased attention is being given to oral language in all classes and that more time is being spent on effective school work."[147] Inspector G. H. Barry wrote in 1931 that at Kuper Island, British Columbia, the "children show that they have made very good progress in Arithmetic. They like their new work books, and are doing well in Nature. The work books in Reading have been supplied to the Beginners and Grade 1. They are delighted with these books."[148] The report of A. G. Hamilton in 1936 on the Roman Catholic school in Kenora was practically glowing with praise. The children, he wrote, were getting along well in their grade and he was delighted with their reading. "The books are all well kept and the work neatly set down."[149]

At times, the schools would draw attention to the careers of successful former students, including the students whose school experiences were outlined in an earlier chapter of this volume. Qu'Appelle graduate Daniel Kennedy, for example, became an interpreter and general assistant for the Assiniboine Indian Agency.[150] Joseph Dion, a graduate of the Onion Lake school, taught school for many years in Saskatchewan.[151] Many former students went into the church. Coqualeetza graduate Peter Kelly became a Methodist Church minister.[152] Emmanuel College graduate Edward Ahenakew became an Anglican minister.[153] After attending the Mohawk Institute, Beverly Johnson went to Hellmuth College in London, Ontario, where he excelled at sports and drama. He then went to work for the New York Life Insurance Company in Pennsylvania.[154] A graduate of the Mohawk Institute, N. E. Lickers was called to the bar in 1938 and was described by the *Brantford Expositor* as the "First Ontario Indian Lawyer."[155] In 1904, Calgary principal George Hogbin pointed to a number of successful students, including Jim Starlight, the school's first student, who was building a house for the local Indian Affairs doctor. Another former student, Joe Mountain Horse, was working as a police translator.[156] Duncan Campbell Scott reported in 1914 that

> seven pupils of the Mount Elgin industrial school at Muncey tried the entrance examination to the high schools during the past summer, and all were successful, one girl taking first-class honours and standing sixth in the county of Middlesex. A number of Indians are attending colleges and universities throughout the Dominion, and their records are very good.[157]

Getting support for students to pursue academic studies was always difficult. According to Oliver Martin, who was raised on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario and went on to become an Ontario magistrate, in either 1913 or 1914, Six Nations decided to send two boys to Upper Canada College in hopes that they would go on to receive legal training. The decision was made after the Six Nations council had undergone a series of legal reverses. Although the money would have come from the interest on band money, Indian Affairs refused to authorize the expenditure. Years later, Martin was in Ottawa and asked Duncan Campbell Scott why the request had been denied. According to Martin, Scott told him, "It's no use sending you Indians to school you just go back to the reserve anyway."[158]

In 1930, the Mohawk Institute prepared an eleven-page list of successful former students. Among the men, it included clergy, teachers, and interpreters, as well as carpenters, bookkeepers, and farmers. Among the women were nurses, stenographers, and church organists. There were also teachers listed among the women, including Susan Hardie, who taught at the Mohawk Institute from 1886 to 1936.[159]

However, the schools' overall educational record was dismal. Most students did not progress through the system. The problem became apparent within a few years of its inception. In 1889, 2,136 students were enrolled in both residential and day schools in the North-West Territories (which was comprised primarily of modern-day Saskatchewan and Alberta). Table 13.6 shows the grade distribution in the territorial schools for that year (which went up only to Standard 5 at that time). As can be seen, over 50% of the students were in Standard 1.[160]

Table 13.6. Grade distribution of students in Indian Affairs-funded schools in the North-West Territories, 1889.

Standard	Total enrolment	Standard 1	Standard 2	Standard 3	Standard 4	Standard 5
Number of students	2,136	1,227	456	244	154	55

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1889,* 170.

The system never managed to improve on this pattern. Table 13.7 shows that during the forty-five-year period from 1894 to 1939, one-third of the students enrolled in the country's residential schools were in the first grade (or standard). This could be explained partially by the fact that an expanding system would always have a large number of students in the first year. But it is also clear from this table that students were not progressing through the system. In seven of the selected years (1894, 1899, 1904, 1909, 1914, 1919, and 1924), at least 70% of the students were in the first three levels. The enrolled students in the first three levels never fell below 60% in this period. Over time, the schools showed only slight improvement in their ability to advance students through the levels. In 1894, only 1% of the enrolled students were in Standard

Table 13.7. Enrolment and grade distribution, Canada's residential schools, 1894 to 1939.

Year	Total Enrolled	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
		% of enrolment	% of enrolment	% of enrolment	% of enrolment	% of enrolment	% of enrolment
1894	2,127	31%	23%	21%	5%	8%	1%
1899	3,115	33%	19%	21%	15%	8%	3%
1904	3,526	28%	19%	23%	18%	9%	3%
1909	3948	32%	18%	22%	15%	9%	4%
1914	4,076	35%	18%	18%	15%	9%	5%
1919	4,640	33%	20%	20%	15%	9%	4%
1924	5,673	36%	18%	19%	14%	8%	5%
1929	7,075	35%	17%	15%	14%	10%	7%
1934	8,596	32%	15%	14%	14%	11%	7%
1939	9,179	34%	15%	14%	12%	10%	8%

6. By 1939, this had risen to 8%. By 1929, several schools were offering grades Seven through Nine, although the number of students studying at these levels combined ranged from 3% to 8% of enrolment. It is clear that most students never got out of the junior grades.

For a comparison, Table 13.8 shows the elementary school grade distribution for the Winnipeg School Board in 1921.

This table shows that the elementary school enrolment in Winnipeg public schools was spread evenly in grades One through Six by 1921. The Grade Six enrolment is 79% of the Grade One enrolment, suggesting that most children in Winnipeg were progressing to Grade Six. By contrast, in 1919 in the residential schools, the Standard 6 enrolment was just 13% of the Standard 1 enrolment.

Table 13.8. Enrolment and grade distribution, Winnipeg School Board, 1921.

Total	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
	% of enrolment	% of enrolment	% of enrolment	% of enrolment	% of enrolment	% of enrolment	% of enrolment	% of enrolment
26,561	14.6%	16.5%	15.2%	13%	13%	12.%	9.2	7.3%

Source: Gidney and Millar, *How Schools Worked*, 24.w

VII	VIII	IX
% of enrolment	% of enrolment	% of enrolment
2%	1%	0%
4%	2%	1%
4%	2%	1%

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1894*, 250–270; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1899*, 444–449; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1904*, Part II, 50–57; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1909*, Part II, 18–23; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1914*, 152–153; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1919*, 92–93; Canada, *Annual Report of* the *Department of Indian Affairs, 1924*, 94; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1929*, 104; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1934*, 77; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1939*, 266.

As early as 1911, 80.1% of the general Canadian population (excluding Québec) between the ages of ten and fourteen were enrolled in school. By 1921, this had increased to 90.5%, rising to 95.6% in 1931. In 1941, the figure was 95.8%. Enrolment dropped off quickly at age fifteen. In 1911, 20.7% of Canadians between the ages of fifteen and nineteen were enrolled in school. This increased to 27.3% in 1921, reaching 37.8% in 1931 and 40.1% in 1941.[161]

A very small number of residential school students continued their studies past Standard 6 (by the 1930s, referred to as "Grade Six"). In 1926, Indian Affairs was providing support to 120 First Nations students who were attending "public schools, high schools and colleges." This number included former residential school students as well as former day school students. The government provided these students with a total of $19,386.38 in support. In reporting on the funding, Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott emphasized that this support was "continued only when satisfactory reports are received."[162] A decade later, Indian Affairs was providing grants to 200 graduates of both residential schools and day schools to support them at high schools, universities, and business colleges. The policy may have been adopted in response to the early mortality of many students, since it was to provide "grants to the most promising physically fit graduates of our own schools."[163] Students also had to meet very high academic standards to gain such financial support. In 1934, the department announced it would not support students who did not get over 70% on their Grade Eight examinations.[164] The government was also uncertain about the value of academic education. By the end of the 1930s, Indian Affairs was encouraging students who were thinking of pursuing high school education "to take up vocational courses such as agriculture, auto mechanics and domestic science."[165]

There are several reasons for the lack of academic progress. In their early years at school, the students would have struggled to learn a new language. In inspecting the Gordon's school in 1923, J. H. McKechnie observed, "A number of pupils have recently come into school for the 1st time, some of them being 11 or 12 years of age. This makes proper grading a difficult task." He thought the students were doing as well in their grades as students in most rural schools, but he noted "the average age per grade is higher."[166] The fact that staff members at most of the schools were poorly trained, under-qualified, overworked, and subject to constant turnover certainly accounts for much of the difficulty. The poor health that many of the students experienced while at the schools and the often primitive conditions of the buildings and limited school supplies were other factors.

The half-day system, by its very nature, ensured that students would emerge with an inferior education. By the time the students had learned enough English to begin to grapple with the curriculum, they were put on the half-day system. As Mary Ross, a teacher at the Round Lake school, wrote in 1936, "a half day at school, and no study periods outside school hours is insufficient for those pupils in Grade Eight, where they are faced with a Departmental exam." It was not possible, she wrote, to cover the material or "give the amount of drill work needed to give them a thorough grasp of their work." Ross, who was the wife of the school principal, stated that over the previous twelve years, eighteen of the school's students had successfully passed their Grade Eight examination. But the reality for most students at the school was that by the time they had reached Grade Eight, "it is almost impossible to get over the work, let alone teach it thoroughly." The problem the students faced, she felt, was not one of ability, but of time and resources. She pointed out that Indian Affairs did not provide the school with copies of the authorized primer for students in Saskatchewan, choosing instead to substitute a different book. She also said that the policy of having only one inspection a year was not sufficient, particularly since "the teacher has not access to a copy of the report he submits," and, as a result, "has no mean of benefiting from this criticism."[167]

The idea that the residential schooling was "unfitting" students became a staple of the internal criticisms of the system. Indian Affairs education officer Martin Benson commented in the early 1900s that although the Brandon school did a good job in training students in farming, "nearly all the pupils in this school are recruited from the country surrounding the northern end of Lake Winnipeg, which is not adapted for farming." He predicted that many of the students coming out of the school would not be able to utilize their education if they returned to their home communities.[168] In opposing a proposed Methodist boarding school in British Columbia, Benson wrote:

> The North West Indians are literally 'Toilers of the Sea' which affords them almost their entire support. They make more from fishing than any other Indians in British Columbia, and in order to obtain the necessary skill and daring in these pursuits, they must begin to learn while they are young. No knowledge of books, refinements of life or manners will help them in perils of the deep and I do not think it would be wise to force them to change their present mode of providing for their sustenance until a better one can be offered them.

Benson said, "Life even in a boarding school will unfit them for their work and increase their sensitiveness of wants without the means to supply those wants which will but add to the burden of life."[169]

Indian Affairs inspector W. J. Chisholm made the following report on the Red Deer school in 1903:

> The attempt to civilize our Indians by breaking up the ties of home and alienating them from their nautral [sic] associations has proved a general failure, and accounts for the fact that in many instances ex-pupils of the schools on returning to the reserves are found by the agents to be untractable and unsettled, scorning in a measure their Indian connections, yet quite unable to think or live like white men.[170]

These thoughts were echoed by Fisher River, Manitoba, Indian agent T. H. Carter in a letter to Duncan Campbell Scott in 1914. Carter had concluded that the industrial schools were a "cruelty instead of a benifit [sic] being imposed upon the Indian." Well-trained young people were returning to reserves "where it is an impossibility for them to profit by the education they have received while in the industrial school; and their last state is generally worse than their first." They had been "unfitted to get a living as an ordinary Indian."[illegible]

In 1938, the Mounted Police sent Indian Affairs a lengthy report on its efforts to enforce attendance at the school at Fort Vermilion, Alberta. The report stated, "These Indians, particularly the Red River Band, are becoming increasingly more dissatisfied and reluctant to allow their children to attend school at the Mission at Fort Vermilion." The parents claimed, and "rightly so," in the Mounted Police's estimation, that "when a boy is compelled to attend mission school until he is sixteen years of age, and then turned back into the bush, he is useless to himself or to his family and is too old to learn bushcraft." The police report also noted that the people of that region went into the bush for the fall hunt. If they had not sent their children to school, it was a very expensive and difficult procedure for the police to track down families and transport their children to school. Indian Affairs took the police report seriously. It instructed the force not to take any further action in returning students to the Fort Vermilion school at that time. It was also decided to apply certain regulations to the children from the Little Red River Band attending the Fort Vermilion school. These regulations had been developed in the Northwest Territories, in consultation with Roman Catholic Bishop Gabriel Breynat. Under this new regime, boys would be discharged at the age of fourteen, not sixteen. Boys in good physical condition would be allowed to spend a year with their parents in the bush when they turned twelve. Orphan boys were to be placed with families who would provide them with a good knowledge of hunting.[illegible]

By 1935, it was increasingly apparent that government officials had lost faith in the value of the education they were supposed to be providing. That year, the United Church sought support to send two boys, seventeen and eighteen years old, from residential schools on Vancouver Island to the Chilliwack residential school on the mainland, so that they could complete their high school education. The acting superintendent of Indian Education, J. D. Sutherland, rejected the idea. He responded that Indian Affairs "doubts the wisdom" of the measure. "After three or four years, they would have to return to their home reserves and take up their future life work, and it is doubtful if they would then be any better prepared to make a living." Sending them to school would leave them "handicapped by being behind the other boys in becoming established."[illegible]

CHAPTER 14

The student as labourer: 1867–1939

Fifteen-year-old Clayton Mack was sent to the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school by the local Indian agent in 1923 after the death of his father. He arrived during the summer holidays and was asked by the principal if he could handle horses and cows. When he said he could, he was put to work tending them.

> So I feed the horses, clean the barn, feed the cows and later even milk the cows. I got up at four o'clock in the morning sometimes and go look for them cows. I had ten cows. I'd get up, round them up, put them in the barn, feed them hay and then milk them. Then I have to get the milk ready for the Chinaman to pick up. Let the cows out for the day. In the summer it was really hard work. When the school closed in the summer they gave me the girls' cows too! The girls had about eight milk cows. So I did, looked after the whole works for two years. I also helped look after the farm, help with the potatoes, and helped cut the hay. I tried to go to school but there was not enough time. I worked most of the time. I went to Alert Bay for school and instead they put me to a job![1]

Clayton Mack's story is extreme, but it is a stark reminder that the residential schools were places of labour as well as education. In the name of receiving 'vocational training,' many students spent much of their time at repetitive tasks needed to support the schools. As Indian Affairs official Martin Benson observed of the Mount Elgin school in Muncey, Ontario, in 1902, residential school students were "not only working," they were "being worked."[2]

Manual or vocational training had been a central element in residential schooling from the time the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, began taking in boarding students in 1832. Throughout the residential school system's history, there was ongoing debate over the purpose of this training, with some arguing that it should be preparing students to leave the reserves and integrate themselves into the Euro-Canadian workforce, and others arguing that students should be trained to return to the reserves to take up farming and ranching.

With regularity, Indian Affairs officials pronounced that previous policies had focused too much either on providing academic skills or on preparing students for skilled trade in which they were unlikely to find employment. In 1897, Deputy Minister James Smart asserted that the schools were providing too much vocational training:

> Education must be considered with relation to the future of the pupils, and only the certainty of some practical results can justify the large expense entailed upon the country for the maintenance of these schools. To educate children above the possibilities of their station, and create a distaste for what is certain to be their environment in life would be not only a waste of money but doing them an injury instead of conferring a benefit upon them.

In keeping with this view, in 1903, Indian Commissioner David Laird reported that he had "tried to discourage the introduction or even continuance of so many shops which are not likely to turn out any but a small number of good mechanics. It is a waste of funds to employ an expert craftsman in a school to train a mere handful of pupils who in the end may be unable to turn their knowledge to advantage." In 1920, Duncan Campbell Scott, then superintendent of Indian Education, announced that trades training was being dropped at many residential schools in favour of training in the skills that would "fit the Indian for civilized life in his own environment." The students would still receive a "scholastic education," but the focus would be on carpentry and farming for boys and housekeeping for the girls. Seventeen years later, shortly after R. A. Hoey, a former Manitoba cabinet minister, took over as the superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, he concluded that the system was still too academic:

> My personal opinion is that in our educational programme provision should be made for a course of study that would enable the pupils to spend at least one third of their time at manual training or vocational instruction. The general public have an impression that the instruction given in our Indian schools is altogether too abstract and academic. They feel that there should be a more direct relationship between the instruction and the tasks that confront the pupil after his departure from school.

Reed and Hoey may have differed in the amount of time they thought students should be spending in vocational training, but both men were convinced that residential students were spending too much time in class. Not Reed, Smart, Laird, Scott, or Hoey expected that, in their adult lives, Aboriginal students would be required to do much "brainwork" or have need for "scholastic" or "academic" training, however these terms were defined. Indian Affairs officials had much lower expectations for Aboriginal students than this.

Vocational training also was seen as part of the essential remaking of the Aboriginal character, which was viewed as being inherently lazy. When he took over the Kamloops, British Columbia, school in 1890, Mr. Carion wrote, "The greatest difficulty we experience with the pupils is to overcome their natural repugnance to work of any kind but I have no doubt that they will gradually be made to look upon work as a necessary and healthy occupation." At the Cranbrook, British Columbia, school in the same year, the principal, Nicolas Coccola, wrote, "Although brought up with their people in idleness and to profess ignorance of all sorts of work, the active life of this industrial school is seen [illegible] [illegible] the new comers.[illegible] Two years later, [illegible] [illegible] principal [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Indian. [illegible] official [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the habit of doing what has to be done [illegible]. According to [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] to be able to "train an Indian child to work [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]." The clear implication was that [illegible] children [illegible] [illegible] to work.

These views were long-lived. The [illegible] [illegible] report on the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] observed:

> The Indian is still a creature of [illegible].[illegible]

This fear of inherent laziness is present in [illegible]. [illegible] principal [illegible] [illegible] comments, "We feel that every child capable of work should be impressed with the idea that if they are to get along, they must work."[illegible]

Despite this ongoing concern over the need to make [illegible] young people to earn a living, the vocational training program often degenerated into a student labour program. Training in trades was always very limited. Throughout this period, parents complained that their children were being overworked. Government officials often came to the same conclusion. But, because the government refused to increase funding, the schools remained dependent on student labour.

Student labour was essential to the financing, clothing, and feeding of the students. Without their work, the system would have collapsed. In [illegible], Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Lawrence Vankoughnet rejected a proposal from the [illegible] [illegible] school that [illegible] be hired to carry out an expansion of the school. Instead, the government was prepared to pay for materials and have the students, working under staff supervision, do the work. It would be wrong, "to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]."[illegible] In [illegible], the principal of the [illegible] industrial school reported, "At present no trades instructor has been appointed, owing to the small number of boys that [illegible] [illegible] given them to carpentry, the chief industry of the boys has been in clearing bush and removing stumps, preparatory to making a kitchen garden and play ground."[illegible] Principal [illegible] at the [illegible] school wrote that due to the

> want of shops, trades could not be taught regularly. However, these boys have acquired some practical knowledge of carpentering by helping the foreman in the erection of outbuildings. The boys were employed chiefly in clearing and fencing land, gardening and making the improvements described before. [illegible] [illegible]

> [illegible]

Construction and maintenance

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

Clothing and feeding the school

[illegible]

> [illegible]

> for the children on the machine, another month I got to the kitchen and another month I go to the laundry. We were changing all the time.[illegible]

Of all the chores at the Battleford school, the one that Sarah Soonias liked least was scrubbing the wooden dining room floor.[illegible] Pauline Creeley had similar school memories about File Hills, Saskatchewan: "The worst part I used to have to scrub the cement floor every day, sometimes twice a day. It was very hard on the knees. In those days there was no such things as kneeling pads or mops with long handles. I used to kneel on my hands and they would get very sore."[illegible]

For Alice Star Blanket, the laundry room at File Hills was the

> one place that I dreaded to work in because it was a place where you were required to work hard, like hard labour. They kept us very busy here; there was washing of lots of clothes and bed clothes to be laundered, hanging them up outside, folding them up and carrying these clothes and bed clothes to the rooms upstairs. There were big machines in the laundry room that we had to man and they were big noisy things like they have in the hospitals, big washers and dryers.[illegible]

During the late nineteenth century, the All Hallows girls' school at Yale, British Columbia, enrolled both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal students. Initially, the students studied together, but, by the mid-1890s, they studied and boarded separately. Even the Christmas celebrations were organized separately. While the non-Aboriginal girls dressed for dinner, the Aboriginal students were setting the table. While there were awards for academic achievement, there were also awards for the Aboriginal girls for baking and laundry work.[illegible] A non-Aboriginal student recalled that the Aboriginal students "were the servants; they did the work."[illegible]

Nellie Stonefish, who attended Mount Elgin in the 1920s, recalled, "We had to make beds every day after breakfast—20 beds on each side. There's two girls in a dormitory and you make 'em when you come back from breakfast and you'd sweep up. Saturdays you'd scrub the floors on your hands and knees."[illegible]

Lila Ireland recalled that at Mount Elgin:

> the beds had to be made just right and lined up so that the cuffs of the sheets were all turned over exactly the same—there was even a board to measure them with. You had either 8 or 10 beds to make. So then you come along and look at it and every one of these cuffs had to be absolutely straight and all even or she'd rip them all out, and that would maybe make you late for class cuz you had to do them over.[illegible]

Martha Hill, who went to the Mohawk Institute from 1912 to 1918, said of her training, "We learned everything about housekeeping there was to learn—cooking and everything. We even learned how to look after a baby when a baby was born. We had a celluloid doll, and we had to dress it, put a diaper on it, pretend we were feeding it."[illegible]

The school farms

The school farm operations were expected to make money for the school, provide a low-cost food source for the students, and teach the students, usually the boys, how to farm. In 1896, the students at the Kamloops school produced the following from the school's 1.2-hectare garden:

> potatoes, twenty-seven thousand and six hundred pounds; carrots, nine thousand five hundred and three pounds; field pease, one thousand and sixty-five pounds; dry beans, two hundred and seventy-three pounds; onions, six hundred and four pounds; beets (table), seven hundred and eleven pounds; mangolds and sugar beets, three thousand one hundred and ninety-four pounds; white turnips, one hundred and two pounds; Swede turnips, nine hundred and twenty-seven pounds; cabbage, one thousand pounds; tomatoes, six hundred pounds; squash, four hundred pounds; corn, one hundred and fifty pounds; flax seed, fifteen pounds; giving a total of forty-six thousand one hundred and forty-four pounds, or twenty-three tons and one hundred and forty-four pounds; independent of what was used during the summer, and two hundred and fifty pounds of parsnips left in the garden and dug in the spring. Besides, we raised in the orchard, six hundred and forty-five pounds of turnips, two hundred and fifty pounds of corn, sixteen hundred pounds of squash and pumpkins, and more than one thousand melons and citrons.[78]

The students at the Elkhorn, Manitoba, school had been expected to learn to farm, but the farmland associated with the school was eight kilometres away.[79] Similarly, the Regina school's ability to train students to farm was hampered by a lack of pasture land.[80] At the St. Boniface, Manitoba, school, "for the want of more land," agricultural training was "confined chiefly to gardening."[81]

Farming was carried out at the Mission, Lytton, Squamish, Kuper Island, and Chilliwack schools in British Columbia. But, in other schools in the province, there was a shortage of arable land. For example:

- At Kamloops in 1903, only 6 of the school's 129.5 hectares could be cultivated.
- At Port Simpson, the land was wet and boggy.
- At Christie Island, less than one of the school's 70.8 hectares was being cultivated in 1906.
- At Alert Bay, the soil was poor.
- At Alberni, the school, which had an orchard, had been established on heavily treed land.
- At Metlakatla, farming opportunities were limited because the school was located on only 2.4 hectares of land.[82]

Farming was an unpredictable enterprise. At Battleford, the crops of the summer of 1894 were a "total failure."[83] These were the same words that Principal Hugonnard used to describe the Qu'Appelle crops of 1893.[84] The following year, drought left the same school short of grain and vegetables.[45] In the early twentieth century, the principal of the Red Deer school increased the amount of land under cultivation from 30.3 to 121.4 hectares, a decision that dramatically increased the school's deficit. Four years of poor crops, coupled with mismanagement, left the school with a $5,000 deficit.[46] In 1908, the school at High River derived considerable revenue from fattening cattle on contract, receiving fifteen cents a pound for animals that usually gained at least 150 pounds (68 kilograms). In this way, the principal paid off a $3,000 debt to the federal government.[47]

An extremely positive assessment of the Portage la Prairie school in 1925 focused solely on the success of the school farm, where, according to Inspector M. Christianson, the principal "grows everything on this farm that it is possible to grow here in the West."[48]

School-run businesses

To survive, some schools engaged in a variety of economic endeavours. In Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, Shingwauk Home principal E. F. Wilson sought in 1884 to supplement the school's revenue and provide students with training opportunities by investing $4,000 in a window-and-door shop. It appears to have been short-lived, however, as there was no reference to it in subsequent annual reports.[49] Some of these economic endeavours led to conflicts with local business people and residents. In 1896 at the school at Middlechurch, Manitoba, pupils who had received "some instruction in these trades" were in charge of the blacksmith and print shops. While it was hoped they might do work for local customers to generate revenue for the school, in reality, they took in little outside work due to "opposition from local tradesmen."[50] The Williams Lake school's financial situation was jeopardized in 1893 when the federal government halved the school pupilage from fifty to twenty-five students.[51] To compensate for the lost income, the school harness shop began to seek out local customers, which resulted in objections from local businesses. In the spring of 1899, there were complaints that the school was undercutting local businesses while neglecting its educational responsibilities. In particular, it was alleged that the "harness shop is conducted for revenue and not for purposes of instructing the pupils." Indian Affairs Superintendent A. W. Vowell investigated the allegations at the time and concluded they had no merit.[52]

In 1915, a business operator in Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, objected that the trades shops at the Qu'Appelle school were doing work for members of the public, thus taking work away from local businesses. Principal Hugonnard denied the claim, saying that the only outside work was done by the school wheelwright, and, since there were no other local wheelwrights, he was not hurting local business.[53]

At Chapleau, Ontario, school principal George Prewer sold milk and firewood locally. He contracted with local residents to cut the firewood, and students milked school cows and delivered both the milk and wood in a wagon. For their labour, the students were paid twenty-five cents a day. On days when they delivered the milk, they did not get into class until 10:00 a.m. According to Indian Affairs Superintendent of Indian Education Russell Ferrier, Prewer's "closed-fisted business activities" had alienated local residents.[54] When charges were made that Prewer was overworking the students, Indian Affairs instructed him to change the wake-up time from 5:30 to 6:30 a.m., to cease the sale of milk and wood, and to provide more vocational training.[55]

Payment and the outing system

In the early years of the system, trades students were paid for work "done by them of value to the Department." Hayter Reed from Indian Affairs sought permission to pay the boys doing farm work as well.[56] As he envisioned it, such payment would be limited to the "best workers." The possibility of being promoted into this class would, he believed, encourage boys to stay in school and work hard.[57] Reed proposed a rate of twelve cents a day for farm work.[58] At the Mohawk Institute in 1889, boys were paid for at least some of the work they performed. In addition, students could win good-conduct badges that entitled them to a small weekly allowance.[59] At High River in 1893, "the older boys worked all day at their trade and the smaller ones the usual half time. The bigger boys were allowed twenty-five cents per diem."[60] At the Elkhorn, Manitoba, school in that same year, students were paid between ten and thirty cents for the work they did at their trades. They were allowed to spend the money on what they wanted, "tobacco and of course spirits being prohibited." Girls were said to spend their money on clothing, gloves, handkerchiefs, collars, and ribbons, and the boys bought neckties, collars, and handkerchiefs.[61]

Following the US model, the Canadian schools established what were termed "outing systems," under which students would be placed "out" with local farmers or in local homes. In 1896, Deputy Minister Hayter Reed said that most of the outing work for boys came in the harvest season when there was a heavy demand for boys, while "many more girls could be placed as servants if the numbers and work at the institutions permitted." He said the wages were paid to parents, in most cases, "otherwise they would not consent to their children going out to work in this manner."[62] In 1893, six boys from the High River school lived with local farmers and assisted with harvesting and haying. Principal Albert Naessens declared it "fairly satisfactory," but, he noted, "most of the children become lonesome, especially when they are in a place where they have no one to associate with, and wish to return to the school." The boys were allowed to keep the money they earned.[63] Naessens could not fill all the outside requests for student workers, since he needed their labour at the school.[64] In 1894, Qu'Appelle principal Hugonnard reported that there were more requests for female domestic servants than the school could fill. On average, he said, there were nineteen girls in service, making from $5 to $10 a month.[65] Battleford principal E. Matheson reported in 1896, "A number of girls have been at service as out-pupils, and have given great satisfaction."[66] By 1897, forty-six High River students were doing outing work, usually for farmers, but in some cases as interpreters for Indian agents or the police. Principal Naessens had difficulty encouraging the students to bank their earnings—a combined total of $824—so he introduced a policy of using the student earnings to buy calves that they would care for and own.[67]

Principal John Ashby at Middlechurch worried in 1896 that "in going out to work with white people," students were "easily led into bad habits, such as swearing or drinking."[68] The school continued with the practice and, in 1898, Ashby's successor, John Fairlie, wrote:

> One boy working with a farmer has put $40 in the bank, another boy has over $60 saved, one is working as a carpenter in Winnipeg at $2 a day, another as a blacksmith in Winnipeg at $1.50 a day, another gets $6 a week in the department warehouse, Winnipeg, one was placed with a surveying party at $1 a day and board, and several others are doing steady work. I am pleased to be able to state that with only one exception every boy placed during the year has proved sober and reliable.[69]

At the Qu'Appelle school that year, Hugonnard reported, "Nineteen boys were hired out on farms and nineteen girls were in domestic service at wages ranging from $4 to $25 per month and board; some girls have been in continuous service now for over seven years."[70] The following year, the number of students being placed had fallen to six boys, and their wages were between $5 and $18 for periods of from four to seven months.[71] Hugonnard did express a concern that some girls, by working as servants, might "acquire habits and ideas which will render them unsatisfied with their future prospects as wives of Indians on the reserves,—and still, on account of their connections, very few of them can expect to marry respectable men outside the treaty."[72] At the Regina school, ten boys were working for farmers for four to six months a year, making between $15 and $20 a month and receiving their board. Two girls were "in service" in town, making $8 a month. As was often the case, much of the money was banked for students.[73] At File Hills, four boys worked in the summer for local farmers. They made $150, of which $64 were left with the principal.[74]

In 1899, Joseph Hall, the principal of the Coqualeetza Institute near Chilliwack, British Columbia, reported that students from that school "are in demand beyond our ability to supply it by the farmers in the neighbourhood during the summer season, especially in haying and harvest. They receive wages, which they are allowed to spend in any proper way."[75] In 1906, his successor, R. H. Cairns, noted, "The girls who go into service give marked satisfaction, and are much sought after. If we could get the consent of the parents all our girls could be placed in good Christian homes, and earn good wages."[76]

Efforts were made also to put former students in positions as domestic servants. When she was seventeen, Mary Angus, a student at the Battleford school, pleaded to be discharged. To secure school principal E. Matheson's support for this request, she found work for herself as a domestic for a number of residents of South Battleford.[77]

Although the outing system appears to have been largely abandoned by the early twentieth century, some schools continued to find placements for girls as servants when they were discharged from the school. In 1913, the principal of the Yale school reported, "Three girls, who had no homes, have lately been placed out in service, where they are giving much satisfaction. We constantly have applications to send out girls to service but prefer, when possible, to send them home."[78]

The school at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, worked with Indian agents to try to find female students jobs as domestic servants after their schooling finished. Indian agent R. McCutcheon reported in 1939 that over the previous four years, he had placed "some thirty girls in white homes as domestics. Some have let me down and been failures but I am more than satisfied with the average." In writing about one girl who had left service, he said, "Just another case of a girl being discharged from our school where she has had the security of that school over a period of years and then sent to me; one by one I have watched them revert to type even though we move heaven and earth to save them."[79]

The 1894 *Indian Act* regulations authorized the government to retain the Treaty annuity due to children committed to a residential school and spend the money for the child's education or benefit.[80] In the nineteenth century, the Canadian postal system, like many postal systems in industrial countries, offered small-scale, secure savings accounts.[81] Separate postal-savings accounts were established for each student, and the Treaty payments owing to children attending industrial and boarding schools were deposited into these accounts.[82] In many cases, the money the students earned while working at the school or for local farmers was also deposited in these accounts. In 1897, Indian Commissioner A. E. Forget provided instructions to Indian agents and principals as to how students could go about withdrawing this money. The circumstances under which the student was leaving the school had to be described in an application for withdrawal, as well as the "object for which the money was intended to be used."[83] The applications for withdrawal were to be sent to Indian Affairs in Ottawa.[84]

Overwork

From the time the schools were opened, parents and inspectors raised concerns about just how much work students were being required to do. Inspector T. P. Wadsworth claimed in 1884 that the boys at the Battleford school generally enjoyed their chores, but added that he would protest "against forcing these little fellows to haul water every day and all day from the river in winter, as was the case last year."[85] In 1886, Qu'Appelle school principal Hugonnard wrote, "During the summer they have more manual labor and recreation. The parents cannot understand that the pupils are here to learn how to work as well as to read and write, we therefore cannot at present devote too much time to the former."[86] Inspector Wadsworth returned to the topic in 1893, when he said that much of the farm work at the Middlechurch school was too much for the boys. The girls were also set to work in the laundry at a "tender age."[87]

In 1897, Indian Affairs school official Martin Benson observed that the industrial school timetable "generally covers 15 hours or more, for study work and play, and the balance of the time for sleep. A days [sic] routine at a school is a wearisome grind for teacher and pupil and should in most cases be shortened considerably." The half-day system was, he suggested, exhausting for all but the oldest boys: "Say a boy works all the morning on the farm, at this trade or about the house and barns, he is pretty well used up by noon, and then after dinner he has to put in four or five hours in class and study."[88] Their workload on the farm was so heavy in 1898 that very few of the students at the Brandon school could "attend school through the whole day."[89]

Birtle, Manitoba, principal Walter McLaren recognized in 1912 that the amount of labour required by the half-day system was undercutting the quality of education provided at the school.

> The children are made a means to the end. The Indians perceive this and the demand for day schools is growing as a result. They see too often the interests of their children's English education are sacrificed because the children are useful to relieve the situation about the school or farm. I know boys and girls who after ten years in our schools—Birtle included—cannot read beyond the second reader, cannot write a decent letter.[90]

In some cases, boys took matters into their own hands. In 1915, in an effort to bring an extended day of threshing to an end, two boys at the Mount Elgin school placed a stone in a sheaf of wheat before it was fed into the school threshing machine. The stone did considerable damage to the machine. The two boys were strapped, a punishment the Indian agent did not view as undue.[91]

In a 1923 report on conditions at Cranbrook, Indian agent G. S. Pragnell noted there was

> a very lively and strongly expressed antipathy to the school. The gist of the Indians [sic] complaint is that the boys, that is, the smaller boys are far too heavily worked at such work as logging for the school supply of fuel in the winter and that the boys are quite insufficiently dressed as to be exposed to the cold weather in such work. The fact that so many boys died there this Spring of pneumonia has, of course aggravated and lent colour to their complaints.

Pragnell concluded, "Of course I have taken their complaints as largely exaggerated." Despite this, he felt there might be some basis to the concerns.[92]

In 1930, Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham noted that the Catholic school on the Blood Reserve in Alberta had 280 acres (113.3 hectares) in crop, while the Anglican school on the same reserve had 225 acres (91 hectares) in crop. In his opinion,

> too much land is being cultivated at these schools and that the boys are being made slaves of, working too long hours and not receiving the close supervision they should have. I do not think it is the intention of the Department to have these growing boys working on the land from morning until night.

He thought farming should be on a smaller scale and provide for more extensive training.[93] Superintendent of Indian Education Russell Ferrier said he would like to hear from the agent as to whether the boys were being overworked before taking action.[94]

In October 1931, Indian agent G. C. Mortimer reported that it had been with great difficulty that he had been able to get students from the Kitwancool Reserve in British Columbia to return to the Edmonton, Alberta, school. "The complaints," he wrote, "chiefly being, from both the parents and the children—especially the boys—that they are continually working on the farm, thereby getting little or no education." He noted that one boy, Eddy Smith, had refused to return to Edmonton because "he was very anxious to learn," and had reported to the school at Alert Bay. Since this was against government policy, he was removed from that school and sent back to Edmonton.[95] In a letter to Mortimer, Smith had written:

> I am not getting along fine up here because I work all the time, and I don't go to school right. I'd rather stay home, with my parents or go to the other school [Alert Bay] instead I work whole [sic] day on the farm. I just went to school, three days since I came here, that isn't why my father send me here to work, he send me here to go to school and study hard, and to learn to read and write. It will be better for me to go home before Christmas, because I am working too hard, and I am real tired, and I'll ask your kindeness [sic] to send me home before Christmas for sure, please.[96]

Schools continued to rely on students for labour and maintenance into the 1930s. Indeed, with the onset of the Depression, this reliance may have intensified. The Alberta Indian inspector, M. Christianson, wrote in 1932 that the provincial inspector in charge of each province should be consulted before large expenditures were authorized at residential schools, since "there is no reason why the employees and the bigger boys at the school cannot do a lot of the repairs that are annually required in institutions of this kind." He also said the schools could do a better job in "giving the boys a better training in the care of livestock and doing all the farm work that is at present carried on at the schools, and having the girls milk cows, look after the chickens, etc., which very few of them are doing at the present time."[97]

Indian Affairs sometimes opposed the introduction of labour-saving technology in the schools. When a Halifax company tried to sell the Shubenacadie school industrial potato peelers and bread slicers, Indian Affairs ruled that it did not provide such equipment to residential schools—this sort of work was to be done by hand.[98]

The federal government appears to have become quite concerned that female students were not being taught how to milk cows. In 1928, Indian Affairs sent out letters to more than twenty-five residential schools, asking if they were teaching their older girls how to milk.[99] In 1936, Indian Affairs reprimanded the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, for purchasing a milking machine, since it was "expected that the boys and girls should be taught milking."[100] In the opinion of Indian Commissioner W. A. Graham, "the milking of cows, the making of butter, the making and baking of bread, the care of the garden and similar work usually falls to the lot of the farm house wife."[110]

Many students recalled being overworked. In an interview, Bernard Pinay said he had

> nothing against File Hills School. The only thing is I didn't get much schooling because I spent a lot of time working on the farm. I still think the owes [File Hills Indian Residential School] owes me about five or six years of wages, working on the farm there. Our supervisor, he was the one that was supposed to do that but he didn't, I did.[111]

Of his years at File Hills, Alvin Stonechild said:

> In our young age, we worked hard, a great deal of manual labour was carried out by we boys at our young age, like working in the gardens. We tended to rows of vegetables so the children could eat vegetables for a good part of the school term. We stored these vegetables in root cellars which we cleaned out from time to time. I can say that I had six years of work experience even though we were driven like slaves. One could term this kind of work as child labour.[112]

Gilbert Wuttunee, who attended the Battleford school in the first decade of the twentieth century, recalled, "They didn't do any farm work or any kind of work until you got to, at that time, standard three, whether you were nine years old or fifteen years old." After he turned nine, he "never saw another full day of school until I left." By then, the school had drastically reduced the number of trades it taught: "There was just blacksmithing, carpentering and farming."[113] Students did not have any choice as to what they would be trained to do. "They just told you, 'Go here. You, go there.' And that was all there was to it."[114] He also spent two years baking bread.[115]

Kenneth Albert thought that in the late 1930s, the boys at Mount Elgin had a punishing workload.

> We farmed 450 acres and we did it all—harvesting and threshing wheat, oats. We picked all the potatoes—maybe 10 acres. We grew all the wheat and corn for the livestock—a large herd of prize Holsteins, we looked after the teams of 8–10 horses, 500 chickens, but never had a boiled egg for breakfast—not even at Easter. We had to shovel all the coal off the cars and into the storerooms.[116]

Harrison Burning, who attended the Mohawk Institute in the 1920s, recalled cutting ice from the river while wearing ordinary leather shoes. "That's all we had on when we were cutting ice. I used to have sores on my feet all winter long—chilblains [an inflammation]. We cut ice, he never gave us different shoes—we wore them day in and day out."[117]

Of his time at the Mohawk Institute in the 1930s, Peter Smith recalled, "We worked on the farm, we were hungry all the time. We had a team of horses—you had to clean all the stock, all the stables—you had to work all the time. We got up at 6 in the morning and we worked until 6 at night."[118]

When they were in the fields, the boys were under limited supervision and were able to work in teams in which they had the opportunity to speak their own language. One boy from the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school recalled, "there was no freedom, except working the fields. The girls didn't have that chance."[111] But the work was difficult, done with little machinery, and imparted few skills. Mary John recalled that, on another occasion, a former Fraser Lake student told her, "I'm just a human bulldozer!"[112]

In 1903, Martin Benson reported that at the Mount Elgin school, "the care of over two hundred head of cattle, which chiefly devolves on the pupils entails more work than is good for them and leaves no time for other farming operations which they should be taught." Benson noted that the boys at the school all came from reserves where it should be possible to carry on a successful farming operation. However, he was informed by one of the teachers that none of the boys

> had ever handled a plow or were even allowed to drive a harrow (an implement for breaking up the soil) as time could not be spared to teach them. The boys of this school are not only working but are being worked, and they as well as their parents see the difference, hence the number of complaints which reach the department of ill treatment of pupils.[113]

Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham reported on the "sad neglect of Class room training" at the Qu'Appelle school in 1916. The situation at the school had gone from "bad to worse," with many parents complaining to him that their children were "receiving no education and that the sole aim of the Principal is to get the children to school to make them work." Graham said that the ailing principal, Joseph Hugonnard, had turned supervision of the school over to Father Kalmes, who had "increased outside work to such an extent, the main idea and object of the school is being entirely neglected." He pointed out that many parents who farmed said their boys might as well stay at home and help them if they were "to do nothing but work" at school.[114] In response, the department reminded the principal that students under fourteen were to spend the full day in the classroom and the older boys should get a half day in the classroom.[115] Scott reminded church official C. Cahill in 1917 that the government expected to see an improvement "in the conditions under which the pupils have to work. It has been constantly represented that they are simply used as so much manual power to produce revenue for the school, and this has certainly been a factor in making recruiting difficult."[116]

Trades training

The trades training at the industrial schools was hindered by the fact that skilled tradespeople could make more money practising their trade elsewhere. In 1895, both the carpenter and shoemaker at the High River school resigned. A permanent replacement was found for the shoemaker, but the school went through several carpentry instructors in the

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The role of support

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being taken as in other matters, accidents would not happen, but I purpose [sic] having a cover made that would prevent such occurrence."[illegible] It was revealed later that no supervisor was present at the time of the accident and that students were no longer allowed in the mixing room when the automatic dough mixer was in use.[illegible]

In December 1925, a mangle at the Qu'Appelle school crushed several fingers on Florence McLeod's right hand, which were amputated. Her family hired Lemberg, Saskatchewan, lawyer William Hall, who accused the school administration of gross negligence.[illegible] The first that Indian Affairs officials in Ottawa heard of the accident was when they received a letter from Hall at the beginning of May 1926—five months after the event.[illegible] In his subsequent report to the government, school principal G. Leonard stressed that "this mangle has been in use at this school for several years and all the girls are familiar with its operation." On the day of the accident, he said, the sister in charge of the laundry had noticed that McLeod was improperly putting her hand over the guard rail and warned her against continuing to do so. However, he wrote, "she did it again and her hand caught in the mangle."[illegible] Indian Affairs secretary A. F. MacKenzie informed Hall that "all the necessary precautions were taken, and, while the accident to Florence McLeod is regretted, it was through no fault of the school management."[illegible] According to Hall, McLeod's father, Henry, had been injured in a similar fashion when he was a student at the same school.[illegible]

In February 1936, the laundry at the Ahousaht, British Columbia, school claimed fourteen-year-old Clifford Tate's left arm. He had opened the lid on the machine that extracted water from clothing, while it was still running, and placed a hand into the machine. He could not recall what happened after that. The matron, who was also in the laundry room, found Tate, saw that his arm was broken, and took him to the school nurse. She put a splint on his arm and had him taken to a doctor in nearby Tofino. The doctor had no option but to amputate the arm. In reporting the accident to Indian Affairs, school principal A. E. Caldwell wrote that since Tate had been warned not to open the extractor until it had stopped running, "the accident can only be put down to the carelessness and disobedience of the boy himself."[illegible] In the spring of that year, Josephine Edgar's hand became caught in the laundry machine at the Coqualeetza Institute. Her fingers were so crushed that a doctor had to amputate two of them at the second joint and one at the first joint. According to the principal, Josephine "says it was her fault, and that she does not know how she did it."[illegible]

Melvina McNabb suffered a similar injury at the File Hills school in the 1930s. "I was working in the laundry with no supervision. This was my first time working there. The girls were all scrubbing. No one was watching me. I stepped on this lever, this extractor that dries clothes. It was going slow but it still caught my arm." She was hospitalized and left with a twenty-five centimetre scar on her arm.[illegible]

Although the students were not school employees, they certainly represented a large part of the school workforce. By the 1920s, most Canadian provinces had adopted workers' compensation laws that operated on what were termed "no fault principles," meaning that workers were eligible for compensation whether or not they had been 'careless.' The government position, in effect, denied young Aboriginal students access to the sort of accident compensation that was available to older, better trained, non-Aboriginal people who were performing similar tasks in the paid workforce.

Catherine Sacks, who was refusing to return to the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school in the fall of 1936, presented a statement of complaint to Indian Affairs regarding the work she had been required to do at the school.

> We had to start work at 5:30 in kitchen and were kept working till 6:30 P.M.… In the eleven weeks I was employed in kitchen I spent a total of two weeks in school. Sister Mary Armel has beaten me many times over the head and pulled my hair and struck me on the back of neck [sic] with a ruler and at times grabbed ahold of me and beat me on the back with her fists.
>
> I have also been ordered to stand on the outside of the windows with a rope around my waist to clean windows on the fourth floor with a little girl holding the rope. When I told the Sister I was afraid to go on the window she scolded me and made me clean the window and threatened to beat me if I did not do it. This is being done to other children. After we get a beating we are asked what we get the beating for and if we tell them we do not know we get another beating. The Sisters always tell us not to tell our parents about getting a beating.[170]

Principal J. P. Mackey denied the allegations, saying it contained "one lie after another." He said he would like to see her returned to school, "but I would not want her longer than twenty-four hours."[171]

Putting the training to work

There were cases of students who did become skilled trades workers while they were at the schools. Although he was not happy with city life, Gilbert Bear, for example, found work as a printer in Ottawa, based on the skills he learned at the Battleford school.[172] George Raymond of the Regina school worked as a printer at the *Moosomin World*, a newspaper in Moosomin, Saskatchewan.[173] There were also successful Aboriginal farmers. In 1904, three young former File Hills students, Fred Dieter, John R. Thomas, and Ben Stone Child, were reported to be farming successfully on the File Hills Colony, which had been established for former students in southern Saskatchewan. In the previous year, Dieter had "threshed nearly 2,000 bushels of grain, and it is safe to say that had it not been for frost, his crop would have been much larger than this."[174]

Other students went to work for the schools. In 1894, the Middlechurch school was employing Louise Bird, a member of the Red Pheasant's Band and a former Battleford student, as a seamstress. She was in charge of all "dress and garment making and the mending at the school."[175] Manson Ireland described the manual training he received at Mount

Elgin in the 1930s: "We had a class of copper working—we made copper chandeliers, and I learned silver soldering, and blacksmithing, and learned to temper stainless steel so we could sharpen knives so they kept an edge, so for me it was all right."[175] Another former Mount Elgin student, Kenneth Albert, recalled, "I could handle a job and I learned discipline. We did learn—the hard way—by doing it—agricultural methods—how to farm."[176]

After he had been at the Calgary industrial school for three years, Ben Calf Robe was placed in the print shop. "They selected me to be the printer because I worked hard and understood English well. They said I would be the only student allowed to work in the print shop, and that I didn't have to do the other school work anymore." Calf Robe not only set type and ran the press, but he also translated hymns and prayers into Blackfoot. However, once he left, he did not pursue the printing trade, becoming instead a Mounted Police scout.[177]

Students could find their careers blocked by racism. Rupert's Land principal W. A. Burman thought one of his students, Maurice Sanderson, would not find work as a printer in Winnipeg because of opposition from the printing unions. For this reason, he sought—unsuccessfully—Hayter Reed's support to have him trained as a teacher.[178] In the end, Sanderson did not go into printing, but became a canon in the Anglican Church.[179] In 1895, J. Paquin, the principal of the Wikwemikong school in Ontario, wrote that "farm work will be their principal means of earning their living. There is but little room on the reserve for the practice of other trades, and very few Indian tradesmen will ever be acceptable to work outside their reserve, principally on account of racial prejudices."[180] Middlechurch principal John Ashby reported in 1896 that his efforts to find work for his graduates had failed because, he said, "the employers have had to cancel their engagements, as their men will not work beside an Indian any more than beside a Chinese."[181] He also said, "They are good servants, but at present not very successful as masters. They have not received the hereditary training sufficient to give them confidence. They are too easy and let things go carelessly, and so require constant supervision and direction."[182]

"No means of making a living when they return to their homes"

Inspector M. Christianson concluded a generally positive assessment of the Shubenacadie school in 1937 with an expression of his concern as to whether the school was providing students with the sorts of skills they would need to support themselves. He observed that

> the Indians all over Nova Scotia are depending, for a livelihood, on what relief they get from the Department and the sale of Indian handicraft, such as baskets, axe and pick handles, and other articles too numerous to mention, and both men and women are quite expert in this work. The children attending Shubenacadie are not given this training. Therefore, they will have absolutely no means of making a living when they

> return to their homes, but will have to depend on their parents and the Department to assist them. I am of the opinion that this is a matter that needs careful consideration as the book-learning they receive at school will not make them any more efficient to earn their living than the others.[183]

The letter prompted Superintendent of Welfare and Training R. A. Hoey to ask the school's principal, J. P. Mackey, to make proposals regarding improvements in vocational training.[184] It does not appear that Mackey responded, for Hoey wrote him again two years later, asking for "a report regarding the vocational training given both the boys and girls," and reminding him of his 1937 request for such information.[185]

Mackey's 1939 response outlined a vocational training program that was limited and outdated. For the boys, it included barn duty and working in the fields. During the planting and harvesting seasons, all the older boys were taken out of class until the farm work was done. Those deemed not big enough for farm work were assigned work in the kitchen and cleaning the school. Manual training was restricted to assisting in the construction and maintenance of school buildings such as the staff house, the feed room, and the hog house. Shoes were repaired at the school. For the girls, there was training in sewing, cooking, and cleaning. Every term, each girl spent two months in the kitchen. They were taught to preserve fruits and vegetables and to set and serve a table. The girls also worked in the laundry "quite regularly." The sewing class mended clothes four mornings a week. The girls also made new blouses, middies, skirts, and pants. The girls were taught "fancy work": stitching, tatting, crocheting, hooking, and quilting. In their final year, the girls could make dresses for themselves that they could take with them when they left the school.[186]

The exchange of letters among Christianson, Hoey, and Mackey reveals a great deal about the limits of the system in 1939, over fifty years after the first industrial schools had opened. Central control was limited: in 1937, R. A. Hoey, Ottawa's senior education official, did not know what sort of vocational training was being provided at Shubenacadie, a school that had been in operation for only seven years. Not only did he not know what sort of training was being provided, but also the principal could safely ignore his request for such information for a year and a half. The government's inspector, M. Christianson, could see no better vocational opportunity for the students than making and selling "Indian handicraft." It would also appear that Christianson had no expectation that the students could learn enough at the school to enter the maritime labour market anywhere but at its very lowest levels. From Mackey's report, it is clear that much of the so-called vocational training was geared to meeting the immediate needs of the school as cheaply as possible. Martin Benson's comment on the conditions at Mount Elgin in 1902 was still applicable in 1939: students were not only working; they were being worked.

CHAPTER 15

Recreation and sports: 1867–1939

Residential school life was highly regimented. Chores, class work, vocational training, and religious services dominated the school schedule. Times were also set aside for play and recreation. Some of the schools had small libraries that provided students with books and magazines they could read, particularly during the long winters. Choirs, brass bands, and organized sports were common at many residential schools. Authorities believed that these activities, in addition to whatever pleasure they might give to students, would contribute to their cultural assimilation. This flowed from the confused belief that one could not be 'Indian' and play the trumpet or ice hockey; a belief that ignored the fact that cultural and recreational activities had long had a central role in the lives of Aboriginal people. This belief also failed to recognize that, for centuries, Aboriginal people had managed to incorporate a variety of Euro-Canadian technologies and activities into their lives, including arts and sports, while remaining Aboriginal.

The cultural, artistic, and sporting activities of the students at residential schools, particularly during this period, have received only limited attention. This chapter provides an overview of the cultural and recreational activities at the schools. Special attention is given to reading, brass bands (which flourished at many schools), and organized sports. The chapter concludes with an examination of the history of the cadet corps at residential schools and the links between the corps and the enrolment of former students in the Canadian military.

Celebrations and concerts: "breath-taking and spectacular"

Musical training, particularly the singing of hymns and patriotic songs, was part of the residential school curriculum. At some schools, the teachers also organized concerts and pageants throughout the years. These featured choral singing, dramatic presentations, and recitations. The audiences included students, parents, and residents of nearby communities. From Kuper Island, British Columbia, in 1898, Principal G. Donckele wrote, "Our concerts consist of recitations, dialogues and choruses, with vocal and instrumental music. Several of these entertainments were given to the public; at times for the white people of the neighbourhood and at times for the Indians, who all appreciated them very much."[1] Principal J. E. S. Thibaudeau, at the Lestock school in what is now Saskatchewan, wrote in 1903, "Concerts were given during the winter months and it is with pleasure that we noticed how greatly surprised the people were at the ability and deportment of the pupils."[2]

Louise Moine recalled that her performance in a play at the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school in the early twentieth century was judged a success. "Some of the village ladies informed me, the next day or so, that I played my part so well that I had them crying." Moine also had very strong memories of the pantomimes that other girls performed.

> The Sisters had created some sort of lighting effect causing the lights to turn into different colours, red, blue, and green. While the chorus sang in the background, "Nearer My God to Thee," the girls took different poses following the words of the hymn. Young as I was, I found it breath-taking and spectacular.[3]

Residential school choirs also participated in local music festivals. In 1932, a choir from the Morley, Alberta, school competed in the Calgary school music festival. According to a newspaper report, the students "won high praise from Adjudicator Maurice Jacobson for musical instinct and great possibilities for musical achievement."[4] At the Hobbema, Alberta, school in 1908, there was a fifteen-girl mandolin orchestra that performed in concerts in local communities.[5]

Christmastime often was marked with a student concert. In 1905, Port Simpson, British Columbia, principal Hannah M. Paul wrote:

> This year at Christmas we had a concert in a public hall. The programme, with the exception of a few selections, was rendered by the girls. The boys from the boys' home gave calisthenic exercises, with bells and club-swinging, which were very creditably rendered. The programme consisted of choruses, drills, with songs, Calisthenic exercises, with bells by the smaller girls and club-swinging by the bigger girls. A doll's cantata was much admired. Then we invited all the parents and friends of the girls for an afternoon and gave them refreshments, prepared by the pupils.[6]

At the Elkhorn, Manitoba, school in 1909, the program consisted of "Songs, Drills, Recitations and Dialogues, and every number showed that no mean amount of training had been required and Miss Baldwin deserves great credit. Some of the drills were exceptionally good."[7]

A Methodist missionary at Ahousat, British Columbia, J. W. Russell, wrote home about the Christmas celebration the school held for the entire community:

> A small box of presents was sent us from Victoria and we were able to have a very pretty tree. In the afternoon the old people were given each a present and

> the evening was entirely for the children. I suppose you can hardly think that the people had never seen or heard of a Xmas tree. The entire population almost turned out to see it.[8]

Not everyone shared the enthusiasm for brass bands. In his 1897 report on industrial schools, Indian Affairs official Martin Benson complained of the proliferation of brass bands at the schools. They were "for outward show and help advertise the school. More solid comfort and enjoyment," he felt, "could be had with the other kinds of music in which all could join."[9] A decade later, Indian Affairs departmental secretary J. D. McLean felt it necessary to issue an instruction that "pupils should be given plenty of time for sleep and out-door recreation, and that no occupation should be allowed to interfere, such as band practice."[10] From these reports, it is apparent that not only were brass bands common at residential schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also, in the minds of some government officials, they were too common.

Missionaries had been quick to establish bands at the schools. The brass band at the Mission, British Columbia, school performed at the Queen's Birthday Celebration in 1867 in New Westminster, British Columbia.[11] In 1871, Anglican missionary William Duncan had introduced brass instruments to the colony he was establishing at Metlakatla, British Columbia.[12] The spread of brass bands to residential schools was part of a broader expansion of brass music that was associated with social and moral reform. Prior to the nineteenth century, most brass bands were either military or church bands. They were restricted to a limited number of instruments, particularly the trombone, the trumpet, and the horn.[13] However, in the mid-nineteenth century, the number of community-based brass bands in Britain began to increase dramatically. The growth was sparked by such factors as the development of new instruments such as the saxophone, the introduction of valves to traditional instruments such as the trumpet, the belief that music could be morally elevating, and the hope that working-class participation in bands would undercut class conflict.[14] One 1850 article on an industrial workers' brass band in Wales, after praising the music, concluded that the "habits and manners of these men appear to have been decidedly improved by these softening influences."[15] Many of the bands were established and supported by employers, temperance societies, or mechanics' institutes (which were educational centres funded by employers).[16]

As Benson had noted, school principals used the bands to generate a positive image for the schools. The principal at Kamloops, British Columbia, A. M. Carion, wrote in 1896, "A brass band is also a desideratum [a thing to be desired] which will be filled as soon as our means permit it."[17] The Alert Bay and Cranbrook schools, also in British Columbia, had brass bands by 1906.[18] In 1893, the band at the High River school in what is now Alberta had been "engaged to play at agricultural fairs, picnics and church socials." The money earned at these concerts was used to buy music and instruments.[19] Inspector T. P. Wadsworth reported that, in 1896, the Qu'Appelle school band won first prize at the Territorial Exhibition in Regina. In his opinion, "Probably nothing did more to open the eyes of visitors to the fair as to the possibilities contained in the Indian youth of this generation, than the proficiency of this band."[20] Joseph Hall, the principal of the Coqualeetza Institute in Chilliwack, British Columbia, thought the school band not only generated good publicity for the school, but also introduced students to the more "civilized" and influential members of settler society. In 1900, he wrote:

> Scarcely a garden party is given by any of the churches in the settlement but our band is engaged to furnish music. We are pleased with this; for we feel that the more our children are brought into contact with the right kind of white people, the better it is for them, and the more sympathy is felt for them, and for the work which we are striving to do.[21]

In some cases, the principals' enthusiasm for the bands was tempered with their overall low opinion of Aboriginal students. In 1896, for example, E. C. Chirouse, the principal of the Mission school, wrote that "the young musicians have made wonderful progress under the tuition of Rev. Brother Collins; one is often tempted to wish that the Indians were equally talented in other respects."[22]

The bands did provide an opportunity for students to take initiative within the schools. At Elkhorn, there was no band instructor, but, according to Principal A. E. Wilson, the "band maintains its efficiency under the leadership of one of the senior boys. It has already filled several engagements out of town, and has arranged to visit other towns during the coming month."[23]

Indian Affairs departmental secretary J. D. McLean's concern that band practice consumed too much of the students' time may have been justified. The eighteen members of the Qu'Appelle school brass band were supposed to practise two hours a day. The first hour was during the time when other students were doing chores. The second hour, however, was their nightly recreation hour.[24] In his 1936 report on the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, A. G. Hamilton noted that band practice cut into both the half-day of work the students were expected to do and their class time. It was, however, he said, "a great credit to the school," and even if it might "be of little service to the students when discharged, the present effect is good."[25]

After leaving the schools, many of the students continued to play in community brass bands, particularly in British Columbia. Aboriginal band leaders and composers emerged. Tsimshian First Nations composer Job Nelson, for example, wrote the "Imperial Native March," a tune that was played at the New Westminster Exhibition in 1905.[26] The Port Simpson band won the Dominion Day Prize in Vancouver in 1900 and, the following year, entertained the future King George V and Queen Mary.[27] The members of the adult bands often wore elaborate costumes that were paid for by the community and passed on from member to member. The costumes mixed elements of European military uniforms with Aboriginal motifs.[illegible]

Recreational reading: The Eaton's catalogue and the funny papers

In his report for 1884, Inspector T. P. Wadsworth recommended that at the Battleford school, "a children's library be established, containing interesting tales for boys; for the larger boys, the 'Boys Own *Annual*'; for the smaller, 'Chatterbox,' and similar books, in which they would, during the long winter evenings, be able to find both amusement and instruction."[illegible] It was not until 1893 that Indian Affairs was able to report that a library, with "111 volumes of useful reading," had been established at the Battleford school.[illegible]

In the following years, an increasing number of principals mentioned the establishment and use of a school library in their submissions to the Indian Affairs annual report. The Anglican school in Wabasca in what is now northern Alberta was reported to have a library in 1895.[illegible] Principal C. W. Whyte of the Presbyterian school in Kamsack in what is now Saskatchewan reported in 1896, "We have a library of upwards of one hundred and fifty volumes, containing many of the very best and latest publications for children."[illegible] In the same year, Regina principal A. J. McLeod reported, "Our school libraries are used to advantage outside of school hours."[illegible] The Wikwemikong school on Manitoulin Island, Ontario, and the High River school had libraries by 1897.[illegible] The following year, High River principal A. Naessens reported, "The library continues to be used in winter evenings, and is a great aid to the pupils in learning English, beside fostering a love for reading."[illegible]

According to R. Ashton, principal of the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, in 1898, "those who prefer to read are furnished with magazines and books from the school library, the boys have the daily newspapers sent to their reading room."[illegible] At the Regina school that year, it was reported, "The books of the school library, all carefully selected, are in demand, especially during winter."[illegible] Principal N. Coccola reported that at the Cranbrook school in 1898, the students had "a library of choice books, and delight in reading or listening to interesting stories."[illegible] The following year, Qu'Appelle principal Joseph Hugonnard reported that in the winter, the "library books are well patronized."[illegible] The Mission school gave its first report of a library in 1899.[illegible] In Manitoba in 1900, the newly constructed Pine Creek school had a library,[illegible] as did the Birtle school.[illegible] In 1901, Sault Ste. Marie principal George Ley King listed books and magazines from the school library as part of the school's recreational program.[illegible] Port Simpson principal Hannah Paul reported in 1903, "Through the donation of a friend we have started a library for the home besides the books owned by individual pupils." The newly established Lytton, British Columbia, school also reported having a library in that year. A 1903 inspection of the St. Albert school in what is now Alberta noted the existence of a library. Since the school had not been inspected for six years, the library may have already been in operation for several years prior to that.

In 1908, the principal at Red Deer, Alberta, Arthur Barner, reported, "Libraries have been opened for girls and boys respectively, and have been very highly appreciated by the pupils, which is manifest by the fact that several of the children have read from six to twelve good-sized story books each, during the winter."

Two years later, Barner wrote:

> Reading still continues to be one of the favourite forms of recreation. We have a reading room for the boys and one for the girls, where current newspapers and magazines are kept on file. We keep adding good books to the library, which now contains considerably over one hundred volumes all systematically cared for.

At Hay River in the Northwest Territories, A. J. Vale reported in 1908, "A good library of suitable books is provided." According to Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, principal O. Charlebois in 1910, "A children's library, of the very best literary and moral character, has been added to the class equipment. The children are very fond of reading, and we notice a marked improvement in their oral expressions and written compositions."

The libraries depended on donations. Principal Thomas Clarke had established the Battleford library with books obtained "from friends in England." In 1913, the Yukon Anglican diocese urged its readers not to "throw away your old books and magazines. Wrap them up and mail them to us. We are always glad to get books, especially copies of *Boy's Own Paper*, *The Girl's Own*, *Shop Notes*, *Technical World* and, in fact, any publication that might prove of interest to young people seeking after information and knowledge." According to Lucy Affleck, a teacher at the Round Lake, Saskatchewan, school in 1920, the only reading material the children had other than school books were the Eaton's catalogue and the "funny papers."

Given the fact that the schools were church-run institutions, it is likely that religious works comprised a large portion of the books in these libraries. The *Boy's Own Paper*, for example, was a magazine published by the British Religious Tract Society. It featured adventure stories that stressed courage, chivalrousness, and Christian values. It was just one example of an entire genre of children's and young people's literature that flourished in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Britain and Canada. Novelists such as Rudyard Kipling, Ralph Connor (the pen name of Canadian Presbyterian minister Charles Gordon), and G. A. Henty wrote numerous adventure novels in which young boys proved themselves as men, usually through service to the British Empire. These books, along with Thomas Hughes's *Tom Brown's School Days*, extolled the virtues of Christian manliness, and the benefits of membership in the empire.

Schools also produced their own reading material. The Battleford school published a monthly newsletter called the Guide. Each issue contained the proud statement: "All the mechanical work in connection with our paper is performed by our students." The paper included sections called "Notes from the forge" and "Notes from the girls." In December 1895, George Fiddler wrote, "I am glad to see the Indian people getting treaty payment again, because I like to see them come to Battleford sometimes." Jennie Lane wrote, "We were all glad to see our friends when they came into Battleford. There are a great number of them in just now. I hope we see them all before they go home."[illegible] In the Yukon, the Anglican Diocese published Northern Lights, which included regular reports from the Carcross school. One issue reported, "Johnny Johns is our business man: he runs the school store. You can always rely on Johnny giving you the proper change and weight, he is very good at figures."[illegible] The motto of the [illegible] school paper, which was printed on a duplicator, was "My Country, My Highest, My [illegible], My Success."[illegible] The Anglican school in The Pas, Manitoba, commenced publishing a monthly paper, the Advocate, in 1915. Much of the paper was written by staff, but it included notes from students, including [illegible] report on how the students at The Pas school were exchanging letters with the students at the Anglican school at Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan.[illegible] In the 1930s, the Anglican schools in Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, and Alert Bay published newsletters aimed at least in part at parents, as well as at ex-pupils.[illegible]

The Elkhorn school's Moccasin News provided coverage of local sports and carried a warning that the paper was not responsible for "black eyes or broken limbs resulting from articles published in this paper."[illegible] The Blue Quills, Alberta, school published the Moccasin Telegram. In one issue, student [illegible] provided an account that had been handed down through his family of the conflict at Frog Lake during the 1885 rebellion.[illegible] At the Thunderchild school in Delmas, Saskatchewan, the publication was the Thunder Report.[illegible] All these papers appear to have been intended for various audiences: the students, their parents, and church members—sometimes distant church members who would make donations to the school. Other than brief reports from students and coverage of school sports and recreational activities, much of the material in the papers provided religious instruction. For example, the story in the Gazette, the paper from the Anglican school at Old Sun, Alberta, explained that "the idea of Lent is that we should go into spiritual training. Having made a good start by self-examination, we set to work, as in sport, to make a real effort to improve ourselves before Easter."[illegible]

Sports: "Truly Anglo-Saxon vigor"

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

Indian customs, the excessive desire of sports, or associations with the evilly disposed [sic] sporting white population should be permitted."

Identity was more complex, however. At the Regina school in 1897, the principal reported that the

> most popular game in which the boys indulge is the 'national game of lacrosse,' for which their fleetness of foot and keenness of eye soon make them most formidable opponents. Two things helped to popularize the game with our pupils; first, the complete suits that from one source and another we were able to give the members of the first twelve, and secondly, a brilliant victory they gained over a strong team of boys and young men from Regina.

That the opportunity to play and beat a team of settlers was so satisfying suggests that students were finding ways to use sport to help them maintain, rather than lose, their Aboriginal identity.

Since Indian Affairs provided little in the way of sporting equipment, principals turned to outside sponsors for supplies. The principal of the Calgary school reported in 1897 that sports at his school were largely restricted to "football and cricket, materials for which were provided privately." He went on to thank "the various football teams in this district who have taken the trouble and expense to come here and play with the boys from time to time. The effect is most marked; the boys take a pride in thinking they are treated like human beings, and the indirect education they acquire from mixing and contact with white people is incalculable." The Alert Bay school newsletter reported in 1928, "Thanks to our good friend, Dr. Mundy, we have two complete sets of football uniforms, one red and white, the other blue and brown."

By the 1890s, there were reports from schools across the country of boys playing football, baseball, and ice hockey. Middlechurch principal John Ashby reported in 1896, "In summer the boys' chief recreations are cricket and foot-ball; these they play in an effective and gentlemanly manner." High River principal A. Naessens wrote in 1897:

> The boys take well to football and baseball, and their football eleven is a fairly good one. Athletics are gone in for extensively, especially in the early summer months. In winter skating is the principal amusement. Last year we commenced curling with home made stones, and the boys took to it immensely.

Washakada principal John Scott reported in 1898, "During the hours set apart for play the boys indulge in foot- and baseball, in favourable weather swimming and boating." When the weather was poor, students played dominoes, chess, checkers, and a variety of nineteenth-century board games. The Dominion Day field day at the Anglican school at Fort George, Quebec, featured races, jumping contests, and a competition in which students carried loads over a simulated portage. The school also had a tennis court for the staff with a net constructed of chicken wire. A report on the Morley, Alberta, school in 1933 noted that there was a hockey league on the local reserve and that the students also played against teams from local communities such as Calgary and Cochrane.[illegible]

On occasion, the schools provided students with the opportunity to partake in traditional activities that were both recreational and a continuation of traditional practice. Ernest Duke, the principal of the Moose Fort, Ontario, school, reported in 1910, "The boys delight especially to shoot birds with the bows and arrows provided by their fathers, or manufactured by themselves. Every boy has a bow and arrow, and their aim is true, so many a poor little bird is carried home in triumph 'after the hunt.'"[illegible] This practice also increased the quantity and variety of the students' diet.

Ben Calf Robe was enrolled in a residential school in what is now southern Alberta in 1897. There, he played kickball, baseball, and lacrosse. He recalled that lacrosse was played with

> curved sticks that were partly covered by nets. With them we threw a small ball back and forth to each other. It was a fast and dangerous game, and a lot of the boys got hurt while playing it. When we went to visit our homes our mothers would ask how come our faces were bruised. When they found out it was from playing that game they went to the priest and complained, so the priest finally told us we would have to stop playing lacrosse.[illegible]

The girls were expected to lead a far more sedate existence. The following excerpts from Indian Affairs annual reports of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries make it clear that while the boys might be playing baseball, football, or hockey, the most the girls could look forward to was a closely chaperoned walk, a game of croquet, or some "quiet" indoor activities.

- 1896: Wikwemikong principal I. Paquin: "The girls love the quieter amusements of the swing and the like. There are also play-halls for rainy weather, winter and night recreations."[illegible]
- 1896: Middlechurch principal John Ashby: "The girls play croquet, hand-ball and go for walks in charge of a female official; they also have swings and teeter board in the yard, of which they are very fond."[illegible]
- 1899: Alert Bay principal A. W. Corker: "The girls have dolls, draughts and parlour croquet."[illegible]
- 1901: St. Boniface principal J. Dorais: "The girls are fond of playing ball, skipping, picking flowers, and other quiet amusements. During berry season they are often taken to the bush to gather the fruit—nothing gives them greater pleasure."[illegible]
- 1902: High River principal M. Lepine: "The girls amuse themselves during playtime at croquet, basketball and other healthy exercises."[illegible]
- 1903: Coqualeetza Institute principal Joseph Hall: "The girls, too, love recreation, and they like variety. But they like outdoor exercise and plenty of it. It does not matter so much what it is if it be outdoor recreation. They are fond of walks in the

woods with a teacher. They now keenly relish games of croquet on our beautiful lawn. A new set has just been purchased for their use."[108]

- 1909: Red Deer principal Arthur Barner: "The girls have found ample recreation all winter on the skating rink. In the summer they walked and played outdoor games."[109]

Walks could be fairly limited events. At Kitamaat, British Columbia, schoolteacher Margaret Butcher recorded, "Our village path takes exactly twelve minutes to perambulate and there is nowhere we can go, at any rate for a walk."[110]

Occasionally, principals did allow girls to play team sports. Not surprisingly, they enjoyed it. Middlechurch principal J. Thompson wrote in 1903, "The girls are very fond of football and play the game on their own grounds, and I have found that they derive a great deal of benefit from the exercise. They also skate, and play basket-ball and other indoor games and exercises."[111] Examples of this sort remained the exception. In a 1921 report on the Mission school, Inspector R. H. Cairns noted that while the girls sang sweetly, "they do not practice calisthenics. The sisters do not see that organized play and a course of physical culture would be beneficial from a health point of view. The principal looks at it from the same standpoint."[112]

In some cases, the boys were subject to less supervision than the girls. In the 1890s at the Coqualeetza Institute, the boys alone were given "full liberty" on Saturday afternoons. Many of them used this opportunity to visit relatives who lived nearby.[113]

The Canadian schools never had the large-scale sport facilities that were constructed for several boarding schools in the United States. In St. Boniface, Manitoba, in 1896, there was no recreation room or yard for the girls, while the principal felt "the boys' recreation hall is far too small."[114] At the Battleford school in 1909, an inspector thought the students were left to organize their own recreation and there was no physical education or calisthenics.[115] That same year, P. R. Soanes, the principal of the Chapleau, Ontario, school, wrote to Indian Affairs, "A gymnasium would be a great boon to the boys, and drilling appliances are really needed for boys and girls."[116]

In his 1907 report on the boarding schools in Saskatchewan and Alberta, Dr. Peter Bryce, the chief medical officer for Indian Affairs, reported an

> almost complete absence of any drill or manual exercises amongst the boys or calisthenics or breathing exercises amongst the girls. One would suppose that in boarding schools the need for such exercises would be looked upon as an elementary necessity; but it was found that it was only in some isolated cases that it had ever been heard of or put into practice.

He attributed the lack of attention to physical exercise to the difficulty the schools had in recruiting "high quality" staff.[117]

The publication of a manual of games and simple calisthenics by Indian Affairs in 1910 may point to an increase in the physical exercise at day and residential schools in the following years, but, in reality, most schools were sadly lacking in playground equipment.[118] A 1929 report on the Anglican school in The Pas noted there was "no equipment for the amusement of the children, and swings and teeters could be erected at little cost. Football, volley ball, and basketball equipment could also be used to great advantage."[119] Teacher Lucy Affleck at the Round Lake school wrote in 1929 about the lack of attention that was given to the students during their recreational hours. "The little fellows badly need some one to take a little fatherly interest in them. From supper until the bed time bell they get together, big and little, and get the time in with 'horse-play,' wrestling, fighting, quarrelling, not knowing what to do with themselves, in the cold and dark."[120] Her opinion was confirmed the following year by Indian Affairs Inspector J. P. B. Ostrander, who reported that at Round Lake, "during recess and play time, the children wander about the grounds or sit in corners, doing nothing." Indian Affairs official A. F. MacKenzie informed the principal that it was thought "organized games would be a great benefit."[121] Six months later, Ostrander returned to the subject, writing that "only a feeble effort has been made in this connection and I think a real effort is needed. There are now male members on this school staff, who are well able to teach the games if they had the equipment and were given the time to do so."[122]

During the Depression, when school budgets were subject to repeated cuts, supplies, uniforms, and facilities were all in short supply. When, in 1936, the principal of the McIntosh, Ontario, school put in a request for toboggans, hockey sticks, boots, and skates, he was told that the only athletic equipment the department funded was "footballs, playground balls, basket balls, or volley balls."[123] In 1937, Kamloops principal Martin Kennedy drew attention to the problems created by the poor condition of the recreation hall at the school: "Every year since my coming here we have had two or three broken arms. This year we have already had three boys who broke their arms. Owing to the dangerous condition of the recreation hall we have to stop all inside games."[124] Despite repeated requests, Kennedy's Oblate superiors declined to give him permission to ask the government for a grant for repairs.[125]

The expectations of those who believed that brass bands and team sports would take the 'Indian' out of a child went unfulfilled. It is more likely that Aboriginal children who participated in bands and sporting teams used these activities, at least in part, to meet their own needs.[126] For many students, the bandstand or the sporting field represented a world into which they could escape from the daily routine and avoid some chores, and not be guilty of truancy or subject to discipline.

While some government officials and principals saw music and sport as a way of assimilating students, senior officials did not share their enthusiasm. As with most aspects of the residential school system, recreational activities were woefully underfunded. As a result, many principals sought to supplement their programs with the establishment of a cadet corps, which brought the possibility of funding from the Canadian military.

Military and cadet training

There was one recreational activity that brought together exercise, brass bands, discipline, and support for the British Empire: military training. Early Canadian public schools provided very little in the way of physical training; few schools even had gymnasiums. Often, the only training available was military drill provided by officers from local military garrison or police barracks.[127] The Protestant churches mixed militarism and Christianity in the Boys' Brigades they organized.[128]

By the 1890s, some residential schools had begun to provide students with training in military drill. Even when there was no military drill, life at the residential schools was militarized, as Inspector T. P. Wadsworth observed in his 1884 report on life at the Battleford school: "The boys parade (military style) for prayers morning and evening, for meals, and upon retiring."[129] Wikwemikong, Ontario, principal Dominique duRonquet reported in 1891 that "the boys have had military drill, not occasionally, but hundreds of times." He admitted: "To say that they liked that exercise would be saying too much; nevertheless, it was very pleasing, indeed, to see with what precision and exactitude they could manoeuvre at the end of the year and how military were their mien and appearance."[130]

Regina principal A. J. McLeod invited officers from the local North-West Mounted Police barracks to provide the students with instructions in drill. In 1893, he wrote that many boys were becoming quite "dexterous in the different evolutions, and take great pride in their marching. It is a common sight to see a squad of boys somewhere in the grounds being drilled by one of the larger boys, some of whom naturally take their place as commanders."[131]

At the Mohawk Institute, the boys were provided with quasi-military uniforms and wooden muskets, and regularly drilled, "forming squares, marching in column and line, Counter marching, and marching in echelon." On viewing their drill in 1895, Indian Affairs official Martin Benson wrote that he had seen "very few volunteer companies that do better."[132]

By the 1890s, the federal Department of Militia and Defence was providing supplies to cadet corps that had been organized in public schools. Shingwauk Home principal George Ley King sought to organize such a cadet corps at the residential school in conjunction with the nearby Sault Ste. Marie Rifle Corps in 1899. Departmental secretary J. D. McLean supported the plan, although he stressed that Indian Affairs "is not to be put to any expense in connection with the uniforming or equipment of the company." McLean asked that the Department of Militia and Defence supply "arms and accoutrements" to Shingwauk Home boys, as was done for the public school cadet corps.[133]

The Boer War of 1899 to 1902 led to an increase in cadet training in Canadian public schools. Calgary schools, for example, had a cadet program by 1900, and Manitoba introduced a program in 1902.[134] However, the spread of cadet training was restricted by limits on available funds.[135] In 1907, Donald Smith, the former chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Company and by then Lord Strathcona, established the half-million-dollar Strathcona Trust. The fund, managed by the federal government, was intended to promote physical training and support military cadets in public schools.[136] Under the terms of the trust, the military was to train and pay teachers who conducted cadet corps, provide the cadets with arms and equipment, and conduct regular inspections.[137] By 1926, the federal government was spending $412,000 a year on the cadet program across the country.[138] The cadet corps served as a supplement for teachers' incomes, since teachers received $140 a year for every ninety cadets they instructed. Some schools also used the program as a substitute for physical education.[139]

Although Indian Affairs supported cadet programs in theory, it continued to refuse to finance them. Departmental secretary J. D. McLean approved the establishment of a cadet corps at the Elkhorn, Manitoba, school in 1912, stipulating that "no additional expense will be entailed and that the drill will not interfere with the work of the school."[140] Similarly, McLean refused a request from A. K. O. Ockoniy, a teacher at the Stuart Lake, British Columbia, school, for uniforms and "cadet guns" for a cadet corps he wished to organize at the school. According to McLean, "Owing to the war, the appropriation for school purposes has been considerably reduced." Once again, McLean asked the Department of Militia and Defence to supply the requested equipment.[141] In 1922, Ockoniy organized a cadet corps at the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school. He did so "to develop in these boys some notions of patriotisme [sic], some feeling of pride in belonging to the British Empire. In the second place I knew how greatly these boys need the physical drill which is an important part of the cadet drill."

Ockoniy believed cadet training would instill in the students a sense of discipline, "teaching them to obey immediately and without murmuring." The army provided a subsidy of $1.25 for every student who was in uniform at its annual inspection. However, since Ockoniy could not get the money until he had the uniforms, he used his own funds to purchase many of the original uniforms. His wife altered several used uniforms provided by the army so they would fit the students.[142]

In the 1920s, church and peace organizations began to raise questions about the morality of military training in schools. By the 1930s, they had succeeded in convincing the Toronto board of education to disband its cadet corps.[143] By the end of the 1930s, many Canadian public school systems were no longer participating in the cadet program.[144]

In keeping with a United Church policy opposing the cadet program in schools, the church disbanded its cadet corps at the File Hills, Saskatchewan, school in 1931. Russell Ferrier, the superintendent of Indian Education, asked the principal to reconsider his decision. Ferrier thought the church policy of opposition to cadet training was limited to the public school system. "Residential schools," he argued, constituted "another proposition, and I believe you will find that a cadet corps at an Indian institution will assist greatly with both the esprit de corps and the discipline."[145] Principal F. Rhodes responded that military training was not popular with the boys. He said there was already more military discipline in a residential school than in a public school, as File Hills boys were "constantly under supervision." He went on to remind Ferrier that the school had no facility for drills. It was necessary to remove the table and the benches from the dining room in order to hold cadet drills during the winter. He concluded by pointing out that the school had made several requests in the past for funding for a gymnasium or a playroom, but, to date, nothing had been done.[146]

It appears that some schools attempted to establish cadet corps in an effort to improve the quality and quantity of clothing they could provide to students. In a 1928 letter asking for Indian Affairs support in establishing a cadet corps unit, Shingwauk Home principal Benjamin Fuller stressed, "Our present system of clothing the boys for sunday [sic] service and special occasions is not as good as it should be. We have nothing uniform for the boys, their suits are of different colors and patterns, and do not look well as pupils of a school."[147] The replacement for J. D. McLean as departmental secretary, A. F. MacKenzie, refused Fuller's request, saying "it is not the practice of the Department to meet the cost of uniforms."[148]

Like the brass bands, cadet corps were used to generate positive publicity for the schools. The *Brantford Expositor* contained a glowing report of the annual inspection of the cadet corps at the Mohawk Institute in 1920.

> The cadets were particularly smart at physical drill. This has been regularly carried on throughout the year and the boys showed the benefits derived from this branch of their training in their steadiness and endurance. The Colonel was surprised to see them carry out the table of exercises such as have made many wish this army instructor a few thousand miles away.[149]

Many of these cadet corps had but brief lifespans. James Dagg, the principal of the Middlechurch school, had boasted in 1901: "We have a band of thirty instruments, that provides music every evening, which they all enjoy, and our system of military drill, by the cadet corps, and calisthenics for the girls, as well as fancy marching for the smaller children, interest them very much, so that they rarely ask to go home."[150] But, by 1904, a new principal at Middlechurch had put an end to both band practice and the military drill. He thought the time could be better "devoted to those things which will be more beneficial to those having to make their way in the world when they leave the institution."[151] Similarly, the Qu'Appelle school had received a supply of equipment from the Canadian military in 1912 when a cadet corps was established at the school. By 1918 and the end of the First World War, the corps was no longer active and the military was making repeated requests for return of the uniforms. School principal A. J. A. Dugas argued the school should be allowed to keep at least the hats and belts, which had been incorporated into the boys' scouting uniforms. McLean supported the principal's request.[132]

Some residential school cadet corps competed in provincial competitions. In 1912, Mohawk Institute principal Nelles Ashton noted, "Our Cadet Corps, No. 161, took first place in No. 2 Military District (Central Ontario), a fact of which we are justly proud."[133] The Alert Bay corps won the International Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE) Challenge Shield for the best Indian Cadet Corps in British Columbia in 1929. The Alert Bay corps also fielded a rifle team in the Canada Miniature Range Championship in that year.[134] The Alert Bay school went on to win the IODE shield four times in a row.[135] The corps from the Anglican school at Cardston, Alberta, won the "Army and Navy Shield for the best rural physical training of Cadets" in 1925.[136] In 1933, the school reported that, over the years, the cadet corps had won "four silver cups, three championships, and three silver medals." In 1930, it had received the R. B. Bennett Shield, awarded in "open competition with the white cadet corps of Alberta."[137]

The cadet core and military service

Despite the obvious military nature of cadet corps training, it was not uncommon for church officials to stress that the cadet corps was not necessarily training boys to be soldiers. A booklet on the Anglican school at Onion Lake said the schools' cadet programs were meant to "develop the boys to the fullest extent physically, and to give them the alertness of mind, decisiveness of action, and precision of character which perhaps no other form of training can give."[138] In keeping with this argument, in the nineteenth century, Indian Affairs was not receptive to proposals to use the schools as military recruiting grounds. In 1898, William Hamilton Merritt wrote to Indian Affairs, requesting the right to form a permanent militia unit made up of residential school graduates.[139] Merritt was a mining engineer with a long and close association to the military and Six Nations, having been granted the position of honorary chief by the Cayuga.[140] He suggested the residential school principals be asked to select a "proportion of their boys" to be "drafted into a regiment upon completing their education." He felt that the training a student received at a residential school "would enable him to make himself extremely useful regimentally." The plan was rejected because it was thought "it would be a great waste of money to go to the expense of giving an Indian lad both a good education and an industrial training and then allow him to be drafted off as a soldier."[141]

The question of military service had come up on several occasions during the negotiation of the numbered Treaties. During the negotiation of Treaty 3, one chief told Treaty Commissioner Alexander Morris, "If you should get into trouble with the nations, I do not wish to walk out and expose my young men to aid you in any of your wars." Morris assured him that England would not "call Indians out of their country to fight their battles." During the Treaty 6 talks, he told a group of Cree chiefs, "You will never be asked to fight against your will."[illegible] As a result of these commitments, when the Boer War broke out in 1899, Indian agents were instructed that "no Treaty Indians can enlist for service."[illegible] Despite this ban, some First Nations men did enlist and serve in that war.[illegible]

When the First World War broke out, Aboriginal leaders and communities declared their support for the war effort, and many young men sought to enlist.[illegible] Initially, the government discouraged the recruiting of Aboriginal soldiers.[illegible] This policy was reversed in 1915 after a British Colonial Office request that all members of the British Commonwealth report on the possibility of raising "native troops in large numbers."[illegible] The staggering death rates on the western front led to an intensified recruiting campaign in Canada. By 1917, the government was actively recruiting among First Nations across Canada.[illegible] It is estimated that over 4,000 people with status under the *Indian Act*—35% of the eligible population—served in the Canadian Expeditionary Force during the First World War. This is equivalent to the percentage of the general Canadian population that enlisted.[illegible]

Among the early First Nations recruits was Francis Pegahmagabow from the Parry Sound Reserve in Ontario. A skilled and daring sniper, he was awarded the Military Medal for acts of bravery on three occasions.[illegible] Aboriginal soldiers served in a variety of capacities and were acknowledged to excel as snipers and scouts.[illegible]

Several First Nations soldiers had passed through the cadet corps at the Anglican school on the Blood Reserve in Alberta. In 1908, Principal Gervase Gale reported that he had started a fife-and-drum band at the school. "The boys are intensely in earnest. I have also a cadet corps and have applied for official recognition, which I am likely to receive."[illegible] The corps continued to operate after S. H. Middleton became principal in 1911.[illegible] After passing through the program, Flying Star (or, as he had been renamed by the residential school principal, Albert Mountain Horse) took a summer training program in Calgary and was appointed a lieutenant in the Canadian militia. He was one of the few First Nations people who successfully enlisted during the early years of the war. He joined the army in September 1914 and was sent overseas the following month. Before leaving, he wrote to Middleton that he was "going forth to fight for my King and country." He was present at the Second Battle of Ypres when the German army first made use of poison gas.[illegible] After being gassed on three occasions, he was hospitalized and diagnosed with tuberculosis. He was returned to Canada, but died on November 19, 1915, the day after he had arrived in Québec City. He was twenty-one years old.[illegible] He was one of approximately 300 First Nations soldiers who died during the war.[illegible]

Some members of the Blood First Nation had been distressed at Mountain Horse's decision to enlist and warned Middleton that he would be held responsible if anything happened to the young man. On hearing of her son's death, his mother, Mkék, had to be restrained from attacking Middleton, who thought he might be driven off the reserve. Eventually, Mkék came to the conclusion that her son had died a hero. Two of her other sons, Mike and Joe, eventually enlisted as well, served overseas, and returned.[illegible] A former residential school principal, John Tims, conducted Albert's funeral service, where Middleton stated he had been "one of the Empire's greatest sons who fought to uphold the prestige and traditions of the British race."[illegible] Middleton's rhetorical flourish is a useful reminder of the ways in which the residential schools were an extension of empire and the degree to which Canada remained a colony.

As the need for soldiers grew, Indian Affairs loaned Indian agency inspector Glen Campbell to the Ministry of the Militia, where he had a special responsibility for recruiting from First Nations communities.[illegible] In 1915, Campbell asked Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott for permission to recruit from the Elkhorn and Brandon residential schools in Manitoba.[illegible] With some hesitation, Scott approved the proposal. He thought "there should be some good material at Elkhorn where they have had physical drill for some years." He also argued that if "the older Indians" tried to discourage students from enlisting, they were "breaking their treaty obligations, as they promised to be loyal citizens and it is anything but loyal to prevent recruiting."[illegible] Scott also gave permission for a seventeen-year-old orphan boy at the Roman Catholic school in Kenora, Ontario, to enlist. He said that other underage boys at the school could enlist if they obtained their parents' permission.[illegible] It is not clear how many recruits came from residential schools, but Campbell was able to recruit approximately 500 young First Nations men.[illegible] One of those who were recruited from Elkhorn was Albert Edward Thompson, a great-great-grandson of Chief Peguis.[illegible] In 1915, five graduates of the File Hills school were serving with the armed forces.[illegible] Charles Cooke, the only First Nations man who was working for the Indian Affairs office in Ottawa, and a former Mount Elgin student, was assigned to assist with recruiting in Ontario.[illegible] Eighty-six former Mohawk Institute students enlisted; five of them died in service.[illegible] One Mohawk Institute student, Foster Lickers, was captured during the Second Battle of Ypres. The torture he received at the hands of his guards left him paralyzed.[illegible]

In his *Beaver Tom's School Days*, Enos Montour wrote of the war's impact on staff and student relations at Mount Elgin. The fact that both staff members and students had relatives who had enlisted created a new sense of fellowship. A roll of honour was posted in the prayer room that listed the names of former staff and students who had enlisted. According to Montour, "There was no distinction of race on it, with the names of relatives and friends of both staff and students intermixed. It was no longer simply a White man's war. War had welded the soldiers into one national group."[illegible]

The experience of Aboriginal soldiers in the First World War extends beyond the scope of this report, but it is important to note that many of these 'sons of the Empire,' to use Tims's phrase, maintained and practised their own beliefs while in battle.

On the eve of battle, George Strangling Wolf began [illegible] with the warrior custom of carrying [illegible] a small portion of [illegible] flesh to offer as a [illegible]. Francis Pegahmagabow, who would come to be recognized as one of Canada's top snipers during the war, carried a small medicine bag for protection. To show that he was fighting in the name of the Blackfoot Confederacy, Mike Mountain Horse painted traditional Blackfoot symbols on German guns captured at the Battle of Amiens.[illegible] They only had [illegible] cadet training, and service in an Imperial army failed to separate these young men from faith in their own customs and traditions, but the spirit never strayed from their belief because they were able to call upon these traditions to survive and succeed.

CHAPTER [illegible]

The deadly toll of infectious diseases: [illegible]

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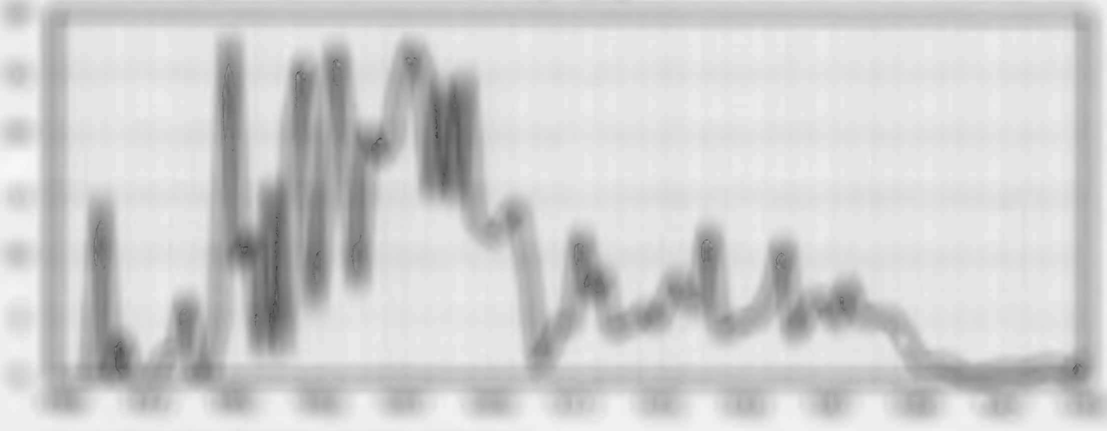
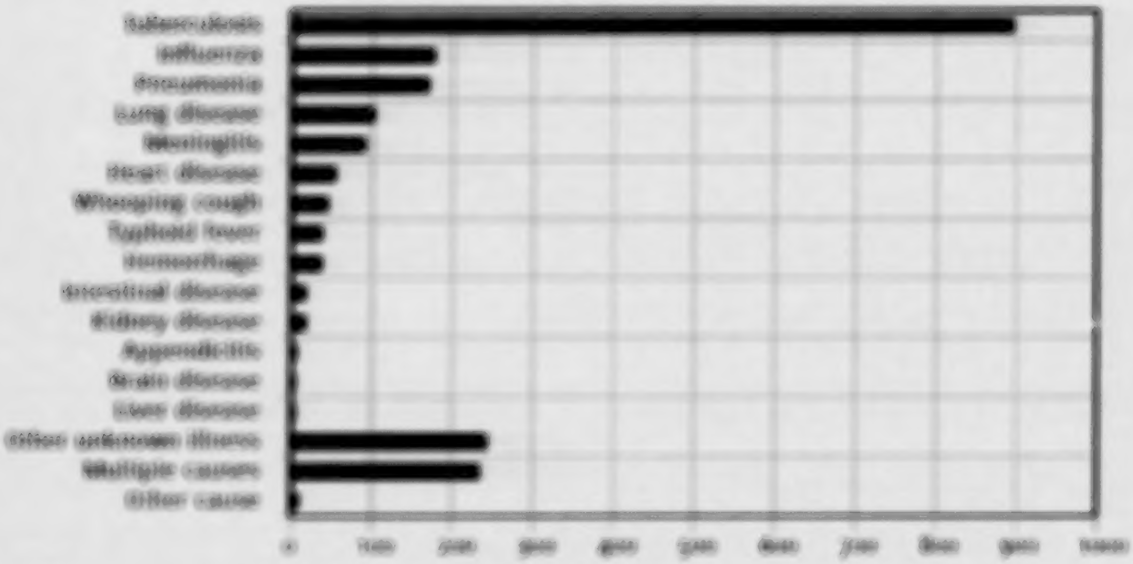
[illegible]



accounting for 50.8% of the deaths identified by the statistical analysis for the period from 1867 to 1939 (Graph 16.2).

Graph 16.2
Causes of residential school deaths by illness (contributing and sole causes combined; Named and Unnamed registers combined), 1867–2000



Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

Many diagnoses of the cause of death may not have been accurate. The determination of cause of death would often have been made by individuals without medical training. Many of the illnesses that were reported were not well understood in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, further contributing to the possibility of misdiagnosis. It is possible, for example, that some of the cases of tuberculosis were misdiagnosed as lung disease. It may also be the case that cases of meningitis were tubercular in origin. Hemorrhage is not an illness, but the result of an illness or injury. Severe hemorrhaging was not uncommon in cases of tuberculosis. These illnesses are also linked in other ways: tuberculosis, for example, can lead to pneumonia.

Tuberculosis was not only the major cause of death in residential schools in this period. It was also the major cause of death among all Aboriginal people and among the general Canadian population. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was the major public health issue, both in Europe and North America. It is best viewed as an epidemic that lasted for decades. In Canada, the federal government refused to play a leadership role in addressing the tuberculosis epidemic among the general Canadian population or among the Aboriginal population. Because tuberculosis is central to the story of health in residential schools, this chapter first examines the campaign to control tuberculosis in the Canadian population, and then reviews the disease's impact on Aboriginal people in general, and on those in residential schools in particular.

The background to the tuberculosis crisis in the schools

Tuberculosis

Tuberculosis is a communicable disease that is spread by the *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* and *Mycobacterium bovis* bacteria. *M. tuberculosis* is the main cause of tuberculosis in humans, and *M. bovis* is more closely associated with tuberculosis in cattle. However, *M. bovis* can jump the species barrier and cause tuberculosis in humans, most commonly through ingestion of contaminated dairy products. Tuberculosis most frequently attacks the lungs in what is termed "pulmonary tuberculosis." It can also attack the organs, the digestive tract, the lymph nodes in the neck (a condition often referred to as "scrofula"), the bones, the joints, and the skin. The disease takes its name from the tubercles or small nodules that develop where the bacteria take root.

A person infected with pulmonary tuberculosis expels tuberculosis bacteria when they sneeze, cough, or spit. The infection spreads when a non-infected person breathes in the bacteria. As a result, infection rates are high in overcrowded and poorly ventilated households. Eating meat or drinking milk from tubercular cattle can also spread the disease.

In most cases, the immune system is able to contain and often kill the bacteria, although the illness can surface later in life. If the immune system is not able to contain it, the disease can spread throughout the body. In its initial stages, tuberculosis is difficult to diagnose: the early symptoms are fever, fatigue, and weight loss. The symptoms of the disease may not become apparent for years. For this reason, it is common to refer to "active" and "latent" tuberculosis. Adult tuberculosis is often the reactivation of a latent infection due to previous exposure. Not all latent cases become active.

Active tuberculosis can be a slow and painful killer. In the disease's later stages, common symptoms include a cough that produces blood and sputum, night sweats, and fever. Children are particularly susceptible to non-lung-related forms of the disease, such as scrofula and meningeal tuberculosis, which affects the central nervous system. Children who drink a lot of milk are also at risk of infection from tubercular cattle.[7]

The disease that is now known as tuberculosis (TB) has been described by a variety of names in the past. Hippocrates, a Greek physician of the fourth century (Before the Common Era), called it "phthisis," or the "wasting disease." In English, it was referred to as "consumption," because of the way patients wasted away. Scrofula was called the "king's evil" in France and England because it was believed that the king or queen had the power to heal the infection simply by touch. This belief dated back to the fifth century and continued to the early eighteenth century. Tuberculosis was not the only wasting disease prevalent in the nineteenth century. Cases that were diagnosed as consumption might well have been, for example, cancer or silicosis. Similarly, many illnesses that were caused by tuberculosis bacteria were thought to be unrelated to consumption.[6] The word *tuberculosis* was not used to describe the disease until the 1840s.[7]

Until the late nineteenth century, there was no clear understanding of the disease's origins or how it spread. Some physicians contended that it was a contagious disease, while many others believed it to be hereditary. In 1882, German physician Robert Koch published his research demonstrating the existence of tuberculosis bacteria that spread the disease.[8] There was a similar, ongoing debate over whether tuberculosis in cattle could spread to humans. It was only in 1911 that two separate reports, one in Britain and one in the United States, demonstrated the tuberculosis risks from contaminated milk and meat.[9] Until the late nineteenth century, doctors had to depend on the results of physical examinations for TB diagnosis. They relied particularly on what they could hear through stethoscopes, and on the changes in vibration that could be detected by tapping patients on the back and chest.[10]

The tuberculosis epidemic of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

Although the disease had always existed, the tuberculosis death rate in England began to rise in the early eighteenth century. By the nineteenth century, it was the largest single cause of death in Europe and North America. This explosion in the incidence of tuberculosis was associated initially with urban life. It is now seen as arising from the social changes and dislocation brought on by the Industrial Revolution. As rural landlords adopted new agricultural methods, peasants were driven off the land and went to the cities in search of work. Their living conditions were crowded and lacked proper sanitation. Their working hours were long, and their workplaces were dark, dirty, and poorly ventilated. Child labour was common.

In areas of Britain and the United States during the Industrial Revolution, the annual death rates from tuberculosis ranged from 200 to 500 per 100,000 of population. In the early nineteenth century, the death rate in the cities in the eastern United States was 400 deaths per 100,000. Poor nutrition, poor housing, and overwork were interlinked; death rates were highest among the poor and the institutionalized. It is for this reason that the Canadian physician Sir William Osler famously described tuberculosis as "a social disease with a medical aspect."[11] The death rates for both England

and the United States peaked at the end of the eighteenth century and in the first half of the nineteenth century, a period during which, it is estimated, half the English population was infected with the disease.[12]

In Europe, doctors began to send wealthy tubercular patients to sanatoria in the Swiss Alps in the mid-nineteenth century. There, they would be exposed to healthy, fresh air. Other sanatoria were opened by the sea. Eventually, it was recognized that healthy and restful conditions could be established in almost any location.[13] Initially, sanatoria treatment was aggressive: no matter what the weather, patients were supposed to spend the days on open-air balconies and sleep with the windows wide open. Their days were supposed to follow a rigid and systematic routine.[14] Rest, good diets, and clean air did not cure tuberculosis, but they eased suffering and allowed some patients to recover to the point where the infection was no longer active and they could return to their homes. Sanatoria provided an additional benefit by isolating people with active tuberculosis from the general population.[15]

There was a concern that life in a sanatorium would render patients, particularly working-class patients, lazy, leaving them unable or unwilling to return to work. In response to this anxiety, Dr. Marcus Paterson, early in the twentieth century, incorporated "graduated labour" into the daily life of patients at the Frimley Sanatorium in Surrey, England. It was his theory that physical activity would stimulate the immune system and help patients overcome infection.[16] Paterson's system would later become the model for an early twentieth-century proposal to turn Canada's residential schools into tuberculosis sanatoria.

Other than sanatorium care, there was little available in the way of medical treatment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Tuberculin, an extract of the tuberculosis bacterium, was proposed as a potential cure for tuberculosis in the 1890s, but proved more effective as a tool in diagnosis than as a cure.[17] Doctors also developed surgical interventions that reduced the spread of infection and potentially allowed for a faster recovery. These could involve collapsing one of the patient's lungs (pneumothorax surgery) and even removing a portion of the ribcage. These highly invasive treatments required ongoing care.[18] Although pneumothorax surgery had become an accepted form of treatment for pulmonary tuberculosis by 1898 in Europe, it was not undertaken with any frequency in North America until the second decade of the twentieth century.[19]

By the middle of the nineteenth century, competing, and at times complementary, social reform movements developed. A public health movement fought for improvement in sanitation and the regulation of food and drink. Although these measures were intended to fight more dramatic diseases such as cholera, they also had an impact on the spread of tuberculosis. During this same period, the newly established trade union movement campaigned for better pay, shorter hours, and improved working conditions, all of which led to improvement in the health of industrial workers and their families.[20]

It is thought that the combination of the isolation of tubercular patients in sanatoria, the impact of improved sanitation, and rising living standards led to a decline in the tuberculosis death rate in Europe and North America. This decline started even before scientists had determined that the disease was caused by a communicable bacterium, and it continued into the twentieth century—although the prevalence and rate of decline varied for different groups in society.[21]

The first effective tuberculosis antibiotic, streptomycin, was not developed until 1943. Its effectiveness was limited by tuberculosis bacteria's ability to develop resistance to drugs. However, the introduction of para-aminosalicylic salts (PAS) and isonicotinic hydrazide (INH; alternately isonicotinic acid hydrazide or isoniazid) into the treatment process in the late 1940s created an effective chemical treatment of the disease. Patients who had been diagnosed as being near death began recovering. Although the death rate dropped, the demands on the health care system increased, since the new drugs were part of a hospital-based treatment.[22] The new drugs also meant that certain surgical treatments could be administered more safely.[23]

The tuberculosis epidemic in Canada

Because Canada was later to industrialize than Britain or the United States, it was not until the 1880s that the general tuberculosis death rate in this country reached a peak. By 1880, the tuberculosis death rate for Montréal and Toronto was 200 for every 100,000 people.[24] Well into the twentieth century, tuberculosis remained the country's number-one public health issue. In 1901, almost 10,000 Canadians died of the disease, out of a population of 5.4 million. This was a death rate of 180 per 100,000. By 1908, the death rate had declined to 165 per 100,000.[25] Many people who survived faced a bleak future: it was estimated that the disease created 48,000 invalids annually.[26]

The National Sanitarium Association was created in 1896, marking the beginning of the Canadian campaign against tuberculosis. Five years later, the first meeting was held of the Canadian Association for the Prevention of Consumption and Other Forms of Tuberculosis. The association's goal was to educate the public on measures they could take to prevent infection, and to establish sanatoria for the treatment of those infected with tuberculosis.[27]

The report of the Canadian delegate to the 1899 International Tuberculosis Conference, Dr. Edward Farrell, provides an overview of the measures that many medical experts of the day believed Canada needed to take to combat tuberculosis. Farrell placed a heavy emphasis on the role of sanatoria: "The necessity for special sanatoria for treatment can no longer be looked upon as the view of a limited number of authorities; there is now a consensus of opinion among medical men that tuberculosis cannot be treated successfully in private houses." This, he said, was particularly the case "among the poorer classes, so that there are now being established in all countries which have given attention to the subject, special sanatoria for this purpose." The key elements of treatment were "open air, sunlight, good food and proper feeding, sponge baths, with careful medication, and medical supervision." These could be provided only in a location where a "patient is surrounded by all requisite appliances." He also singled out for criticism the practice of serving children skimmed milk rather than whole milk. "By these means a great wrong is done to the child; its tissues are ill-nourished and it becomes an easy prey to the tubercle germ."[28]

Farrell's assessment of the proper method to treat tuberculosis reflected a dominant line of thought in the Canadian medical community. It is the standard against which the treatment of residential school students should be measured in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As this chapter and following chapters on diet and building conditions demonstrate, the Canadian government failed to meet such a standard.

The first Canadian sanatorium opened in Muskoka, Ontario, in 1897. Most of the early Canadian sanatoria were built by voluntary organizations. By 1901, there were only seventy-five sanatorium beds in Canada.[29] Despite intense lobbying efforts from a variety of public health advocates, the federal government successfully avoided taking responsibility for dealing with the national health crisis that tuberculosis represented. In 1905, Parliament adopted a resolution committing the federal government to taking measures to reduce tuberculosis mortality. However, since Parliament failed to back this up with any financial commitment, prevention and care were left to the provinces, municipalities, and private charities. Services often were inadequate and delivered on a piecemeal or localized basis.[30] Montréal, for example, introduced a system of medical examinations for schoolchildren in 1906 that was soon adopted in other cities. By 1915, the Toronto board of education had a medical branch with over seventy full- and part-time employees, including a tuberculosis specialist.[31] Some cities established "preventoria" for students. These were, in essence, sanatoria for students infected with childhood tuberculosis. They often included educational facilities and might be attached to existing sanatoria. The treatment the children received emphasized rest, improved diet, and fresh air—a measure that could involve keeping classroom windows open throughout the cold Canadian winter.[32]

Tuberculosis among servicemen and servicewomen in the First World War forced the federal government to invest in new sanatoria for veterans.[33] Despite these government initiatives, by 1919, there were only enough sanatorium beds for 15% of the Canadians needing treatment. In the 1920s, the federal government turned the veterans' sanatoria it had established over to provincial governments and tuberculosis associations.[34] As late as 1936, slightly less than half of those who died from tuberculosis in Ontario had received sanatorium care.[35] Most sufferers had to rely on clinics and nurses for treatment, much of which was limited to advice.[36] The availability of care in rural Canada lagged behind the rest of the nation. Rural municipalities often refused to support a local resident's stay in a sanatorium unless the patient was indigent. As a result, by the time rural tuberculosis sufferers were admitted to a sanatorium, often they were in the final stages of the disease.[37]

Throughout the 1920s, municipal and provincial governments increased their support of sanatoria. One of the most significant developments came in 1929 when Saskatchewan made sanatorium care free to all residents—with the exception of First Nations people, who were considered to be a federal responsibility.[38] Travelling health clinics were established in the 1920s to address rural needs.[39] The introduction of x-ray technology also improved the ability to identify active cases of tuberculosis.[40] Increasingly, the difference between hospitals and sanatoria diminished as sanatoria employed a growing number of specialists and technicians. Since rest was seen as being central to recovery, the patients spent most of their days in bed.[41]

Measures also were taken to limit the impact of tubercular cattle. In the mid-1920s, it was estimated that as many as half of the cattle in Canada were infected with tuberculosis. Just twenty years later, that infection rate had dropped to less than 2%. The most effective measure in controlling the spread of the disease was to kill the bacteria by pasteurizing the milk: heating it to control bacterial growth.[42]

Canada's anti-tuberculosis campaign played an important role in effectively isolating people with active tuberculosis, and providing them with a measure of care and comfort. In many cases, infections went from an active to an inactive, or latent, state. Not everyone was so lucky: 19% of the patients who were removed from the rolls of the Saskatchewan sanatorium between 1917 and 1929 had died while in the sanatorium. Of those who left alive, half were working, and 10% had undergone a relapse.[43]

Canada's tuberculosis mortality rate fell from 87.7 per 100,000 in 1921 to 53.6 per 100,000 in 1939.[44] The decline is likely attributable to the same factors that brought down the British and American rates: improvements in living standards, improvements in sanitation, and the isolation and treatment of those with tuberculosis. The effectiveness of the Canadian campaign was limited by the federal government's insistence that health was solely a provincial responsibility. Living standards also were still in need of much improvement. Governments at all levels, however, placed strict limitations on the provision of relief, often requiring that only people living in absolute poverty could receive assistance.[45]

The tuberculosis epidemic and First Nations in the late nineteenth century

Human beings live in a complex relationship with their physical and social environments.[66] Epidemics arise from disruptions to that relationship.[67] Just as the disruption caused by the Industrial Revolution had opened the door for the European tuberculosis epidemic of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the disruption of long-standing ecological and social conditions unleashed by colonialism in the Americas did the same for an even more virulent epidemic among Aboriginal peoples. Colonization exposed Aboriginal people to diseases to which they had very limited levels of immunity. Outbreaks of smallpox, measles, influenza, and dysentery often had devastating impacts.[68] It is important to recognize that the impact of these diseases was intensified by the disruption that colonialism exerted on every aspect of the lives of Aboriginal people. It was not government policy to spread tuberculosis; however, it is clear that government policies of the 1880s created the conditions for the outbreak of an epidemic and that the government response to that epidemic was shamefully inadequate.

Although tuberculosis may have existed in the Americas prior to the era of colonization, its presence is rarely mentioned in the memoirs of early missionaries or explorers.[69] Recent research indicates that French-Canadian fur traders brought a strain of tuberculosis to the Canadian West during the fur-trade period.[70] The disease reached epidemic proportions among First Nations only in the 1880s as the federal government was forcing them into cramped housing on isolated reserves with inadequate sanitation. At a time when traditional food sources such as the buffalo were disappearing, the government failed to provide the supports promised in the Treaties, which were necessary to allow First Nations to make a quick and effective transition to new economic activities. At the same time, Aboriginal governance structures and processes were placed under the authority of Indian agents, and their spiritual and healing practices were attacked by missionaries and government.

One of the most extensively studied examples of this process is the health experience of people in the Qu'Appelle and File Hills reserves in what is now Saskatchewan. Prior to 1880, tuberculosis among the First Nations people of this region was rare.[71] However, with the collapse of the buffalo hunt and the forced settlement of people in cramped housing on reserves, people's vulnerability to tuberculosis grew, infections increased, and the death rate soared. On the Qu'Appelle Reserve, the tuberculosis death rate reached 9,000 deaths per 100,000 people in 1886. One history of tuberculosis has identified this as one of the highest tuberculosis death rates ever recorded. It is forty-five times higher than the peak death rates for the cities of Montréal and Toronto (200 deaths per 100,000 people), which were reached in 1880.[72] The rate began to fall in the Qu'Appelle area in the 1890s. By 1901, the rate was 2,000 per 100,000, dropping to

1,000 per 100,000 by 1907.[illegible] By 1920, the death rate had declined to 800 per 100,000.[illegible] This rate was still almost ten times higher than the 1920 national tuberculosis death rate: 84 deaths per 100,000.[illegible]

The failure of the federal government

Under the provisions of the *British North America Act*, First Nations were a federal responsibility. Through the Treaty process, the federal government had made additional commitments to maintain the health and welfare of First Nations people. Treaty Six, for example, specifically committed the federal government to maintaining a "medicine chest at the house of each Indian Agent for the use and benefit of the Indians."[illegible] It also made a commitment to provide relief in the event of "any pestilence or general famine." In his history of the Treaties, Treaty Commissioner Alexander Morris noted that the First Nations people "dreaded … disease or famine."[illegible] The commissioners who negotiated Treaty 8 reported in 1899, "We promised that supplies of medicines would be put in the charge of persons selected by the Government at different points, and would be distributed free to those of the Indians who might require them."[illegible] Despite these commitments, the federal government provided little in the way of organized health services to First Nations people in the nineteenth century.[illegible] As late as 1954, the federal Indian Health Service took the position that it had no "statutory responsibility for the provision of either medical or dental care of the Indians."[illegible] The provision of medical services was initially left in the hands of missionaries, who often had limited medical training.[illegible]

The government began appointing medical officers to provide services on reserves in 1883. Often, the doctors were selected on the basis of their political loyalties, and used their government work as a base on which to build a private practice. In putting these medical attendants under contract, the government was responding both to the health problems on reserves and to settlers' concerns that contagious diseases could spread to them from reserves.[illegible] The care that the physicians provided was often subject to complaint from the First Nations people and from Indian agents. Indian agent R. N. Wilson reported in 1901 that there had been ten deaths in the previous two months on the Peigan Indian Agency. At the time of writing, he said, at least two children were "dying practically without medical aid." The government's medical attendant, Dr. F. X. Girard, had not responded to three urgent requests in the previous week. Wilson succeeded in getting a different doctor to attend a seriously ill girl at the Roman Catholic boarding school on the reserve. Although the doctor promised to pay a return visit, Wilson reported, "He has not done so yet and today a note from the matron of the school states that the sick girl is worse, in fact expected to die."[illegible]

A 1902 circular issued to Indian agents informed them that they were to make every effort "to induce Indians to build their houses on high ground" with gabled roofs and enough room to allow for proper ventilation. Similarly, they were to encourage the "use of vegetables" and discourage the consumption of "bad meat," infected milk, and polluted water. What was lacking was assistance to build large, well-ventilated houses, to grow or purchase wholesome food, and to ensure access to clean water. Agents were also instructed to prohibit people from spitting on the floors of the dwellings. While unenforceable, this was in keeping with sensible public health advice of the day. In the early twentieth century, many Canadian municipalities adopted prohibitions on spitting to reduce the spread of tuberculosis.

The final piece of advice—to avoid "the unnecessary frequenting of and more especially holding of gatherings for dancing or other purposes in houses in which there is consumption"—was sound from a public health perspective. However, singling out dancing reflected government hostility to First Nations spiritual practices, and the overall recommendation ignored the fact that consumption was so rampant that there would be few houses from which it was absent.

The failure to provide needed medical services was coupled with tight-fisted government relief policies that actually served to increase hunger and susceptibility to disease. Lieutenant Governor David Laird warned in 1879 that the government policy was leading to starvation that could spark a rebellion. In October 1883, Dr. Augustus Jukes reported to the North-West Mounted Police that there were 2,000 Aboriginal people camped near Fort Walsh, in what is now Saskatchewan. According to Jukes, "They are literally in a starving condition and destitute of the commonest necessaries [sic] of life. The disappearance of the Buffalo has left them not only without food, but also without clothes, moccasins and adequate tents." In 1884, Dr. O. C. Edwards reported that the death rates among bands on the Plains "will increase unless a radical change is made in the matter of food." Crop failures were not uncommon. Rations were meagre: in the early 1880s at various times, relief was limited to 0.7 pounds (0.3 kilograms) of flour and 0.2 pounds (0.09 kilograms) of bacon per day for adults. Children were provided half-rations. Relief could be denied completely if people left the reserve without permission, did not engage in agricultural pursuits, or refused to send their children to residential schools.

Those First Nations people who were attempting to make the transition to agriculture were held back. The government's promised equipment and supplies were of poor quality, late in arriving, and often insufficient. The people who raised grain crops faced starvation for lack of milling equipment. Some people who abandoned a hunting lifestyle found they could not afford adequate clothing for farming. As a result, they had to leave their farm work to return to the hunt. Indian agents were regularly instructed to provide relief only "to very poor, aged or sick Indians" and only in extreme cases. Sugar, soap, and tea were not to be provided except in cases of illness.

Agents were to exercise the "strictest economy" and ensure that aid was not given to "those not in need or deserving of it."

Reserves were placed under quarantine when epidemics of diseases such as smallpox broke out. Quarantines placed tremendous burdens on the community. Provisions ran low, while people were prohibited from hunting, trading, and working off the reserve. At the same time, rations were kept to the lowest rate possible, to ensure the people were not encouraged to become dependent on the government.

Federal government officials were aware of the high death rates among First Nations on the Plains. They sought to place responsibility for these death rates on the First Nations people themselves. In his [illegible] report, Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney wrote, "A large percentage of the sickness, and consequent death-rate, is directly due to hereditary disease, which had its origin at a time prior to that at which our responsibility began." He argued that part of the increase in the death rate could be attributed to an improvement in record keeping. As well, he felt the increase was part of the price that First Nations had to pay to make the transition to "civilization." As people adopted a "comparatively sedentary and civilized life," he said, it was not surprising that "the death-rate is in the case of many of the Bands heavy." [illegible] Deputy Minister Hayter Reed acknowledged:

> The majority of deaths among adults result from scrofula and consumption. Among our western Indians of Manitoba and the Territories and some parts of British Columbia pulmonary attacks are common, the Indian being predisposed or susceptible to these during their state of transition from the wild state to the more advanced condition of civilization, and to overcome this efforts are put forth to get the Indians to ventilate their houses.

In [illegible], Reed asked doctors in the Northwest whether First Nations health had improved over the previous five years. The answers were not encouraging. Dr. F. X. Girard wrote that "they are losing ground every day instead of increasing." Tuberculosis, "which was quite unknown in old times [illegible] is now prevailing." Dr. [illegible] Lindsay painted a similar picture: "Taking all things into consideration, I am inclined to think the Indians are getting physically weaker and that Scrofula and Phthisis are on the increase." Lindsay did not recognize that tuberculosis was a contagious bacteria-borne disease, but he did acknowledge that the way of life that First Nations people had followed when their economy centred on hunting had been a healthy one. He wrote that "civilization" had "proved as disastrous to the 'Indians'" but the only solution was to have it "pushed to its fullest extent, so as to thoroughly civilize them." Only Dr. [illegible] Stewart, who pointed to the "bountiful supply of the various remedies usually prescribed for such chronic diseases as scrofula or tuberculosis," claimed that conditions were improving.

Writing in [illegible], the deputy minister of Indian Affairs, [illegible], noted that "the introduction of a civilized method of living among our 'Indians'" was bound to have

[illegible]

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It was not until January 1892 that Indian Affairs instructed its physician who was on contract to provide medical services on nearby reserves to extend those services to the school.[171] In British Columbia, a doctor visited the Cranbrook school in the Kootenays only at the request of the Indian agent. The agent "hesitated to send word to the doctor" because he felt the government was paying him too low a fee. As a result, the students were neglected. An Indian Affairs official inspecting the school in 1906 found "two cases of suppurating glands [possible signs of tuberculosis] and a boy with his arm in a sling." The local doctor reported that he had not been "instructed to operate on these cases of tubercular glands."[172]

Parental response to poor quality of care

The poor quality of care led to conflict between parents and school and government officials. The conflicts could arise because of the illness contracted at the school, because parents were not notified of illness, or because parents believed sick children were not being attended to properly.

Such conflicts reached tragic proportions at the Anglican White Eagle school on the Blackfoot Reserve in what is now southern Alberta. Blackfoot leader White Pup told Indian agent Magnus Begg in April 1895, "When children are taken sick at Industrial Schools they should be sent home so that their parents could look after them, and not be kept until they are ready to die, as generally the first thigns [sic] parents hear is that their child is dead or at the point of death."[173]

In the spring of that year, seven of the seventeen children at the Anglican-run boarding school for boys on the Blackfoot Reserve had active tuberculosis. At least one of them, a boy named Ellis, was sent home. Shortly after his return home, Ellis died. His father, *Ajawana* (his name is also given as Scraping High and Scraping Hide), vowed to avenge his death.[174] On April 3, 1895, *Ajawana* shot and killed Frank Skynner, the local Indian Affairs official responsible for distributing rations on the reserve.[175] He then went to the burial site of Blackfoot Chief Crowfoot. Local official R. G. MacDonnell, Indian agent Magnus Begg, and two North-West Mounted Police officers tracked *Ajawana* to that location, where he was killed in the ensuing gun battle.[176]

There was a general belief that Skynner's attitudes, and possibly his dealings with *Ajawana*, had led to the tragic confrontation. Writing shortly after the events, MacDonnell claimed the press reports that Skynner had refused to provide *Ajawana* with beef for his sick child were "an unmitigated falsehood." However, he was of the opinion that Skynner was "a thoroughly unqualified man to be placed in such a position where tact and suavity of manner are all essential qualities." MacDonnell added that, in the past, Skynner had told him that once when he had denied rations intended for a man's child, the man had threatened Skynner "with shooting or stabbing." In MacDonnell's opinion, the tragic events were due

> to ill feeling caused by the compulsory education rule, unsatisfactory medical oversight and proper care of sick Indians, causing [the] murderer to brood over the death of his child and the taking of Skynner's life as being due to the Indian not liking him owing to his not having a knowledge of their language and his very hasty temper displayed towards them in the discharge of his duty.[106]

Deputy Minister Hayter Reed convinced himself that Ajawana "was not of sound mind." To think otherwise would "suggest the existence of a state of feeling between the wards and employees of the Department which would be most deplorable, and point to something radically wrong about their mutual relations."[107] The Mounted Police history of 1906 stated that Ajawana was "more or less crazy" at the time of the shooting.[108] But other sources, including MacDonnell, indicated that Ajawana was of sound mind, and that there was indeed "something radically wrong" in the relations between Indian Affairs and First Nations.

Skynner had been put in charge of the distribution of rations on the reserve in 1893. He quickly came into conflict with the people he was supposed to be serving. In the summer of that year, band leaders warned Hayter Reed they feared "there would be bloodshed on the reserve sooner or later" if Skynner were not replaced. Indian agent Magnus Begg replaced Skynner with local farm instructor W. M. Baker. However, when Baker was injured, Skynner was once more given responsibility for the distribution of rations. According to Baker, Skynner was killed for "refusing good rations to sick Indians."[109] Another Indian Affairs official, John McCrea, wrote that Skynner had been "totally unfit for the position, as he lacked tact, kindness or firmness." Skynner, he wrote, would swear at people who were seeking rations and "give them less than they were entitled to." McCrea felt that if he had not interfered, "there would have been some sickly people die for the want of grub." He stated he "was not surprised when Mr Skynner was murdered as the Indians detested the sight of him."[110] Magistrate MacDonnell said he had spoken to Ajawana on the day he killed Skynner. They had had a pleasant conversation in which Ajawana arranged to pay a debt he owed to MacDonnell. Ajawana also indicated that he was not prepared to mine coal for Indian Affairs for the pay rates the department was offering. MacDonnell said, "No stronger proof of his sanity could in my opinion be adduced than his refusal to work on such a poor basis of remuneration."[111]

In May 1895, a month after the killing of Skynner and Ajawana, the daughter of Greasy Forehead died from diphtheria at the Old Sun's school. (The Anglicans operated two boarding schools on the Blackfoot Reserve in this period: the White Eagle school for boys and the Old Sun's school for girls.) In the days prior to her death, Greasy Forehead had asked that his daughter be sent home to be cared for by "the

Indian doctor." However, Principal John Tims and the local physician said "there was no danger of her dying," and she was kept in the school. Tims then went to Calgary and placed W. M. Baker, the farm instructor, in charge. The girl died that night. Her brother was sent home with news of the death, while the First Nations leadership stepped in to persuade the parents to stay away from the school. Baker said that "the Chiefs discussed the matter freely and some said it would not be long before Mr. Tims would cause bloodshed on the reserve." After the girl's death, Indian agent Magnus Begg met with the First Nations leaders, who told him "they did not like Mr. Tims."[112] By the end of June, Tims had written Ottawa to request permission to close the school for a month.[113] His request was granted. Indeed, it was reported in the Toronto *Globe* that he had been forced to "seek safety in flight."[114]

There were other examples of parents being driven to extremes by the death of their children and by the way their concerns were treated. In September 1896, Bull Sittingdown fired off several shots from his revolver at the High River school to express his anger at not being told of his daughter's death.[115] A young girl at the Kuper Island, British Columbia, school came down with an illness that neither the staff nor the local doctor could diagnose in 1902. When her mother was informed of her illness, she insisted that the girl return home. The principal agreed: "If her malady would have proven fatal at the School, there would have been great excitement amongst the Indians."[116] In 1902, Elijah Manass complained to Indian Affairs that the principal at Mount Elgin, Ontario, W. W. Shepherd, had refused to forward a letter from a student informing him that his daughter was ill. The Manass family became aware of the illness only when the girl's mother visited the school. She withdrew the child and treated her at home.[117] Shepherd said the girl had become ill after a vaccination and was being properly treated—"if the Mother had stayed away the girl would have been all right in a short time." Shepherd claimed to have no knowledge of the letter that he was supposed to have withheld, although he added he did not think informing the parents was "nice to do as there was no danger."[118]

Staff concerns

Staff sometimes also complained about the care students received. Middlechurch staff teacher Abbie Gordon sent her complaints directly to the Indian Affairs minister, Clifford Sifton. She had been hired to teach at Middlechurch, but discovered on her arrival that she was "expected to oversee the cleaning of the girls dormitories, and the lady officers' rooms every morning before school besides looking after all the linen." Gordon's chief target was Miss Lang, the matron, whose treatment of the children was, in her opinion, "heartless." Sick children often were left unattended: "One boy, Willie Currant whose eyes were sore for weeks gradually lost his sight. He was sent home and in a month his eyes were quite well when looked after by his mother. Miss Lang took no interest in the child and even forbid nurse Inkster doing anything to relieve his sufferings."[119]

The epidemic takes root in the schools

By the 1890s, evidence was emerging that instead of helping to combat tuberculosis in First Nations communities, the schools were spreading infection. In 1893, Indian Affairs asked principals to provide information on the health conditions of former students. The principal of the Middlechurch school, which had been open for just three years, reported that of seventeen former students, two had died at school, three had died at home, and four had been sent home with illness. Eight of the seventeen students had been diagnosed with some form of tuberculosis.[120] The Qu'Appelle school reported that since opening in 1884, it had discharged 174 students, 71 of whom died.[121] In the previous year, there had been twelve deaths, eleven of which school principal Hugonnard attributed to consumption. It was, he said, "hereditary in the families of deceased and the germs of which were probably brought from home."[122] Despite Koch's demonstration of 1882 that tuberculosis was spread by germs, the idea that it was hereditary persisted in the Canadian West into the 1920s. This was in part because of the high rate of infection among First Nations people.[123]

Death and tuberculosis were present throughout the system. According to the Indian Affairs 1892 annual report, two students at the Regina school had died from consumption in the previous year: one at the school and one at home.[124] In the six years from 1891 to 1897, those numbers skyrocketed; forty-eight children died at the school.[125] Yet, in the face of such epidemic numbers, in his 1898 report, the principal reported general health at the school to be "fair, consumption and scrofula are enemies we have learned to dread."[126] Hobbema, Alberta, principal Z. Lizeé reported, "Two pupils died in the course of the year. One died of a brain disease; the other, of consumption. Two are scrofulous. All the others have always been well. The old building in which they are living may have been the cause of the sickness." The "brain disease" could well have been tubercular meningitis.[127] In 1898, the Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, school principal reported that Gabriel Poundmaker, the son of Chief Poundmaker, had died from a hemorrhage of the lungs—a common symptom of active tuberculosis.

> This boy was a general favourite in the school, being of a gentle and amiable disposition. He was particularly kind to the small boys, who often went to him for comfort in their childish troubles. Though never strong, nor possessed of much talent, he showed great taste for music, and his cornet-playing was admired by all who heard him.[128]

Some missionaries used the prevalence of disease in the industrial schools to lobby for government support for boarding schools. In making the case for such a boarding school on the Keeseekoose Reserve in what is now Saskatchewan, Roman Catholic missionary J. Decorby informed Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1899 that "children could no longer be sent from here to industrial schools. Already a good number have been sent. Although care was taken to send only those who gave the best assurances of health, all are dead, with the exception of one girl." Decorby promised that if the government built a Catholic boarding school on the reserve, "the number of children would be small" and "on the first symptom of the disease appearing they would be sent home."[129]

In 1896, Indian Commissioner A. E. Forget asked a series of doctors in the North-West Territories for their opinion as to whether residential schooling increased the likelihood of students' developing tuberculosis. Dr. A. B. Stewart responded that if schools took proper sanitary precautions, they should reduce, rather than increase, students' risk of developing the disease. He added that "it is a well established fact that Tuberculosis is contagious," and that when students came down with the infection, "steps should be taken to have them isolated." That, of course, could be done only if the school had an infirmary. Dr. Lindsay said that whether from "faulty construction, unsuitable location, improper ventilation, uneven temperature, or negligence," the schools were unhealthy. Given the fact that tuberculosis was uncommon among First Nations people during the years when they "had access to the nutritious buffalo meat," he thought it important for the schools to provide "a liberal quantity of good substantial food." He also thought it important that students be well clothed and get plenty of fresh air and exercise. Key to the process were selecting healthy children, removing sources of infection, maintaining high standards of sanitation, and ensuring the regular testing and treatment of the students. Dr. J. L. Hicks wrote that "not enough care was taken to get those who are healthy" when recruiting students. Dr. S. E. Macadam, who believed tuberculosis to be hereditary, said the disease was hastened on in the residential schools by "the greater confinement and less freedom." Dr. R. Spencer, who subscribed to the view that First Nations people had a hereditary tendency to tuberculosis, attributed some of the blame for the prevalence of the disease to the poor ventilation systems in the schools.[130]

After reviewing the responses, Deputy Minister Reed concluded that the question would be resolved only through the improved collection of statistics. In the meantime, schools should make use of "simple, inexpensive, yet effective" methods to improve ventilation and segregate tubercular students, "especially at night."[131]

In 1904, W. R. Tucker, a day school principal in Moose Woods in what is now Saskatchewan, advised the federal government not to rebuild the Qu'Appelle industrial school, which had been recently destroyed by fire. His reason was the high death rate of students in the schools. He provided a list of the number of students from the reserve where he worked who had attended the Qu'Appelle school or other industrial schools and who had returned to die of tuberculosis.[132] In response to the issues Tucker had raised, Indian Commissioner David Laird reviewed the death rates in the industrial schools on the Prairies for the five-year period ending in the summer of 1903. He concluded that the average death rate was 4%. He compared this to the 4.4% child mortality rate for the ten Indian agencies from which students were recruited for 1902. On this basis, he concluded that "consumption and other diseases are just as prevalent and fatal on the Reserves as in the schools." (These can be expressed as 4,000 and 4,400 per 100,000 of population. As will be discussed later, according to the Indian Affairs chief medical officer, the overall Canadian death rate for those between five and fourteen years of age was 430 per 100,000.)[133]

Laird then moved on to a problem that the schools were never able to address properly: "what is to be done with the pupils who develop consumption in an Industrial School?" He pointed out that they should not be allowed to stay in the school, where they would be a threat to other students, or sent home "to spread infection there." He suggested converting an existing industrial school into a sanatorium for students. This proposal, which was completely in keeping with medical thought of the day, would be made again and again during this period by a variety of government officials and medical authorities. On every occasion during this period (from 1867 to 1939), the government failed to take action.[134]

Crowding exacerbates the problem

In some cases, principals recruited more students than they were authorized to enrol. Since they did not receive a per capita grant for these students, there was less to spend per pupil on food and clothing. The practice also strained the already very limited sanitary provisions in the schools. In 1891, there were 112 students at the Battleford school—twelve more than were authorized.[135] Sarah Soonias, a former student, recalled the primitive sanitary provisions at the school in the early twentieth century. She said the girls all had to use the same towel. "And the same water too. We had a roller of towels which were locked and I remember we could never find a clean place to wipe ourselves." For a toilet, "there were three pails and there were 20 to 30 girls."[136] Gilbert Wuttunee had similar memories of his time at the school in the early twentieth century: "How the Sam Hill did we survive? You see, they had no sanitary facilities. We had the same towels, same basin, using the same water for bathing, once a week, I think, whether they had scrofula or not."[137]

In 1908, the Cranbrook, British Columbia, school had an authorized enrolment of fifty and an average enrolment of seventy.[138] The Metlakatla, British Columbia, school had so many extra students in 1905 that the infirmary was converted to a dormitory.[139]

In 1906, an inspector reported that "there is scarcely sufficient accommodation in the boys' division."[140] When he was the Indian commissioner in 1887, Hayter Reed supported a proposal to expand the Qu'Appelle school, where, he wrote, "the girls are packed together in their dormitory in a way not conducive to health."[141] Eight years later, Dr. Seymour said that the boys' dormitory at the Qu'Appelle school was four times smaller than it should be. The beds were jammed in, the walls were only eight feet (2.4 metres) high, and, in the morning, the smell was "simply awful." There was no chance of reducing what he described as the "present very high death rate" from tuberculosis unless the overcrowding was addressed. Putting in a new furnace by the fall would, he wrote, "be the means of saving a number of lives," since it would improve ventilation and increase the space in the dormitories by allowing for the removal of the coal stoves. Additional dormitories also were needed to further reduce crowding. Seymour believed that Aboriginal children "do not bear confinement well" and are "more or less predisposed through hereditary taints to Tuberculosis."[142]

Hayter Reed was unimpressed. He asked why, if the need for a furnace was so urgent, had the request been delayed until it would be almost impossible to supply one before winter? His opinion was that "some temporary arrangements can be devised for making some of the boys sleep elsewhere." He observed that it was difficult to reconcile the request for an additional dormitory to accommodate the existing students when the principal was also asking to be allowed to admit more pupils in the coming year. He had come to view the principal's requests as being "merely precursors of others kept back at the time, to be brought forwards after receipt of what may first be asked for."[143]

Indian Affairs official Martin Benson was convinced by 1897 that the schools were unhealthy. He asked whether it was "any wonder that our Indian pupils who have an hereditary tendency to phthisis, should develop alarming symptoms of this disease after a short residence in some of our schools, brought on by exposure to draughts in school rooms and sleeping in over-crowded, over-heated and unveltilated [sic] dormitories."[144] In 1903, he supported a request from Regina school principal J. Sinclair to spend $250 to purchase tents to house tubercular students, because the principal had demonstrated that "the health of the students is to a great extent dependent upon their obtaining plenty of fresh air." He noted, ironically, that the arguments the principal used "in favor of camp life can be used with equal force against the establishment of boarding and industrial schools."[145] He was not the only one to make this observation. Dr. Seymour had commented in 1895 that "sick pupils who are allowed to go home, invariably improve, notwithstanding the fact that at home they are not nearly as well fed as at the school."[146] In reporting on the deaths of six students from tuberculosis, three of whom were from "the Hudson's Bay country," Red Deer principal C. E. Somerset asked in 1903 if "the change of life has not been greater than the children could stand—from the wild, free life, living largely upon fish, to the confined life here—and one is compelled to ask if after all the boarding school on the reserve is not more likely to make strong children."[147] In short, many observers believed that conditions in Aboriginal communities, even communities with high levels of tuberculosis, might be healthier than conditions in residential schools. They also recognized that treating children in tent hospitals and ensuring that they get plenty of fresh air was not so different from life in many Aboriginal communities.

Pre-enrolment examinations

Regular examinations of students prior to enrolment were a long time in coming. The 1892 Order-in-Council that established the per capita funding model for all industrial schools required that schools maintain "dietary and domestic comfort." The only restriction on admission was a requirement that no child be admitted without the approval of the Indian commissioner.[148] There was no requirement for medical examinations for all students prior to admission. Winnipeg physician George Orton wrote in an 1895 report on the Middlechurch and St. Boniface schools that he would recommend against

> the admission in the future of children of a scrofulous character, whether with enlarged glands or bone affections, or with any marked tendency to consumption, both on account of the well-known infectious character of these diseases and from an economic point of view, it being better to educate and train thoroughly those only of robust constitutions, who are likely to live long useful lives.[149]

The fact that he was speaking of future admissions suggests that, to that date, students with active tuberculosis were being admitted to the schools.

In the spring of the following year, Indian Commissioner A. E. Forget distributed health certification forms to all principals in Manitoba and the North-West Territories. He informed them:

> It is felt that the standard of health required for admission to Boarding and Industrial schools should be raised and that a sufficient number of healthy recruits to keep your authorized enrolment to the maximum can be secured, thus reducing to a minimum the probability of being called upon to discharge a pupil on the grounds of health before his, or her, training is complete.

Principals were to send him a copy of the completed form when a student was admitted.[150]

In 1896, Qu'Appelle school principal Hugonnard claimed he was following the policy. "The standard of health of the pupils continues to improve year by year; none are admitted now without first passing a careful examination by the doctor." Yet, in the very same report, Hugonnard maintained, "Consumption still continues to be our worst enemy, and is the disease which has claimed most of the pupils who have died here, though in nearly every case it has clearly been hereditary."[113]

By 1898, Indian Commissioner David Laird was boasting that

> owing to improved sanitary arrangements and to the fact that the medical examination, which every recruit has to undergo, has been made more stringent, no alarm need now be felt in regard to the health of pupils attending industrial and boarding schools, and all who come in contact with Indians should strive to disabuse their minds as to the danger.[114]

In reality, progress was much slower. Because of difficulties in recruitment, principals continued to accept children who were ill. It was only in 1908 that Middlechurch principal James Dagg could report, "Owing to the great number of applications for admission, we were enabled to discharge every case of scrofula and consumption we had in the school, thus making the health of our pupils excellent."[115]

Disputes could arise between principals and doctors over how students should be treated. In southern Alberta, a conflict arose over who was to control the small Anglican hospital on the Blackfoot Reserve. Like the Catholic hospital on the Blood Reserve, the Blackfoot hospital was one of a number of mission hospitals receiving varying degrees of government support. These hospitals constituted the limits of the federal government's efforts to provide hospital care to Aboriginal people during this period.[116] In the 1890s, Dr. James Lafferty, the Indian Affairs medical officer for the Blackfoot, Sarcee, and Stony reserves (although later spelled as "Stoney," "Stony" was the spelling used at the time), sought to exercise control over the Anglican hospital on the Blackfoot Reserve. In one case, the wife of the Anglican boarding school principal refused to allow Lafferty to operate on two boys suffering from tuberculosis. The principal, H. W. Gibbon Stocken, later forbade Lafferty to treat any of his students. When presented with written instructions from Indian Commissioner A. E. Forget to turn the hospital over to Lafferty, Stocken refused to give him the keys to the building.[117] In response to this conflict, Indian Affairs Minister Clifford Sifton ordered that Lafferty be given

> authority to remove any child from any such school whom he thinks might develop an incurable disease which would render further expenditure on its education unavailing and to remove any child temporarily or permanently suffering from an infectious disease dangerous to the others; that no child should be admitted into any school without a health certificate from him.[118]

The following year, in response to a request to transfer a boy with scrofulous sores from the Roman Catholic school on the Blood Reserve to a hospital in Calgary, Indian Affairs education official Martin Benson wrote that "if the Department's instructions were properly followed out, no scrofulous pupils would be admitted to such schools."[119] In the spring of 1903, when the Regina principal requested tents to house students with scrofula. Benson complained that the school had not been inspected for a year and a half and the report from that date had made "no special mention of the health of the pupils." It was his opinion that "too long periods elapse between the inspections of Industrial schools."[114] Deputy Minister Frank Pedley recommended that the schools be inspected "at least" twice a year.[115]

A 1909 inspection of the Shingwauk Home demonstrated that the medical examination system was not keeping tubercular students out of the schools. The doctors who carried out the inspection reported:

> We also find that there are a few children suffering from tuberculosis attending the school in whom the signs of the disease are quite evident in the lungs, glands or bones. Such cases should never be admitted, and in the cases where the disease develops in the school, should be isolated and sent home or to some institution for the treatment of tuberculosis.[116]

In 1909, parents stopped sending their children to the Chapleau, Ontario, school after seven of thirty-one children died in a three-month period. Benson could find "no record of any of the pupils having been medically examined before admission, as they were nearly all enrolled before the school was placed on a per capita grant." The local Indian agent was instructed to ensure that in the future, no children were "taken into the school without passing a thorough medical examination."[117]

Treatment or conversion?

Lafferty's conflict with Anglican missionaries in northern Alberta underscored an important issue. The churches sought to maintain control over the operation of hospitals on reserves on which they had a presence. To the government's frustration, this could lead to the costly and ineffective duplication of services.[118]

When students died, school officials sometimes consoled themselves that religious instruction had provided the children with comfort and hope in their final hours. An 1873 report from the Muncey, Ontario, school reported, "Two of the girls have succumbed to pulmonary disease. Both gave pleasing evidence of their saving interest in the atonement, and died rejoicing in the hope of eternal life."[119]

In discussing student deaths in the school's 1892 annual report, Middlechurch school principal A. Fortin wrote:

> As evidence of the benefit the school is conferring upon the Indians themselves, it may be stated that the mother of one of the deceased scholars was so touched by the happiness of her dying child, and her earnestly expressed desire that she would herself renounce heathenism, that the poor woman not only met sorrow with calm resignation, but has since earnestly begged for baptism. Doubtless the

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The nursing experiment

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The Bryce years: 1904–1914

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reports the principals gave him: in his report, Bryce referred to the "defective way in which the returns had been made."[136]

Upon its release in the fall of 1907, the report made national headlines. *Saturday Night* magazine reviewed the statistics presented by Bryce and concluded, "Even war seldom shows as large a percentage of fatalities as does the educational system we have imposed on our Indian wards." The headline in the Montreal *Star* read "Death Rate Among Indians Abnormal." A similar story in the *Ottawa Citizen* concluded that the schools were "veritable hotbeds for the propagation and spread" of tuberculosis.[137]

In releasing the report, Indian Affairs asked for comments from Indian agents and school principals. The Indian Affairs inspector at Gleichen, Alberta, wrote that "on the whole, I agree with the Dr's conclusions." He said that "if more funds had been expended to better the conditions complained about in this report and a great deal less on drugs, there would have been fewer deaths among the pupils."[138] The Indian agent in Morley, Alberta, T. J. Fleetham, wrote that "as far as the Stony Reserve is concerned I am fully of the opinion that fully 80% of the population more especially those under 25 years of age have more or less tuberculosis in their blood and that 75% of the deaths during the last three years are from this disease."[139]

The churches and schools aggressively defended their records. Brandon, Manitoba, principal T. Ferrier pointed out that when the schools were first established, there was no medical screening of students and "a large number of pupils were taken into the schools that should never have been admitted." Admission was now much tighter, and the diet and clothing were much improved. He argued that since the schools that responded to Bryce's survey had been in operation for an average of fifteen years, the death rate should have been stated as 1.6% per year, not 24%.[140] This is an early example of how Bryce's findings were going to be misread over the years, both by supporters and critics of the schools. As noted above, Bryce did not present the figure of 24% as a death rate. He stated that, according to figures provided to him by the principals, a quarter of the individuals who had enrolled in these schools since they opened (and he noted that some had opened as early as 1888) were dead. Since 24% was not a death rate, dividing it by fifteen (as Ferrier had done) does not produce an annual death rate.

Round Lake, Saskatchewan, principal J. R. Matheson wrote angrily:

> The health of the children and all connected with the school has been excellent. In view of the present exaggerated, and in some cases, most unfair agitation, regarding the unhealthy condition of Indian schools in general, I would like to draw attention to the fact that for the past year in this school, with a roll of over 40 children, half breeds, Indians and whites, gathered from different places throughout Alberta and Saskatchewan, hundreds of miles apart, there has not been a single case of sickness serious enough to prevent attendance of the child at school and dining table for any two days in the year, and all this without any change in the system of ventilation and sanitation pursued by this school for

> the last 15 years. Can any public school in Canada show a better, or as good a record.[illegible]

The responses from other principals made it clear that many schools were still admitting tubercular students. The principal of the Anglican school at Brocket, Alberta, W. R. Haynes, wrote, "Anyone who has been amongst the Indians for any length of time, know [sic] that practically all are full of tuberculosis, and how can he expect their offspring to be otherwise." He said the local doctor did not admit any "who has any signs of the dread disease." But he recognized that if "every pupil were rejected on the grounds of tuberculosis in their families, I am afraid you might as well close the schools altogether."[illegible] From Qu'Appelle, Principal Hugonnard responded that many students with scrofula had "no better place to be sent" than his school. He concluded that the school's death rate, which had been declining, was "due to the poor health inherited from their parents and not to the sanitary conditions of the schools."[illegible] At a single medical clinic at the Qu'Appelle school, forty children, or 20% of the enrolment, underwent surgery for the treatment of tubercular glands.[illegible]

Bryce's report did not contain any recommendations. However, he prepared a separate set of wide-ranging recommendations for Deputy Minister Pedley. He did not limit himself to health issues. While he was highly critical of residential schooling as it then existed, he was not an opponent of residential schooling in principle. Given the irregular attendance at day schools, he accepted that residential schooling would continue to be necessary in western Canada. He expected that the schools would further a process by which "bands gradually surrender their treaty rights and become enfranchised citizens." In other words, he was supportive of the system's assimilative agenda.

Like Martin Benson, Bryce thought the industrial schools were overly ambitious. Although some industrial schools were "expensive successes," most were "expensive failures." And, while he was highly critical of the health conditions in existing boarding schools, he favoured the boarding school model of a small school with thirty to fifty students that focused on providing agricultural training. All new schools, he thought, should have farms, make use of the half-day system, and require student attendance until the age of eighteen. He proposed that, on finishing their education, students be settled on homesteads laid out for them on nearby reserves. The model for this was the File Hills Colony that had been developed by Indian Affairs official W. M. Graham in Saskatchewan.

Bryce also called on the government to assume the "financial management and systematic control of all Indian education." The churches would not be completely excluded, since each of the four churches involved in operating residential schools would have a representative on a national board of trustees that would be responsible for the appointment of staff and operation of the schools.

"Radical improvements" were needed for most school buildings "if the pupils are to remain in good health while at school and be discharged strong and capable of earning a livelihood afterwards." Although the details differed from school to school, Bryce saw a need for improvement in ventilation, heating, and sanitation. He thought there was also a need for a manual of instruction on hygiene, physical drill, and calisthenics, and that all schools should be visited twice yearly by a doctor with experience in public health work. His final recommendation addressed the issue of tuberculosis. Where local hospitals did not exist, he recommended a continuation of the policy he had put in place after taking office in 1904: that "a small tent hospital be attached to the school, wherein tubercularized and scrofulous patients may receive necessary treatment and where, instead of being sent home to die, they may in most cases, when dealt with early, be nursed back to health without jeopardizing the health of the other pupils."[295]

The Lafferty report of 1908

The following year, Dr. James Lafferty carried out a study of the students at five schools in Alberta. He concluded that 80% of the students at the Sarcee (near what is now *Tsuu T'ina*), McDougall (later Morley), Old Sun's (near Gleichen) on the Blackfoot Reserve, Cluny, and High River schools had tuberculosis of the lungs. One hundred per cent of the students at the Sarcee and McDougall schools were diagnosed with tuberculosis. At the Cluny school, twenty-two of thirty-nine students were diagnosed with tuberculosis. Lafferty concluded that First Nations children had little resistance to tuberculosis, and that life in the schools was "not conducive to the increase of this resistance." As a result, he recommended that "no child suffering from the disease should be admitted to any school or allowed to remain in any school after it is affected with the disease." That he felt compelled to make this recommendation, and to underline it for emphasis, highlights the fact that tubercular students were still being admitted and retained in the schools.

Lafferty also felt compelled to answer a counter-argument that had been put to him by church and school officials. Their position was that there was no need to ban tubercular students, since the level of infection in the schools and in First Nations communities was roughly the same. Lafferty said that by recruiting children into residential schools, the government "becomes responsible for the consequences that follow." In particular, he felt it was wrong to recruit a healthy child and then expose "this child to the very great risk of contracting the disease from children in the school affected with it."[296]

Lafferty was particularly critical of the Old Sun's Anglican school on the Blackfoot Reserve. The school "has never been free from cases of tuberculosis in my ten years of attendance and at the present time there are eight or ten cases of tuberculosis in various stages in the school."[297] On the basis of the report, Duncan Campbell Scott, the department's accountant, recommended that the school not be allowed "to remain open for a day longer than is absolutely necessary."[208] Deputy Minister Frank Pedley concurred and recommended to the minister that the school be closed immediately.[209] When informed that he must close the school, the local missionary, H. W. Gibbon Stocken, who had come into conflict with Dr. Lafferty in the past, now tried to blame Lafferty. He pointed out that the doctor had the power to prohibit the admission of students who were ill, and to remove those who became infectious while in the school: "How is it then that the School has never been free from tubercular cases. Who admitted them? In every case Dr. Lafferty. Who retained such cases? Dr. Lafferty." Why, Stocken asked, was he being punished for Lafferty's failures? He also maintained that tuberculosis was less prevalent in the schools than in the community. The problems that did exist lay with the government, which had failed to provide a long-promised new school.[210] Scott described the church position as "disingenuous." He pointed out that in correspondence going back to 1904, the church had recognized the problems with sanitation and uncontrollable disease at the school. He also noted that the Anglican Bishop of Calgary had opposed the government's efforts to reorganize the Protestant boarding schools. Construction of the new boarding school was delayed by conflict between the church and the government over who would pay for it. Scott complained that "in their dealings with the Department the Church authorities have always been shifty on this question of funds."[211] Nonetheless, in the face of protests from the church, the closure was delayed and the school stayed in operation for three more years until a new building was constructed in 1911.[212]

In the spring of 1909, Deputy Minister Frank Pedley addressed Lafferty's two recommendations. A recent amendment to the school application form had instructed physicians who were inspecting potential students not to admit any "child suffering from scrofula or any form of tubercular disease." This, he believed, fully implemented Lafferty's suggestion that "no child suffering from the disease should be admitted to any school." But he felt that discharging all tubercular students already in the schools would lead to the closing of many schools and would "seriously inconvenience others financially." This was a problem the department failed to address. In this case, Pedley also chose to limit action to the five schools Lafferty had inspected. He recommended that the infected students Lafferty had identified be dismissed and replaced with healthy students. Where the principals were to find enough healthy students to fill the schools was a question he avoided.[213]

The Bryce report of 1909

Dr. Peter Bryce brought the issue of tuberculosis in the schools to a head in 1909. In that year, he and Lafferty undertook a detailed examination of all 243 students at seven schools in southern Alberta. The report on their work, which was prepared by Bryce alone, concluded that there was a "marked" presence of tuberculosis among all age groups. In some schools, "there was not a child that showed a normal temperature." He noted that, although they were not included in his study, four boys recently discharged from the High River, Alberta, school were in an "advanced state of the illness." And, "in no single instance in any school where a young child was found awaiting admission, did it not show signs of tuberculosis."

Bryce also provided a national context for the school's death rates. Using the statistics for the Shingkwauk Home in Ontario, the Sarcee school in Alberta, and the Cranbrook school in British Columbia for the period from 1892 to 1908, he calculated an annual death rate, from all causes, of 8,000 deaths per 100,000. (He included deaths at school and "soon after leaving" in making this calculation.) By comparison, according to Bryce, the 1901 Canadian census showed a death rate, from all causes, for those between five and fourteen years of age, of an equivalent of 430 per 100,000.[214] The residential school death rate was, in short, almost twenty times higher than the national death rate.

Bryce sought Lafferty's assistance in preparing recommendations based on their study. Lafferty, however, said he was "at a loss to offer any suggestions" without first knowing what the government was prepared to undertake.[215] Bryce did not suffer from such trepidation. His recommendations were clear and, once more, wide-ranging. Given the extent of tuberculosis infection, he felt it was appropriate to consider each student as "a case of probable tuberculosis—in a word a patient." The schools should be required to address the patient's needs, specifically

> his food, its amount and kind, his clothing, the amount of rest required, the amount and nature of his exercise, whether in manual labour or calisthenics, and the facilities existing for his obtaining what is called today the fresh-air cure. Naturally as a part of the consideration of each case, will be the treatment of any special symptoms which may arise, such as removal of tuberculous [sic] glands, adenoids, as well as his general medical treatment.

Under this approach, the schools would be transformed into sanatoria. The degree of change was underlined by Bryce's comment that all the above tasks would have to take into consideration the "time to be spent on school work proper." Bryce proposed that the schools be placed under his authority. He would "direct and control the work of the school officials without interference from Church officials or others." He would write a manual describing how they would be operated, and select and train the nurses and sanitary officers who would have to be hired to operate the schools. His proposal also called for the hiring of full-time district medical officers to oversee the public health work in the schools. The existing medical officers, who were paid per visit, would handle only emergency cases.

To fulfill his vision, the schools would have to be fitted with balconies and semi-open classrooms. Students would need warmer clothing, and an improvement in their general diet and in their milk supply in particular. Improvements would also have to be made in the water supply and sanitation, which often demonstrated "a lamentable indifference to or ignorance of the simplest sanitary requirements." Drawing on the earlier Frimley model, he included a significant work component in his proposal. "Squads of the stronger children would be organized to assist in the indoor and outdoor work, wholly from the standpoint of their physical ability."[216]

Although Bryce recommended that this new regime be phased in gradually, it represented a radical restructuring of the residential school system. It struck at both the relationship between the government and the churches, and at the purpose of the institutions. If implemented, Bryce's proposals would have transformed church-run schools into secular sanatoria, in which health care rather than education was the priority. The sanatoria would, however, continue to be instruments of assimilation, and would continue to separate children from parents. They would also be much more costly to operate.

The rejection of Bryce's recommendations

These proposals were not acceptable to Indian Affairs. In a memorandum on Bryce's recommendations, Duncan Campbell Scott, who had become the Indian Affairs superintendent of education in 1909, wrote that while they "may be scientific," they were "quite inapplicable to the system under which these schools are conducted." By *system*, he meant the partnership between the government and the churches. Even if the government were to accept the proposals, "the Churches would not be willing to give up their share of the joint control." Scott said that Bryce's and Lafferty's work had already "caused considerable irritation and brought protests from the Roman Catholic authorities."[217] In 1908, Indian Affairs Minister Frank Oliver had indicated that no changes would be made to the residential school system without "the acceptance by the Roman Catholic Church of the main features of the proposition and more complete harmony amongst the various local interests of the Protestant churches."[218] Scott recognized that what Bryce was proposing would never receive such acceptance.

Scott concluded, "If the schools are to be conducted at all we must face the fact that a large number of the pupils will suffer from tuberculosis in some of its various forms." Rather than turning the schools into sanatoria, he felt, the government needed to "carry out some common sense reforms to remove the imputation that the Department is careless of the interests of these children." His list of reforms included:

- continuing to refuse admission to children "reported to be tubercular"
- building open-air dormitories and workrooms where needed

- establishing an obligatory diet for all children
- increasing the boarding school per capita rate to $100
- setting out sanitation, diet, and exercise requirements in contracts with the churches[219]

The more cautious Lafferty submitted his own proposals in June of 1910. He stressed that his proposals were "practical," "could be carried out at a comparatively small expense," and could be implemented "without disturbing the present system of management." He did note that, if strictly enforced, the requirement that any student suffering "to any extent any form of tuberculosis" be refused admission would lead to the "rapid closing up of all the schools as we know that practically no children are free from it." His proposals included the construction of sleeping galleries, open-air classrooms, and separate sanitary facilities for infected students; the use of isolation cottages; improvements in diet and clothing; and the employment of nurses and medical inspectors.[220]

Scott's and Lafferty's recommendations were reflected in the contract that was reached with the churches in the fall of 1910. That contract required that all schools have "hospital accommodation for the isolation of pupils with infectious diseases or tuberculosis" and a "modern system of ventilation in dormitories and class-rooms and sufficient air space in dormitories and class-rooms for the number of pupils accommodated." Class A schools, which were to receive a higher level of funding, were to have "a pure and plentiful water-supply distributed throughout the building," "a proper system of sanitary water closets, drainage, and disposal of sewage," and "modern heating apparatus, hot water, steam or hot air." Students were not to be admitted "until, where practicable, a physician has reported that the child is in good health and suitable as an inmate of said school."

The contract also raised the per capita rates for all the boarding schools. With the exception of some schools in Ontario, all the schools had a minimum rate of the $100 per student that Scott had recommended. (The rate for some of the schools in central Ontario was increased to $80. Those schools in the Northern Division that were 200 miles, or 322 kilometres, or more from a railway had a rate of $125.) The government committed itself to providing the schools with medicine and to maintaining government-owned buildings "in good condition and repair and provide for proper sanitation and sanitary appliances."[221] However, there was no provision for the additional medical staff Lafferty proposed. According to Scott, hiring such staff "would add considerably to the appropriations." Scott made it clear that Bryce's central proposal—that the schools be turned into sanatoria—had been rejected: the schools were to be "educational institutions and not Hospitals."[222]

Bryce had been outmanoeuvred. He vented his frustration in his annual report for 1913. He wrote that government attitudes towards the First Nations tuberculosis death rate reflected a belief in "the inevitable presence of disease amongst men, as to its more or less incurable character, as to the limited allotted span of human life, and as to unavoidable death as the logical termination of an organism whose work and functions as a part of organized society have been fulfilled and are ended." This, he pointed out, was not the attitude taken towards the presence of disease "in civilized societies."[illegible] In effect, he was accusing Indian Affairs of taking tuberculosis among First Nations people for granted: "so wide-spread is the presence of tuberculosis or scrofula that its constant presence has almost ceased to excite any surprise or alarm."[illegible] The result of this neglect of First Nations health could be read in the 1911 census result. Bryce pointed out that the First Nations population was increasing at a rate of "little more than one-fifth of the natural increase in any white community in Canada."[illegible]

In the same year that Bryce published this attack on government policy, Duncan Campbell Scott became deputy minister of Indian Affairs. Although Bryce remained on the government payroll for another eight years, Scott never asked him to do any more inspection work for Indian Affairs. In 1914, when Bryce asked for access to the Indian Affairs medical files to prepare his annual report, Scott informed him that there was no need to prepare a report. He said the work Bryce was doing would be taken care of by Dr. O. I. Grain, who had been hired to oversee medical services on the Prairies. Although he continued with his work for the Department of the Interior, Bryce's involvement in Indian Affairs had essentially ceased.[illegible] After failing in his attempt to have responsibility for First Nations health transferred to the newly created federal health department, Bryce was forced into retirement in 1921.[illegible] The following year, he wrote a brief pamphlet, *The Story of a National Crime: Being an Appeal for Justice to the Indians of Canada*. It outlined his 1907 and 1909 reports, their recommendations, and how Deputy Minister Scott had thwarted his proposals.[illegible] The federal government did not appoint a new chief medical officer until 1927, six years after Bryce's retirement.[illegible]

The Scott years: 1913–1932

Duncan Campbell Scott was deputy minister of Indian Affairs from 1913 until his retirement in early 1932. Having outmanoeuvred Peter Bryce in 1914, he had a free hand within the department to implement the "common sense reforms" he had inserted into the 1910 contract with the churches. The 1910 contract did improve conditions in many schools. Certainly, the increase in the per capita grant allowed for improvements in clothing and diets. However, the First World War meant that the government was not able to renovate many of the boarding schools. Wartime inflation also severely reduced the value of the funding increases. As a result, by the 1920s, many of the schools were continuing to struggle financially. Financial problems led inevitably to further crowding, poor building conditions, increased demands for student labour, decreases in the quality of the diet, poor-quality clothing, and reduced access to medical attention. The federal government did little to isolate contagious students or to provide them with treatment to ease their suffering. The improvements that Scott had inserted were in large measure either insufficient or only partially implemented. The health problems in schools in southern Alberta, the lack of school infirmaries and medical staff, the impact of the 1918–19 influenza epidemic, and the failure to screen out tubercular students all demonstrate that the government and church partnership that operated the schools failed to respond adequately to an ongoing health crisis in the schools. In doing so, they both ignored the recommendations of senior medical staff and undermined the health of Aboriginal people for decades to come.

Ongoing problems in southern Alberta

The limitations of the 1910 contract can be seen in the ongoing problems experienced in the schools in southern Alberta. Dr. O. I. Grain had been hired in 1914 as medical inspector for the western provinces. In that job, he was tasked with providing "practical suggestions" on how to reduce "the scourge of tuberculosis." There was also a reminder that "the expenditure is limited to a vote by Parliament and should not be exceeded during the fiscal year." Practical suggestions, in other words, were low-cost suggestions.[128] Like doctors Bryce and Lafferty before him, Grain was highly critical of many of the schools and hospitals in southern Alberta. In his first year on the job, he inspected the "so-called hospital" on the Blackfoot Reserve. Having first commented that the "less said about it the better," he went on to say that this government-funded, church-run hospital had only two patients, an orphan and an elderly man, both of whom appeared to be living there "for keeps." If the hospital were to continue to operate, he thought, it should not be under church control.[129] He was equally dismissive of the Old Sun's Anglican school and hospital near Gleichen on the Blood Reserve. He found the girls' quarters "most unfit for habitation." Again, he recommended direct government supervision of the institutions, although he did acknowledge that the nearby Roman Catholic schools and hospitals, established by missionaries and funded by the government, were far better administered.[130]

The Old Sun's principal, Samuel Middleton, said that Grain's allegation that the school was "dirty" was "an absolute lie," and that the charge that the children were "ill-clad" was one of Grain's "flights of imagination," based on his impressions of a few students returning from their afternoon walk.[131] Two years later, Grain returned and gave the school a much more positive assessment, saying "everything was in splendid order."[132] That was not the case everywhere. In 1914, Grain described the Presbyterian school in Kamsack as "the worst residential school I have had to visit, for the Department, as yet." Conditions were so bad he could see no alternative other than to close it down. In its place, he recommended the establishment of a day school and a hospital.[illegible] That same year, he described one of the buildings at the Red Deer school as "the worst laid out affair I ever saw and I would think it almost impossible to keep it sanitary." He recommended gutting the building and beginning anew.[illegible]

Corbett was not the only voice of criticism. In January 19[illegible], Dr. [illegible] Gillespie reported that only seven of nineteen students were in "good general physical condition" at the Anglican school in Brocket, Alberta. Nine had tuberculosis; of them, four had "open running sores." Going beyond medical issues, he commented that the staff was "too small and inefficient," the clothing was unsuitable, the children were kept in a "deplorable state of uncleanliness," and the buildings were "dirty and unsanitary." Given this complete indictment, it is not surprising he recommended the school be closed.[illegible] Anglican Archdeacon John Tims wrote that the principal had once waited nine months before the delivery of medications to treat the children's illnesses.[illegible] In March of that year, another government inspector said the school was dirty, all but two of the students were "very poorly clad" and "the staff afforded no very uplifting example."[illegible] In 19[illegible] and 19[illegible], Indian Affairs threatened to withhold the school grant unless improvements were made in the operation of the school.[illegible] Despite these threats, the school continued to operate.

In 19[illegible], Dr. [illegible] Stout, the medical officer for the Blood Agency in Alberta, wrote a report about the health attitudes of the principals of the Anglican and Roman Catholic schools on the reserve, saying they had demonstrated "obstinate opposition" to his proposals to improve ventilation at the schools to combat the spread of "very severe" cases of pneumonia. In frustration, he wrote that "these schools had better be closed entirely than to be operated under an improper system of ventilation and diet." On the subject of diet, he recommended, "Less white flour and more whole flour should be used, less beef and more wild meats, less potatoes and more vegetables, less sugar and more fresh fruit, less tea and coffee and more water and milk." The health problems he saw on reserves were not the result of any natural susceptibility to disease. Rather, he thought, they were the result of the adoption of European habits of life: "I am sorry to observe that many of these habits have been and are being ingrafted into the lives of these aborigines [sic] by their white teachers."[illegible]

In November 19[illegible], Dr. [illegible] Corbett surveyed the schools in southern Alberta. He described the students at the Old Sun's school as being "below par in health and appearance." Seventy per cent of the fifty students in the school had "somewhat enlarged lymphatic glands of the neck." Eight were in need of surgical treatment, and he thought another twenty-five should have fresh air treatment. He recommended diets of milk, eggs, cod liver oil, and iron supplements. In addition to the tubercular children, he said, eight children were suffering from serious eye disease, while [illegible] of the students had scabies. "The condition has been neglected or unrecognized and has plainly gone on for months. The hands and arms, and in fact the whole bodies of many

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the Beauval school in Saskatchewan was exempted from the provision when it was pointed out that "no physician can be found" to attend the school.[illegible] Instead, the administration was instructed to have the students examined "on the first occasion that a physician visits the school."[illegible] When seeking to have children admitted to the Norway House, Manitoba, school in 1912, Principal E. Lecoq notified the federal government, "As there is no doctor, the page has not been filled. But I can certify that the children we have are enjoying perfect health."[illegible]

The ongoing presence of tuberculosis in the schools was a sign that inspection was lax. In 1914, Indian Affairs attempted to place a student from the Chapleau school in a provincial sanatorium.[illegible] Several more cases developed in the spring of 1915,[illegible] leading departmental secretary J. D. McLean to instruct the local Indian agent to ensure that the doctor who examined prospective students took "care to see that they are in good health and show no traces of tuberculosis."[illegible] By May of that year, three students had been transferred from the school to a local hospital. Two, who were recovering, were to be transferred to provincial sanatoria. McLean instructed the Indian agent to purchase a tent in which the third student, who was not likely to recover, could be housed under the supervision "of a competent person."[illegible]

The certificate of health form in use by 1920 asked for the student's age, height, weight, and defects (if any) of the limbs, eyesight, and hearing. The physician was also to state if there were any signs of scrofula or "other forms of tubercular disease," describe any evidence of cutaneous (skin) disease, state whether the child was subject to fits, state whether the child had had smallpox, and report on whether the child had been vaccinated. The physician was also to judge whether the child was "generally of sound and healthy constitution and fitted to enter an Indian school." The certificate specifically instructed physicians, "No child suffering from scrofula or any form of tubercular disease is to be admitted to school; if in any special case it is thought that this rule should be relaxed, a report should be made to the Department setting forth the facts."[illegible]

Duncan Campbell Scott thought Indian Affairs officials were also to blame for the inattention to medical inspection, observing in 1925 that "it is our own officers, who pick up orphans, delinquents and others that are causing the difficulty, as occasionally no application forms are forwarded." He did agree, however, that there should be a "more careful checking of the medical officers' remarks in the case of all applicants."[illegible] Two years later, Kamloops, British Columbia, school principal James McGuire complained to Indian Affairs that the Indian agent had "sent us three children with measles in the early spring. We had over a hundred children down with them at once." McGuire bitterly complained that not only was Indian Affairs sending him infectious children, but it was also not supplying him with a place to house the healthy ones. "Your miserable accommodation here last year for small boys, which I had to tear down, as it was condemned by the public health officer, did not mend matters."[illegible] Principals also were reluctant to discharge students with active tuberculosis. Qu'Appelle school principal G. Leonard refused to carry out a local physician's instructions to send tubercular students to a local sanatorium in 1922, claiming they would be "better off at the school than in the sanatorium."[276]

The Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school opened in 1930. In July of that year, Principal J. P. Mackey reported he had managed to have two of the five tubercular students in attendance admitted to a local sanatorium. Indian Affairs secretary A. F. MacKenzie congratulated Mackey on the discharge of the two students, but had concerns about the three still at the school. MacKenzie explained, "If no other means can be found to care for them [tubercular children], they must be sent back to their reserves even though that seems hard on them. In such a case they are no worse off than if they had not come to the school."[277]

Ten years after the 1910 federal contract for residential schools came into effect, the Saskatchewan government struck a royal commission to examine the extent of tuberculosis in the province. The study examined 1,184 non-First Nations children and 162 First Nations children to see if they had been exposed to, or infected with, tuberculosis. The infection rate for the entire group was 56.6%. However, for First Nations children, the infection rate was 93.1%.[278] With that rate of infection, all First Nations children in the province were, as Dr. Peter Bryce had previously realized and reported, potential patients. According to the prevailing views of the day, they required healthy conditions, good diets, and adequate medical treatment. They had not received those up until that point, and they still would not for many years to come.[279] A second study, carried out between 1926 and 1928 at residential schools in Saskatchewan, underlined the role the schools were playing in completing the tubercularization of First Nations children. The study was carried out at schools that did not discharge students with active or infectious tuberculosis. These students were often referred to as "spreaders" by medical investigators. The study found that students who showed no signs of having been infected by tuberculosis at the time of their admission to these schools had been infected within the first two years of their enrolment.[280] In short, Duncan Campbell Scott's "common sense" measures were actually spreading tuberculosis rather than working to contain it.

Scott retired in early 1932. His departure coincided with the onset of the Great Depression. With the exception of work initiated by the Saskatchewan Anti-Tuberculosis League, the neglect of First Nations health in general and in residential schools in particular would only intensify during the 1930s.

The Depression era: 1930–1939

Federal inaction

After Peter Bryce's forced retirement in 1921, Indian Affairs did not have a chief medical officer until 1927, when Dr. E. L. Stone was appointed to the position. The gap is actually greater, since, from 1913 onwards, Bryce had not been doing any work on First Nations issues.[281] Stone, who had previously worked in Norway House, Manitoba, was personally aware of the extent of tuberculosis among First Nations.[282] At the time of his appointment, Canada was spending $27,000 a year on health services at residential schools ($9,000 for drugs, $4,500 for dental services, and $13,500 for medical services). The overall amount being spent on First Nations health services was $485,978. Of that, $30,000 was allocated for the prevention and treatment of tuberculosis (an amount that the government announced it intended to increase to $50,000).[283]

In 1930, Stone described the First Nations tuberculosis epidemic as the "most acute public health problem in Canada at the present time." At that time, the First Nations tuberculosis death rate was twenty times higher than the national tuberculosis death rate. In places such as Haida Gwaii (the Queen Charlotte Islands), he said, the disease constituted a "menace to the existence of the Bands, and to the white community as well." Dr. Stone also knew that the government's response was inadequate. "At the present time it is being found necessary to refuse applications for sanatorium treatment due to lack of funds for maintenance."[284]

Throughout the 1930s, the First Nations death rate from tuberculosis never fell below 600 deaths per 100,000, while the death rate from tuberculosis for the overall Canadian population fell from 79.8 per 100,000 in 1930 to 53.6 per 100,000 in 1939.[285] In western Canada, the differences in the health conditions between First Nations people and the rest of the population could be starkly measured by the tuberculosis death rates. In 1934, First Nations people made up 2.2% of the Manitoba population, but accounted for 31% of the tuberculosis deaths. In Saskatchewan, the comparable figures were 1.6% of population and 27% of deaths; in Alberta, they were 2.1% and 34%; and in British Columbia, they were 3.7% and 35%.[286]

Stone's negative response to Manitoba health minister E. W. Montgomery's offer of co-operation in the establishment of a sanatorium for First Nations people in 1930 indicates just how little was being done. According to Montgomery, Stone stated that the tuberculosis problem was "almost beyond the power of the Department to meet."[287]

To reverse this situation, Stone proposed that Indian Affairs adopt a ten-year plan for treating tuberculosis among the First Nations population. The first year would have seen a $100,000 increase in spending. This money would be used to finance four travelling clinics, comprised of a specialist, a dentist, a surgical nurse, and a public health nurse, who would travel from reserve to reserve, providing diagnostic services and limited treatment. Under his plan, an additional $100,000 a year would then be added to the tuberculosis budget. This money would be used to create sanatoria beds and to pay for treatment. By the end of the ten-year period, a total of 450 sanatoria spaces would have been created and the government would be spending a million dollars a year on the treatment of First Nations tuberculosis.[288] In making an appeal for support for his plan, he noted, "At the same time the work now being done, and which consumes all available funds, cannot with humanity be lessened."[289]

He was wrong. Not only did the federal government fail to implement his proposed ten-year plan, but it also cut back on the work it was doing. In 1932–33, the Indian Affairs health budget was reduced by 20%. The Indian Affairs annual report for 1932 admitted that the government had been obliged to "limit admissions of tuberculous Indians to sanatoria and hospitals," a measure that it acknowledged would "result in an increased spread of the disease." The report claimed that a remedy to the crisis was "not impossible, either from a scientific or financial standpoint." Indian Affairs placed the blame on the people of Canada. Acting Deputy Minister A. S. Williams wrote that the department was ready to go forward, but could not do so "until popular demand, as expressed in parliamentary appropriations, makes it possible to proceed."[290] Table 16.3 shows the reduction in government spending of First Nations health in this period, demonstrating that over a two-year period, it fell by 24.5%. This table appeared in the Indian Affairs annual report for 1933. For comparison purposes, the department had included the amount the Ontario government was spending on health on a per capita basis, although it did not specify the year to which the $30 per capita figure refers. It is clear, however, that Ontario was spending three to four times more per person on the health of its general population than Canada was spending on First Nations health.

Table 16.3. Cost of Indian Health Services During the Fiscal Years 1931–32, 1932–33, 1933–34.

Appropriation for 1931–32	$1,050,000
Appropriation for 1932–33	839,000
Appropriation for 1933–34	793,000
Number of Indians, 110,000	
Cost per capita per annum, 1931–32	10.00
Cost per capita per annum, 1932–33	7.60
Cost per capita per annum, 1933–34	7.20
Cost per capita per annum for the population at large, as estimated by the Ontario Provincial Department of Health	30.00

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1933*, 14.

After the 1932 budget cuts, an Indian Affairs circular advised staff that it was "necessary to take measures to curtail expenditure to medical and hospital attendance."

Tubercular patients were to be authorized for admission to hospitals or sanatoria only if they were in a condition of "actual suffering." Those who were at risk of disfigurement were to be given "special consideration" if their "outlook" was deemed to be "hopeful."[291] In 1934, a British Columbia doctor proposed to extend the tuberculosis work he had carried out in the Chilliwack residential school. Stone responded that Indian Affairs "was not in a position at present to embark on any definite tuberculosis work."[292]

It was not only direct health spending that was cut during the Depression. Within a year of Dr. Harold McGill's appointment as deputy minister in the fall of 1932, Indian agents were instructed that relief granted to "able-bodied Indians should be drastically curtailed."[293] Later that year, categories for sick relief were redrawn in an effort to "reduce rather than increase ... expenditures on sick relief."[294] According to a 1934 circular, Indian agents were restricted to providing the following food items to First Nations people on relief:

> Tea, sugar, salt pork, rice, beans, molasses, macaroni, rolled oats, barley, lard, baking powder, flour, canned tomatoes, salt, yeast, dried peas, the cheapest cuts of fresh meat or the cheapest kind of fish. Root vegetables or apples, of the cheapest variety, may be supplied only in cases where the Indians have had no opportunity of raising these products on their own lands.[295]

These policies had a tremendous impact on the health of many First Nations people. It is estimated that during the Depression, approximately 20% of the general Canadian population received some form of relief. For the First Nations population, the figure was 33%.[296] The level of relief that was provided to all unemployed Canadians was meagre.[297] However, compared to that provided to First Nations people, it appears generous. The per capita spending on relief for all Canadians in 1932 was $44.33. By 1936, this figure had risen to $61.69. Comparable per capita spending on First Nations relief for those years was $20.30 and $20.57—less than half, and then less than a third, of what other Canadians on relief were given.[298] As noted earlier, by the 1930s, it was well known that decent living conditions and a good diet constituted the best protection against the development of tuberculosis. The government's miserly approach to relief policy actively undermined First Nations' health.

The situation in the schools

Despite the fact that for over twenty years the schools had prohibited the admission of tubercular children, tuberculosis remained a serious and ongoing problem in the 1930s, and continued to be the leading cause of death in the schools. The assistant Indian commissioner for British Columbia, C. C. Perry, concluded in 1930 that the Cranbrook school was "a veritable tubercular institution." The school was in the worst condition of any he had seen in his twenty-three years of working with First Nations people. He reported that parents of healthy children had objected to sending their children to an institution with so many tubercular students. "Children were kept in the school in tubercular condition until they were perforce sent home to die." He said it was the opinion of one doctor that "if the physically unfit were eliminated from the School on medical examination, the School would have to be closed."[299] A common method of testing for tuberculosis during this period was through the administration of what was referred to as a "tuberculin skin test." By measuring the response to an injection of tuberculin, an extract of the tuberculosis bacterium, to the upper layer of the skin, doctors could determine if a student had been infected with tuberculosis.

Tuberculosis was an ongoing problem in southern Alberta, and in 1930, of 189 students given tuberculin skin tests at the Roman Catholic and Anglican schools on the Blood Reserve, 88.3% tested positive for tuberculosis infection. Nine per cent of the students had visibly swollen glands.[300] The study was repeated annually. By 1934, the number of students testing positively for tuberculosis was only slightly down, at 77.3%.[301] In a 1937 survey, the figure had climbed back up to 84.03%.[302]

In October 1933, Dr. H. K. Mitchell complained that seven of fourteen students admitted to the Sioux Lookout, Ontario, school had active tuberculosis. The doctor who had accompanied that summer's Treaty payment expedition had approved them for admission. Dr. Mitchell, who was offering himself for the job in the future, said it took "a Physician of some experience to examine these children properly."[303] However, budget cutting also prevented doctors from using the best available technology when screening students. In 1934, Dr. J. J. MacRitchie noted that in the past, he had given all prospective Shubenacadie students an x-ray examination. However, since government had eliminated these examinations, he was forced to "depend altogether on clinical examination."[304]

In 1933, the form that physicians were to fill out after examining students was amended. It no longer included the instruction: "No child suffering from scrofula or any form of tubercular disease is to be admitted to school." This provision had been in the form since 1909.[305] Instead, it asked, "Has this child active tuberculosis in your opinion?" If the answer was yes, the doctor was to describe the infection. The presence or absence of trachoma and other communicable eye diseases and syphilis were to be reported. The doctor also was to describe any condition that would make the child unsuitable for residential school or of which the principal should have a warning.[306]

In 1935, the principal of the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school (also known as the Lejac Indian Residential School) reported that Dr. C. Pitts had not carried out a general examination of the students at the school.[307] When asked for an explanation by Indian Affairs, Pitts claimed that because his father was the principal of a residential school, he knew that the "attention I am giving the Lejac School is as good or better than in any other place in the province." (Dr. Pitts's father, F. E. Pitts, was the principal of the Alberni, British Columbia, school in the 1930s.)[308] Dr. Pitts could not see any benefit in a general examination of the students, since

> were I to apply the standards of health to them that is applied to children of the white schools, that I should have to discharge 90% of them and there would be no school left; and when I know that they are under the constant observation of a staff who have the opportunity of reporting any ill health to me either on my weekly visit to the school or by phone.[309]

Indian agent R. H. Moore was not impressed, saying that, in his opinion, "the examination of the School children is much too casual, not only for the Application for Admission Forms but also during the time that they are in the school. It would appear as if 150 or 160 pupils are now examined in less than one hour."[310]

Two years later, Philip Phelan, the chief of the Indian Affairs training division, observed that several children who were suffering from tuberculosis had been admitted to the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school in recent years, despite the department's requirement for thorough medical examinations before admittance.[311] He was told that the students had been recruited by missionaries who had sent them to the school without first getting authorization from the Indian agent.[312] In 1938, Indian Affairs issued instructions that all students recruited to the school "shall be examined by the best means available at the point nearest to their homes." The government's preference was that X-rays be taken of their chests.[313] As was so often the case with the residential schools, this was not a general instruction, but a specific instruction to a specific school.

The doctor inquiring into the 1936 death of a student due to tubercular meningitis at the Kamloops school in British Columbia concluded that the "child was no doubt developing the disease before admission to the school."[314]

In 1939, Dr. D. F. MacInnis complained to Principal Mackey at the Shubenacadie school that, due to poor screening, the school was being sent "all the advanced T.B." in the Maritimes. This, he wrote, was "very unfair to the children who are clean and well and are attending the school." He noted that one boy was "sent to us last fall in such an advanced state of T.B. that he died before we could get him to a sanatorium." The boy's condition had been diagnosed by a local doctor before he was admitted but, despite this, Indian Affairs had insisted that he be sent to Shubenacadie. He urged Mackey to inform Indian Affairs that "this is not a T.B. Clinic and a syphilitic home."[315] The chief medical officer, E. L. Stone, responded that the admission of the boy with tuberculosis was "a clear error such as sometimes occurs in the best organizations."[316]

While tubercular students continued to be admitted to the schools, access to treatment remained minimal. When W. M. Graham sought to have a boy from Lac La Ronge admitted to a Saskatchewan hospital in 1931, E. L. Stone recommended that the boy be left in his home community. Based on the information provided to him, Stone had concluded that the boy had a tubercular spine.

> It would be a doubtful service to him to bring him away from his people in the North and confine him in the hospital. The expense to the Department would be very considerable, and unless you can assure yourself that his life would probably be saved by treatment I am inclined to counsel you to leave him where he is.[illegible]

The case of Martina Storkerson illustrates the multiple barriers that Aboriginal people faced in getting treatment. Martina's mother was of Inuit ancestry and her father was Norwegian. He had come to Canada as a member of ethnologist Vilhjalmur Stefansson's Arctic expeditions of the early twentieth century. Storkerson returned to Norway alone, leaving his family to seek shelter at the Anglican residential school at Hay River in the Northwest Territories. When the school principal, A. J. Vale, was transferred to the Chapleau school in Ontario, he and his wife took Martina with them, planning to "get her accustomed to the ways of civilization." Instead, she developed tuberculosis. The local municipality would not fund the sanatorium treatment she needed, and neither would Indian Affairs, since she was Inuk (referred to by government as "Eskimo") and not an Indian under the terms of the *Indian Act*. A request to the Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch of the federal government for support was turned down because the girl was no longer a resident of the territories.[illegible]

In 1932, the son of John Albert of the Sweet Grass Reserve in Saskatchewan was diagnosed with tuberculosis. According to Albert, despite his requests to the doctor who made the diagnosis and to the Indian agent, the boy was not placed in a sanatorium or provided with any treatment. He died in August 1933. In December of that year, two more of Albert's children were diagnosed with tuberculosis. One child was housed in what was described as the Roman Catholic convent in Delmas (possibly the Thunderchild residential school), but neither child was given any special treatment. In April 1934, Albert wrote to Indian Affairs, pleading, "If something is not done for these children in the near future they are going to die." The residents of the Sweet Grass Reserve and the Cut Knife municipality backed his appeal.[illegible] Indian Affairs responded that, due to its limited resources, it reserved "sanatorium treatment for those who had no homes."[illegible]

School administrators often were unwilling to transfer students with active tuberculosis to sanatoria. In 1935, Bishop Guy of Alberta reiterated his opposition to the government's sending children from the Qu'Appelle school to the Fort Qu'Appelle Sanatorium. He said that at the sanatorium, the children were "out of their atmosphere," and, as a result, "were pining away and dying." His preference was to have the government build sunrooms as additions to residential schools in which tubercular students could be isolated.[illegible] When instructed in 1937 to discharge all active tubercular cases to the local Anglican hospital, Cluny principal J. Riou objected. He said that in the past, the school had simply isolated active cases and placed them under the supervision of a nurse. He believed the hospital, which had no separate tuberculosis ward, offered inadequate care. Also, at the school, the patients could "receive the visit [sic] of their playmates during the recreation hours."[123] The 1935 report of the United Church's Commission on Indian Education argued that in residential schools, "the children's health is more carefully conserved." They stated that surveys at the Brandon and Chilliwack schools showed that four of five children "enter Residential School with some evidence of t.b.—either active or quiescent." The schools provided additional care for "those whose cases demand special attention." Two girls at Chilliwack had been pronounced cured, while other students were showing "tremendous improvement." The health section of the report concluded, "According to competent authorities, the Residential School is the key to the solution of the problem of Indian health."[124] While arguing for the effectiveness of the schools as treatment centres, the United Church report also demonstrated the degree to which it was common practice for schools to admit infected children. As had been demonstrated by the Saskatchewan study of the late 1920s, the infected children admitted to the school would eventually infect the healthy children.

The federal funding cuts directly affected all medical services in the schools. In April 1933, after a medical examination of the Shubenacadie school students, Principal Mackey asked for funding for treatment of forty-eight tonsil cases and eighteen students with vision problems.[125] (During this period, tonsil infections were thought to be closely associated with the development of tuberculosis. Tonsillectomies were considered preventive measures.)[126] Indian Affairs informed him that, "owing to orders for strict economy," it would be possible to treat only "the more urgent cases."[127] In the spring of 1936, Indian Affairs informed Mackey that the department would not be providing a "tonsil and dental clinic for his school." Departmental secretary A. F. MacKenzie noted that one had been held at that school the previous year, while other schools had done without such service for two to three years.[128]

Cuts in payments

Later that summer, Dr. D. F. MacInnis resigned as doctor for the Shubenacadie school to protest the government's decision to cancel semi-annual medical examinations. In so doing, he drew attention to the death of a student at the school in March of that year. MacInnis wrote that when he had visited the school on March 13, he was told a child had collapsed during mass the day before. He diagnosed her with a case of peritonitis (an inflammation of the inner lining of the abdomen) and recommended her immediate hospitalization. She was sent to the local hospital that night and died the following morning. He concluded that, because the school staff did not seek medical attention for the girl immediately upon her collapse, he did not "consider the people in charge of an institution which would cause such negligence fit people to be in charge."[illegible] Principal Mackey argued that the doctor was simply angered by the loss of income coming from the elimination of one of the annual inspections. According to Mackey, the girl had not appeared to be seriously ill until the morning that Mackey inspected her and had been sent to hospital on the first available train.[illegible] She was operated on shortly after her arrival and died the next day after developing pneumonia.[illegible] Indian Affairs did not conduct a further investigation into the matter.

Reporting of deaths

It was not until 1935 that Indian Affairs adopted a formal policy on how deaths at the schools were to be investigated.[illegible] Under this policy, the principal was to inform the Indian agent of the death of a student. The agent was then to convene and chair a three-person board of inquiry. The two other members of the board were to be the principal and the physician who attended the student. The board was to complete a form provided by Indian Affairs that requested information on the cause of death and the treatment provided to the child. Parents were to be notified of the inquiry and given the right to attend or have a representative attend the inquiry to make a statement. However, an inquiry was not to be delayed for more than seventy-two hours to accommodate parents.[illegible] The department would not pay parents' transportation costs to attend the inquiry.[illegible] Indian agents often required prompting to comply with the policy. For example, when two pupils died at the Sturgeon Landing school in northern Saskatchewan in 1937, Philip Phelan, the chief of the Indian Affairs training division, had to remind the local Indian agent to complete a memorandum of inquiry.[illegible] The agent, S. Lovell, responded that it was almost impossible to meet the requirements of the reporting policy. He pointed out that he was located in The Pas, Manitoba, and the Sturgeon Landing school was sixty miles (96.5 kilometres) away. A doctor from The Pas visited the school only once every three months. Lovell thought that, at best, it would take a week for word of a death at school to get to him and then for him to get to Sturgeon Landing. He said that in almost every case, "it would be impossible to notify the pupil's parents of the death as they live, for the most part in very remote districts, a great distance from the school."[illegible] When a pupil died at the Sturgeon Landing school in 1939, no formal inquiry was held, since the Indian agent, the doctor, and the parents were all unable to travel to the school. Instead, the Indian agent filled out the form, based on information provided to him by the principal.[illegible]

Overcrowding

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Provincial pressure

Provincial governments in western Canada, concerned that tuberculosis could spread from reserves to the non-Aboriginal community, put increasing pressure on the federal government to take action. In 1934, the Saskatchewan health minister called on Ottawa to employ more doctors on reserves, to increase the diagnostic and treatment services provided to First Nations people, and to take steps to ensure that students with tuberculosis were not allowed to infect other students.[illegible] A Manitoba government memorandum from the mid-1930s concluded that 90% of the new tuberculosis infections in the general population had their origin on reserves. To control the disease, the memorandum stated, First Nations people should receive "at least as adequate care as the rest of the population." It was proposed that the services be provided by the existing provincial agencies, but be funded by the federal government.[illegible]

In a 1936 article in the *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, the Manitoba Sanatorium Board's D. A. Stewart wrote that, in the past, tuberculosis among Aboriginal people had been seen as "a kind of relentless process of nature, like an earthquake that we could stand in awe of, and be very sad about but do nothing to check or change."[illegible] It was time, Stewart wrote, to recognize that preventive and treatment measures would have the same positive impacts on Aboriginal tuberculosis as they did on tuberculosis in the general population. Stewart gave two reasons for stepping up the fight against tuberculosis in First Nations communities. The first was moral. Canada owed the First Nations person treatment because "we took and occupied his country, but especially because we brought him the disease." The second argument was based on self-interest: if left untreated, tuberculosis would spread from reserves to the rest of the country. "The province will not be clear of any disease nor safe from its menace until every group is clear and safe."[illegible]

"No commitment," no program: 1937–1939

Despite the growing provincial pressure for action on tuberculosis prevention, in 1937, the federal government imposed another round of cuts on Indian Affairs. In January of that year, Dr. H. W. McGill, the director of Indian Affairs (Indian Affairs had been demoted from a department to a branch of Mines and Resources in 1936) instructed all staff that "their duty in the immediate future is to keep the cost of medical services at the lowest point consistent with reasonable attention to acute cases of illness and accident. Their services must be restricted to those required for the safety of limb, life or essential function." Spending on drugs was to be cut in half. The list of services for which there would be no funds included "tuberculosis surveys; treatment in sanatoria or hospital for chronic tuberculosis; or other chronic conditions; tonsil and dental clinics; artificial teeth and limbs; spectacles except for prevention of blindness; dental work except for the relief of pain or serious infection."[372]

On the following day, McGill informed the assistant director for medical services in British Columbia that it "may not be possible to continue the operation of the tuberculosis segregation units at Kootenay [Cranbrook], Coqualeetza [Chilliwack] and Mission Indian Residential Schools." He expected that the budget for medical expenditures was likely to be cut by up to $200,000 in the coming fifteen months.[373]

The government came under considerable pressure from the Canadian Tuberculosis Association (CTA) for these decisions. In 1936, the CTA called on the federal government to hire full-time staff with expertise in diagnosing and treating tuberculosis. It also recommended that First Nations students be screened annually, and that students with contagious diseases be either segregated or removed from school.[374] An editorial in the March 1937 issue of the *Canadian Tuberculosis Association Bulletin* commented that "the facilities for early diagnosis, treatment and prevention that have been used to such good advantage in the White population have never been made available for the attack on the Indian problem." According to the *Bulletin*, Indian Affairs had "never developed a progressive policy for the control of tuberculosis."[375] In the face of a CTA lobbying campaign, the government established a Standing Committee on Indian Tuberculosis.[376] At that committee's first meeting in June 1937, Indian Affairs made it clear that, although Dr. McGill had managed to add $50,000 to his Indian Affairs budget for tuberculosis work in that year, the "Government has given no commitment nor has it authorized the Department to embark on a tuberculosis program."[377]

Indian Affairs medical officer E. L. Stone recommended the $50,000 be used initially to clear "out the sanatorium cases from the schools" and isolate the infectious cases. But where to put the cases that should be isolated? According to Stone, the "Churches have shown no eagerness, so far, to offer one or two schools" for facilities for tubercular students, and Indian Affairs had "little disposition to force or argue the idea." Stone was also opposed to establishing isolation sections within existing schools. These projects, in his opinion, had proven to be failures.[378]

He was referring to the small-scale preventoria that had been established at a number of schools. The preventoria, which served as isolation units, were more acceptable to churches than full-fledged sanatoria, since they allowed them to maintain enrolment and control over the students. The first of these facilities was opened at the Coqualeetza Institute in Chilliwack in 1935 after a survey in which 77% of the 214 students who had been given the tuberculin had tested positive for tuberculosis. Located in a converted farm building, it housed fifteen students, who were supervised by a nurse. The facility was expanded in 1936 and porches were added to the building.[379] The Coqualeetza project was followed by similar establishments at Alert Bay and Mission, both in British Columbia.[380] The Alert Bay preventorium, which opened in 1939, was located in a building that had previously served as the principal's residence and had been renovated by the students as part of their manual training.[381] A preventorium had also opened at the Fort Alexander, Manitoba, school in 1938.[382]

By maintaining infected children on the school site, however, the preventoria did not fully isolate infectious or potentially infectious students from healthy students. In the Fort Alexander preventorium's first year of operation, officials placed students who were of below-average health, but not suffering from tuberculosis, in the special facility along with tubercular students.[383] The preventorium operated in close conjunction with the school, and concerns soon were raised that the sick students could infect the rest of the student body.[384] In the spring of 1939, Indian Affairs decided to discontinue the operation of the preventorium.[385]

The federal government increased its commitment to spending on First Nations tuberculosis to $275,000 in 1938 and $575,000 in 1939.[386] (If the government had accepted Dr. Stone's 1930 proposal, it would have been spending $800,000 and $900,000, respectively, on First Nations tuberculosis treatment in those years.) In February 1938, Stone and McGill informed Indian agents of the department's tuberculosis priorities. The first was to "secure tuberculosis control of residential schools." This would involve removing students who had active, communicable tuberculosis. They were to be discharged, and their "disposal will not be a matter of further interest to school Principals." Those who had "a promising future," but needed "extra care and feeding," would remain segregated within the school under a "modified school" regime. The second priority was to apply the same level of supervision to day schools, and the third priority was to provide care for children with tubercular joints and bones to prevent their becoming crippled. Adults were the fourth priority. Sanatorium or home care would be provided to adult patients who had a "reasonable hope of recovery with a moderate term of treatment" or who represented a threat of infection to young children. Sick adults had to be "willing to accept treatment and intelligent enough to profit by it."[387]

The policy of clearing out the infected students continued to meet with resistance from the schools. Cluny school principal J. Riou continued to maintain that the care given at his school was as good as would be received in a sanatorium. Over the previous four years, he said, he cut school hours, augmented his cattle herd, and employed a nurse with experience in treating tuberculosis. As a result, no student who came to the school in the "no disease" category had ever become an "active" case. He recognized that the proposed measures might be needed in most other schools where "nothing has ever been done to fight tuberculosis," but Cluny was an exception. He also indicated that parents opposed a policy of sending children with active tuberculosis to distant sanatoria.[388]

In the fall of 1938, the federal government significantly expanded the number of students being tested for tuberculosis and enhanced the sophistication of the technology used to test them.[389] The goal was to remove children with active tuberculosis from the schools.[390] The fact that this was still the government's priority suggests the ineffectiveness of the medical examinations in the past. By failing to treat each child as a potential patient, the schools had turned an increasing number of children into actual patients. The low-cost "common sense" approach that Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott had adopted when he rejected Dr. Peter Bryce's proposal to turn the schools into sanatoria had pleased the government because it was not expensive, and it had pleased the churches because it left them in control of the schools and the students. Yet, the first matter of business for E. L. Stone some twenty-five years later, in 1938, was to discharge from residential schools those students who needed sanatorium treatment. It is clear evidence that the government never had put in place a proper screening process, or developed facilities for providing students who developed tuberculosis with proper treatment. The prevention of disease and the treatment of sick Aboriginal children were a shameful failure.

Other diseases and health issues

The same conditions that left students vulnerable to tuberculosis—overcrowding, inadequate housing, poor diets, faulty sanitation, and limited access to medical treatment—also left students vulnerable to a range of other, often fatal, health problems. The most dramatic of these was the influenza pandemic (an epidemic on a global scale) that followed the First World War, which demonstrated the inadequacy of medical services in residential schools.

The influenza pandemic of 1918–19

In the spring of 1918, a deadly influenza virus, often referred to as the "Spanish flu," swept the globe. It is thought that nearly a third of the world's population had been infected with the illness. Estimates of the number of deaths range between 50 and 100 million. The pandemic began in March of 1918, rose to a peak in a second wave in the fall of 1918, subsided, and returned in a third deadly wave in the early winter of 1919.[391] In Canada, it left 55,000 people dead, 4,000 of whom were Aboriginal. The difference in the health conditions of Aboriginal people and the general population is apparent from the fact that the overall Canadian death rate for the pandemic was 610 deaths per 100,000 people, while the Aboriginal rate was 3,770 per 100,000.[392] The vulnerability of Aboriginal people to influenza is attributable in part to government social and economic policies that had left Aboriginal people impoverished, poorly housed, and lacking access to medical care.

The 1918 epidemic was felt throughout the residential school system, but it was not the only influenza epidemic to ravage the schools. Early Indian Affairs annual reports made regular reference to outbreaks of what was referred to as "la grippe" (as influenza was often called.) In 1892 in Cranbrook, school principal Nicolas Coccola prepared a report on students who had left the school since its opening two years earlier. Three students died of "la grippe" and six had been so weakened by the illness that they had been returned to their homes. [393] Principal Gervase Gale of the Anglican school on the Blood Reserve in Alberta reported in 1906 that the school had been hit by an epidemic of grippe and pneumonia. He felt the school was "most fortunate in not losing more than one little boy, who was delicate, and had not the stamina to fight an ordinary sickness."[394]

The 1918 epidemic overwhelmed medical services wherever it hit. Its impact on remote, understaffed boarding schools was devastating. Influenza struck the Shoal Lake school in northwestern Ontario in October 1918.[395] Although no students died, the principal, Mr. Mathews, was infected. The local doctors were all ill themselves. It was several days before Indian Affairs could find a physician to send to the school. By then, Principal Mathews was beyond recovery; he died within a matter of days. The Indian agent noted that elsewhere in the region, the epidemic was severe as well: nearly the entire Rat Portage Reserve was, in his words, "laid up." There were an additional thirty-five cases at the Roman Catholic school at Kenora, although he said those were of a "mild type.[396]

Indian Affairs instructed Kuper Island principal J. Geurts "not to allow pupils of the school to visit outside Indians, nor the Indians to visit the pupils."[397] The local Indian agent considered closing the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school and sending the children home.[398] By the time permission was given to send the children home, the local reserves had all been placed under quarantine, so the students stayed at the school, which was also under quarantine.[399] At the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, there were seventy-six cases of influenza by October 24, 1919. According to the acting principal, "Most of the staff have been laid up—for days all we could do was to attend to the sick." Despite staff efforts, one child had been lost to the epidemic.[400]

On October 21, 1918, the first case was reported at the Spanish, Ontario, girls' school. Three days later, all but three girls and a few staff members were confined to their beds. Within a few days, all the boys except three at the Spanish boys' school were also bedridden. In just over two weeks, eight girls and eight boys died.[401] Based on the 1918–19 school year enrolment of 112 boys and 96 girls, this amounts to 7.14% (7,140 per 100,000) and 8.33% (8,330 per 100,000) mortality rates for the boys and girls, respectively, due to the flu.[402]

By the end of October, all the students and four members of the staff at the Sarcee school in Alberta were confined to bed. According to the Indian agent, "Voluntary help has been secured from Calgary, and the situation is well in hand."[403] In the spring of 1919, the Indian agent reported that two Sarcee students had died from influenza and two more from tuberculosis.[404] Since the Sarcee school had thirty-three pupils in the 1918–19 school year, the mortality rate there was 12.12% (12,120 per 100,000).[405]

In December 1918, the High River, Alberta, school was stricken with the epidemic. Former principal A. Naessens was sent to provide assistance. When he arrived, he found that "all the children, both boys and girls were in bed and many of them in a very critical condition. Then some of the staff, through overwork, were forced to retire." The one nurse Naessens brought with him from Calgary proved to be insufficient, and he secured two additional nurses. Since the school doctor was sick, he had to arrange medical care from Calgary. Despite their efforts, three boys and the principal died.[406]

Although there were no deaths, all the students and staff at the Lestock, Saskatchewan, school came down with influenza.[407] Eleven students at the Roman Catholic school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, were dead by December 18, 1918, as was one student at the Anglican school there.[408] By mid-December, all the students and half the staff in the Cross Lake, Manitoba, school were in bed. Three students had died.[409]

Four children died at the Red Deer, Alberta, school in the fall of 1918, and a fifth died after running away from the school. When the influenza epidemic subsided, Principal J. F. Woodsworth complained to Indian Affairs:

> For sickness, conditions at this school are nothing less than criminal. We have no isolation ward and no hospital equipment of any kind. The dead, the dying, and the sick and the convalescent, were all together. I think that as soon as possible the Department should put this school in shape to fulfil its function as an educational institution. At present it is a disgrace.[410]

Duncan Campbell Scott informed Woodsworth that he regretted that the school had "been so severely visited, and especially I regret the deaths that have occurred." He added that "all our work in connection with our educational institutions has during the past four years been greatly curtailed owing to there being no appropriation for any extensive expenditure."[411] At Red Deer, an undertaker was paid $130 to bury the dead—two to a grave. As Woodsworth put it, the burials were "as near as possible to that of a pauper."[412] The impact on the school was so demoralizing that it contributed to its permanent closure in September 1919.[413]

The Red Deer school was not a small, church-founded, mission school. It was one of the industrial schools that the federal government established in keeping with the recommendations of the 1879 Davin Report. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, school officials had been lobbying, with little or no success, for improvements in facilities to care for sick children.[414]

In February 1919, the flu struck again. The Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, was quickly placed under quarantine.[415] When the outbreak was over, two students were dead.[416] Just as the flu was subsiding at Shingwauk, it was taking hold at the Birtle, Manitoba, school, with sixteen children reported to be running high temperatures on February 21, 1919.[417]

The epidemic also hit British Columbia in waves. In the fall of 1918, it struck thirteen schools, sparing only the Kuper Island, Kamloops, and Lytton schools. Of the 887 students in the affected schools, 521 developed influenza and 11 died.[418] This amounted to a mortality rate of 1.24% (1,240 per 100,000). At the Fort St. James, British Columbia, boarding school, the epidemic struck almost the entire staff and all but two of the children overnight, sparing only the principal, two of the nuns, and two small boys. Together, the five of them cared for fifty patients. According to Principal Joseph Allard, the boys "were a great help to me for packing water from the lake to the kitchen and to the dormitories of boys and girls."[419]

Margaret Butcher left a vivid picture of conditions at Kitamaat, British Columbia, when influenza hit the school in 1918. Within a few days, thirty students were bedridden.

> Those children were very sick and what with vomiting, dysentery, nose-bleeding & senior girls' troubles, we had a horrible time. I never saw such nose-bleeding. We could not stop it & when it transpired that the only girl whose nose did not bleed, suffered hallucinations & was out of bed and trailing bedding or clothes crying she had killed herself or the house or her darling, or else asking me to cut her in pieces or she [was] hunting for her lungs or other parts of her body that had fallen out, I sure put up with the bleeding as a beneficent evil rather than have several crazy ones. After bleeding came congestion in varying degrees & horrible expectoration until it seemed impossible that children who a few days previously had been in good health could throw up such quantities of vile mucous.[420]

In 1919, influenza recurred at the Mission, Chilliwack, Squamish, and Sechelt schools. Of the 310 students at these schools, 298 came down with influenza and 8 died.[421] This was a mortality rate of 2.58% (2,580 per 100,000).

Even when the global epidemic had subsided, influenza remained a presence in the schools. In February 1920, thirty pupils, most of the staff, and the principal of the Chapleau school came down with influenza.[422]

The devastating impact of the 1918 influenza epidemic on the Aboriginal population was reflected in residential school recruiting policy. In 1919, Indian Affairs decreed that no child with living parents was to be admitted to a residential school until all the children orphaned by the epidemic had been taken into the school.[423] For example, in Alberta, the Joussard school, with a pupilage of fifty students, was allowed to take in seventy-three students, and Grouard, with a pupilage of fifteen, was allowed to take in twenty-six. Indian Affairs believed "there was no other means, in that northern country" of taking care of the children who had been orphaned by the epidemic.[424] The epidemic indirectly stimulated the development of residential schooling in Labrador (at that time part of the British colony of Newfoundland). The Grenfell Mission opened its first boarding school specifically for children who had been orphaned by the 1918 epidemic.[illegible]

The government was not prepared to let First Nations people mark the end of the epidemic according to their own traditions. In the spring of 1919, the chief and council at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, petitioned to hold a Sun Dance to commemorate the end of the First World War and the influenza epidemic. The request was denied, but the band members attempted to hold it anyway, only to have the police appear and disperse the people who had gathered for the occasion. The police broke up similar ceremonies that year on the Piapot and Big River reserves in Saskatchewan.[illegible]

Measles, smallpox, diphtheria, typhoid, pneumonia, and whooping cough

Tuberculosis and influenza were the two major causes of death in the schools, but the schools were also regularly hit by smaller, more localized, epidemics of measles, smallpox, diphtheria, typhoid, pneumonia, and whooping cough. These infections could spread quickly, particularly since most schools had primitive sanitation facilities, cramped dormitories, and limited ability to isolate infected patients. All these illnesses placed tremendous strain on staff and those students who remained healthy. For students who had already been weakened by tuberculosis, they often proved deadly. For example, at the Lytton school, a combination of measles and whooping cough killed thirteen children over the winter of 1926–27. Ten years later, an influenza attack affected 170 students, 11 staff members, and 4 emergency nurses.[illegible] In 1937, a similar combination of measles and whooping cough killed three children at the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie.[illegible] At the remote Beauval, Saskatchewan, school in that same year, an attack of influenza was followed by cases of measles and pneumonia that left fourteen students dead.[illegible]

A study of the Norway House, Manitoba, school, compiled by researcher Melissa Stoops (Table 16.4), shows the almost ceaseless rounds of epidemics the school faced. The Norway House school weathered fifteen separate epidemics over a thirty-six-year period.

In 1903, Norway House principal J. A. G. Lousley wrote:

> We have suffered, in common with the reserve upon which we are situated, from a most virulent epidemic of whooping cough, bronchitis and pneumonia; most suffering from all three diseases at the same time, and in addition, some had chicken-pox. Lilian Yeomans, M.D., and Miss A. Yeomans, a trained nurse, did all in their power to check and cure the troubles, but in spite of this we lost three girls and one boy from the above cause, and one girl from eating poisonous

Table 16.4. Outbreaks of disease at Norway House school, 1912 to 1935 (does not include tuberculosis).

Disease outbreak	Date
Whooping cough, bronchitis, pneumonia	1912/1913
Chicken pox	1912/1913
Scarlet fever	Fall/winter 1914/1915
Measles	Fall/winter 1914/1915
Mumps	Fall/Winter 1914/1915
German measles	1916/1917
Diphtheria	1916/1917
Diphtheria	Winter [illegible]
Erysipelas	1917/1918
Spanish influenza	Winter 1918/1919
Diphtheria	Fall [illegible]
Influenza	Winter [illegible]
Whooping cough	[illegible]
Chicken pox	Fall [illegible]
Colds/pneumonia	[illegible]

Source: [illegible], "Health Conditions," [illegible].

> berries while out in the bush. This, however, could not be taken to indicate unhealthy conditions in or around the school, as there were about sixty-five deaths on the reserve from the same cause. Nearly all the children suffered more or less from these diseases. We gave the children and staff a week's holidays at Christmas, which was unusual, to rest and regain strength after the long siege of sickness. With regard to sanitation, I found the cellars very wet and no drain to carry off the water. This is being remedied as fast as possible. I have also built a wharf, from the outer end of which we get much better water than was formerly secured off shore.

The following year, Lousley reported, "No virulent epidemics have swept through the reserve. The Great White Plague [tuberculosis] still lays his grim hand heavily upon the people, and we have lost five children through his [illegible] ravages."

As Lousley's report makes clear, these diseases operated together. In August [illegible], at the Middlechurch, Manitoba, school, Dr. George Orton reported:

> During the past winter and spring an epidemic of typhoid fever broke out, and though all passed through the various stages of the fever, no less than six succumbed to consumption, induced, doubtless, by the depletion of the fever and in some by a complication of pneumonia and bronchitis. One girl died from meningitis, doubtless of a tubercular character.

There were several examples in which students received minimal or questionable medical attention. In 1888, the principal of the McDougall Orphanage and school at Morley, in what is now Alberta, was dissatisfied with the care the local doctor had provided to a young boy who died from measles. He said the physician stayed only a few minutes and never returned, despite the presence of others in a "bad state" on the same reserve. Similarly, the Regina school principal felt the school had been poorly served by the doctor on contract with Indian Affairs during an outbreak of smallpox in 1901. The doctor had not ordered that the boys' dormitory be disinfected immediately, and there had been a delay in vaccinating students for smallpox. Some boys had to wait five days before being vaccinated.

There were also problems with diagnosis. A 1901 outbreak of measles in the Roman Catholic school in Onion Lake, in what is now Saskatchewan, was initially reported as being smallpox. On November 16, 1917, the Indian Affairs office in Ottawa received a frantic telegram from the Anglican school in The Pas, announcing that twenty-six students had been stricken by gas poisoning. Nine days later, Dr. O. I. Grain visited the school on behalf of the department. He found that the children had been misdiagnosed. They had not been poisoned by a blocked sewer, as had been originally thought; they had typhoid fever. By then, thirty people, including four staff members and the hospital matron, had come down with the illness, and more cases continued to develop. Grain thought that the milk at the school was the likely cause of infection. He noted that the school had no source of hot water, since the hot-water tank had burst.

Lack of care and treatment facilities

Government penny-pinching also contributed to the poor handling of a series of syphilis infections at the Shubenacadie school. Although syphilis is most often spread through sexual contact, pregnant women can pass the disease on to their fetus, resulting in what is known as "congenital syphilis." From 1909 onward, the disease could be treated with repeated injections of the drug arsphenamine (also known as Salvarsan). Residential schools had the capacity to identify the disease in new students and provide them with treatment. In 1935, when it was believed that some students at the Shubenacadie school were suffering from the disease, Indian Affairs considered having all the students tested. The proposal foundered when the local doctor asked for a fee of $5 a student instead of the $59 flat rate that Indian Affairs sought to impose. The following year, a father complained to Indian Affairs that his three children, who had been diagnosed with syphilis, were not receiving proper treatment at the school. Department secretary A. F. MacKenzie forwarded the complaint to the Shubenacadie principal, J. P. Mackey. In doing so, he noted that Indian Affairs was familiar with the

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Lack of funding

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

These eye diseases, he wrote, could end in "trachoma, corneal ulceration and even blindness," and were "not unfrequently seen in its chronic results in school children."[illegible]

In the early twentieth century, there were reports of residential school students with severe vision problems. In April 1906, a Mount Elgin student's eyes had been so sore all winter that he was not able to study. However, "he had been made to work all the same."[illegible] In his 1920 report on health conditions in a number of schools on the Prairies, Dr. F. H. Corbett noted that at the Cluny school in 1920, "though a few cases of ancient trachoma are found, they are all cured so far as is possible." At the Sarcee school, he reported, "Twelve of the children have sore eyes."[illegible] At the time, there was no safe, effective treatment for trachoma. Common practice was to treat the eye with copper sulfate in an effort to destroy the infected tissue, rendering the disease inactive.[illegible]

Trachoma was known to be rampant also among Native Americans in the United States in the early twentieth century. A 1912 survey found that 20% of all Native Americans examined had the disease; at boarding schools, the rate was 30%.[illegible]

Despite all this evidence, Indian Affairs appears to have downplayed the risk of trachoma. In 1920, Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott reported that trachoma was "very rare among Canadian Indians, if indeed, it exists at all." It was noted, however, that there did appear to be a condition in Alberta consisting "of an acute inflammation of the eye, with a small ulcer on the eyeball, and often leads to impairment of vision. It occurs chiefly among undernourished children, and is probably to a large extent a deficiency disease."[illegible] At that time, there were no national statistics on the prevalence of trachoma in Canada in the general population.[illegible] By 1929, Indian Affairs medical officer E. L. Stone was concerned by reports of trachoma at schools and hospitals in Saskatchewan, noting that "this disease is one of the worst pests which the American government has among Indians."[illegible]

The depth of the problem was finally brought to light by Dr. J. J. Wall's 1930 study of the incidence of trachoma among First Nations people in the prairie provinces and the interior of British Columbia. He concluded in his report to Indian Affairs that "25 to 30 per cent of the Indian population were afflicted with trachoma in its various stages. Pupils of the residential schools showed a high incidence of the disorder." As Indian Affairs acknowledged, up to that time, "no organized effort had been undertaken to eradicate the disease." According to the 1937 Indian Affairs annual report:

> Many of the schools at that time, unknown to the school authorities, were serving as centres for the spread of this eye disease. The principals and other officials were entirely unaware even of its existence. Casual observation of the external appearance of the eye certainly did not suggest anything amiss with the lids, which had to be everted [turned over] for proper examination. Most of the corneal ulcers and other eye diseases in the children were attributed largely to tuberculosis. No suspicion was aroused at that time that the greater number of

> these disorders were due to extension of a trachomatous process from the lids into the transparent portion of the eye. This extension is most insidious and slow in character.[illegible]

There were measures that could have been taken to control the spread of trachoma. Dr. Gordon M. Byers, professor of ophthalmology at McGill University, had been calling for improved detection and prevention of trachoma since 1901. In 1932, he wrote, "If through the years the Department of Indian Affairs had maintained even one whole-time oculist for the detection and correction of visual defects alone among the Indian children of Western Canada, the presence of trachoma among its wards would long ago have been discovered."[illegible]

In October 1931, Indian Affairs did issue instructions to residential school principals on controlling the spread of the disease. Under these guidelines, each pupil was to be provided with an individual towel and soap, and taught to use no other.[illegible] However, in March 1932, Indian Affairs instituted a 10% cut to the school per capita grant, retroactive to January.[illegible] The cut in the grant rendered the advice to improve sanitary supplies meaningless.

Dr. Wall was hired as a full-time specialist to organize clinics and provide treatment for trachoma for First Nations people. Residential schools were given particular attention. Under Wall's direction, students were treated with copper sulphate and measures were put in place to reduce the spread of the infection. In 1928, Indian Affairs reported that although trachoma remained a menace to the First Nations population in western Canada, its incidence among residential school students had been reduced by 50% since 1924.[illegible] Birtle principal E. Lockhart reported in 1929 that Dr. Wall had concluded that his school was making "good progress" in dealing with trachoma. "Four cures, and eight arrests since the last visit. None of the old cases are more than Plus 2 [a measure of severity]."[illegible] However, when poor health forced Wall's retirement in 1935, he was not replaced.[illegible]

Effective treatment for trachoma was finally developed in 1938, when Dr. Fred Loe began treating trachoma patients on the Sioux Reserve in South Dakota with a new antibiotic drug, sulfanilamide.[illegible] After this development, Indian Affairs used sulfanilamide successfully for the treatment of residential school students.[illegible]

Accidental deaths

Students were also at risk of accidental death, particularly by drowning, since many of the schools were located on lakes, rivers, and even, at times, oceans. In some cases, the students died while they were engaged in prohibited activities. In other cases, they were participating in school-organized events. Herby Gabourie, believed to be either five or six years old, drowned in late December 1890 at the Kuper Island school. The circumstances of his death were unknown. After it was apparent that he was missing from the school, a search party found his body in the water near the school pier.[605] Two weeks after the girls' school in Spanish, Ontario, opened in 1913, a group of students was taken out for a picnic, travelling by boat up the Spanish River. The boat capsized and two girls, Anna Lahache from Kahnawake and Jennie Robertson from Garden River, drowned.[606]

On June 29, 1919, twelve boys from the Moose Factory, Ontario, school were in a canoe, crossing the Moose River on a berry-picking expedition, when it overturned. Seven boys, Alfred Loutitt, Thomas Loutitt, Arthur Sutherland, James Sutherland, Harry Wesley, John Sailors, and Sinclair Nepaneshkum, drowned. One fourteen-year-old boy, John Carpenter, kept an eight-year-old boy afloat until Archie Sailor, a local First Nations man, could remove them both from the water.[607] Although the local Indian agent, H. N. Awrey, found the principal blameless for the accident, department official A. J. MacKenzie felt "that to allow such a large number of boys in a canoe should not have been permitted. It is hoped that this accident will not result detrimentally to the future recruiting of pupils for the school."[608] Principal W. Haythornthwaite said he did not agree with "Mr. Awrey's most charitable opinion regarding our responsibility."[609]

Four men from the Moose Band, Chief Woomastoogish, George Hardisty, Andrew Butterfly, and John Dick, also did not agree with Awrey. They wrote the following submission to the government. (It was written in syllabics and translated by Thomas O. Moore of Moose Factory.)

> There were twelve children in the canoe and the children were alone, and the canoe which they were using was very bad. A canoe which was not fit for anyone to use. The canvas of the canoe was half ripped.
>
> Now these children were allowed to go crossing the river every day in it and very often twice one evening. The canoe was that far gone that the thwarts were just nailed on top of the gunwale.
>
> There was not one boy big enough to have any sense.[610]

On a March morning in 1929, the gardener at the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, took two boys out in a canoe to go hunting for muskrats. The canoe tipped over, and one of the boys, Edgar Smith, fell under the ice and was not recovered. The trip had been undertaken without the approval of the principal.[611]

Twenty-one students from the Hay River school in the Northwest Territories went swimming at a lakeside bathing beach in July 1929 (the lake is not named in reports on the drowning). There was only one staff person supervising them. At the end of the swim, one boy's clothing was not claimed. It was only then that it was realized he had likely been swept into the lake and drowned.[612]

During a recess period at the Round Lake, Saskatchewan, school in 1934, some boys left the playground and went to the lakeshore that bordered on school property.

They began to play with a boat (apparently against school orders). The boat began to drift out onto the lake, with one boy, Joseph Louison, on it. According to the other boys, Louison panicked and jumped into the water when the boat was sixty-one metres from shore. After a two-hour search, the boy's body was recovered. A coroner concluded that the death was an accident and no inquest was held.[503]

Other, non-drowning, deaths raised questions about supervision and building safety. John Alexander, a student at the Anglican school in Brocket, Alberta, died when the roof of a root cellar collapsed on him in October 1895. The local Indian agent said he believed that no one was to blame for the death.[504] At the same school in January 1899, two boys died when a snow slide swept down a hill on which they were sledding. No inquest was held.[505] According to Principal W. R. Haynes, "The Indians behaved exceedingly well, seeing that it was the boys [sic] own fault, and that the boys had constantly been warned by them as well as by us of the danger."[506]

In 1939, Courtland Claus, a five-year-old boy who had been left alone in the dormitory with an infected ear, fell from a second-storey window at the Mount Elgin school. Although he survived the initial fall, he died in hospital later that day. The principal took the body home in a casket to the boy's father.[507] The Indian Affairs superintendent of Welfare and Training, R. A. Hoey, commented that the accident underscored "the fact that young children confined to the infirmary should not be left alone unless every precaution has been taken to prevent any accident. In this particular case it would appear that if there had been a proper screen in the window the boy would not have fallen out."[508]

There are also reports of suicides from this period. In her memoirs, Eleanor Brass spoke of a boy who had hung himself for fear of discipline at the File Hills school.[509] A later chapter in this report will discuss the relationship between discipline at the school at Williams Lake, British Columbia, and what may have been a suicide pact among a group of boys in 1920.[510] In 1930, the local doctor was not able to determine the cause of death of two boys at the Fraser Lake school. It was later reported that the boys had been seen with water hemlock prior to their becoming ill.[511]

Conclusion

As early as 1899, Indian Commissioner David Laird had boasted of the schools' "stringent" medical examination.[512] Dr. Peter Bryce had stressed the need to improve the screening process for tuberculosis, to discharge infectious students, and to improve treatment. Dr. James Lafferty had also called on the government to restrict admissions and discharge infectious students. Dr. O. I. Grain made similar recommendations. Dr. E. L. Stone's proposal of 1930 would have focused on reducing the number of infectious students in the schools and increasing treatment capacity. The work of the

Qu'Appelle Health Unit demonstrated that these measures would have had a positive impact on student health. Reducing the infection of healthy students also would have reduced the flow and spread of infection from the schools to the community.

The government failed to adopt these many measures recommended by medical professionals because they would have increased costs and because they would have been opposed by the churches. The policies the government put in place instead, as recommended by non-medical specialists, were inadequate and largely unenforced. The schools could have helped children to reduce their vulnerability to tuberculosis by providing them with sanitary, well-ventilated living quarters, an adequate diet, warm clothing, and sufficient rest. Rather, the residential schools regularly failed to provide the healthy living conditions, nutritious food, sufficient clothing, and physical regime that would prevent students from getting sick in the first place, and would allow those who were infected a fighting chance at recovery.

CHAPTER 17

Building and maintaining the schools: 1867–1939

In 1897, Indian Affairs official Martin Benson concluded that most of the industrial schools in Manitoba and the North-West Territories had been poorly sited and poorly constructed. Instead of schools being located close to good farmland, one found "hay and grazing land some miles away from the school, water supply altogether inadequate, no timber or wood land." Overcoming such errors would require investments in expensive equipment and the purchase of fuel. In addition, considerable time was lost in hauling hay from distant fields. School sites often were poorly drained, with little attention paid to "ordinary sanitation laws." Buildings had been "hurriedly constructed of poor materials, badly laid out, without due provision for lighting, heating or ventilation."[1] Benson's was a sweeping condemnation of past decisions. Yet, the coming years would not see much improvement. Little money was provided for needed renovations. As a result, the problems that Benson identified would only fester as buildings deteriorated. The risk of fire, illness, and disease would mount. Government architects and builders did not appear to learn from the past: new buildings constructed after 1897 continued to exhibit many of the same flaws that Benson identified. Problems with water supply, sanitation, and heating occurred again and again. During the Depression of the 1930s, when the per capita funding rates were cut, there was even less money available for maintenance, and buildings continued to deteriorate. As the previous chapter on health made clear, it was recognized by the late nineteenth century that susceptibility to disease was largely determined by housing quality, particularly ventilation, crowding, and sanitation. Government and church failure to build and maintain adequate residential school facilities must be seen as a significant contributing factor to the health problems that plagued the schools during this period.

In photographs, residential schools often appear to be imposing structures. The industrial schools usually were constructed with federal government approval, and often were designed by government architects. For example, in the 1890s, the Department of Public Works had set out a detailed set of specifications for the construction of the school in Red Deer, North-West Territories.[2] But, while they were substantial-looking buildings, looks can deceive. As Martin Benson said after the Mount Elgin school in Muncey, Ontario, was rebuilt, "The new building is a very handsome structure but the out-buildings are not at all in keeping with it and certainly want renovating, as a survey of the present premises presents a showy front and a shabby back."[3] The Anglican Rupert's Land school in Middlechurch, Manitoba, was a striking-looking three-storey brick building. But, shortly after the school opened in 1890, the Bishop of Rupert's Land laid the following complaints about the school's construction before Indian Affairs Minister Edgar Dewdney.

- The attic, which was intended to sleep forty students, was "useless for this purpose." Among its other limitations, it was impossible to get bedsteads up the narrow staircase.
- The basement floor had not been cemented.
- The eavestroughs were incomplete.
- The water tank was too small, and would be useless in a fire.
- There was not an adequate separation between the girls' and boys' dormitories.

Because of construction defects, the school could accommodate only forty students, as opposed to the anticipated eighty, creating a funding crisis for the school.[4]

In some cases, particularly in the system's early years, the churches built boarding schools on their own and then sought government funding. Overall, however, the government could not escape responsibility for the quality of the residential school buildings that operated in Canada. By the late 1890s, it was not uncommon for the government's chief architect to review the building plans of boarding schools as well as industrial schools.[5] Government architects often selected school sites, designed new schools, and drew up the plans and specifications for additions and renovations to the schools.[6]

Despite this level of government oversight, new buildings exhibited the flaws of the past. In 1922, the Lejac school, the last industrial school to be built in Canada, opened at Fraser Lake in British Columbia. The government had approved the design and issued the tenders for the construction of the building—which, according to Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott, was "shorn of all luxuries and is completely economical."[7] The school was built under the supervision of a government-appointed inspector of construction.[8] But when the Indian Affairs superintendent of education, Russell Ferrier, inspected the school during its first year of operation, he had to report that the water system was out of order, the lighting was insufficient, and the staff was too small. And there were not enough washrooms and lavatories.[9]

In 1925, Principal J. F. Woodsworth reported to Ottawa that the roof of the newly opened United Church school in Edmonton, Alberta, leaked badly during heavy rains. Beds in the girls' dormitory were soaked, pails of water in staff rooms filled rapidly, and furnishings were drenched. The windows were so poorly made and fitted that "all where the wind came in making some of the rooms almost unfit for occupation, and this in spite of heavy fires going all the time."[50]

The Shubenacadie school in Nova Scotia opened in 1930. Indian Affairs' own architect designed the building, and the government issued the tenders and supervised the construction of the school.[51] It had been open only a few months when Principal J. P. Mackey reported that "with a driving rain storm, there is a considerable leakage of water on every floor on the front of the building." The water was damaging the plaster and seeping into the basement, which had an improperly finished floor. The pump house was not working, and the kitchen chimney did not provide sufficient draft to allow the cook to prepare meals.[52] Two years later, the principal was complaining that the building was still leaking, the plaster was continuing to come down, and plans to paint interior walls had been largely abandoned as a waste of time and money.[53]

"Damaged beyond repair": The failure to maintain

The problems with poorly built buildings went unaddressed. The inadequacy of the per capita grant meant that due to limited spending on maintenance, older problems got worse and new ones kept emerging. In 1907, Inspector John Semmens reported that the Methodist school at Norway House was in such a dilapidated condition that it was a danger to the students. Semmens commented that the money provided for repairs "appears to have been thrown away." The Indian commissioner recommended that the school be closed before winter. Methodist Church official T. Ferrier said:

> The cellar and basements are in tumble down condition with about a foot of water in each, and the only relief is in bailing it out with pails or pumping it out. There is no drain and it is in a most unsanitary condition. The furnaces are placed in these dilapidated basements, which are merely holes in the ground, and the way they are installed makes it impossible to heat the buildings.[54]

In 1908, when the Kuper Island, British Columbia, school was less than twenty years old, Principal P. Claessen was petitioning for a new building. He described the building as "insanitary" [sic] and "ruinous." There was "insufficient air capacity and want of ventilation in some rooms, state of decay on the ground floor and foundations in the boy's [sic] building, irregular and insufficient heating." The problem, he wrote, had been confirmed by medical experts.[55] He renewed his appeal the following year, adding that "the very foundations in some parts are rotten and giving away."[56] The year after that, the principal reported that the school consisted of twenty buildings that he described as "old and some damaged beyond repair by long use and weather," and that were "scattered in a very disorderly way, at the southern corner of the school property." Much of the boys' industrial training consisted of the "incessant repairing" of these buildings.[57] A new building was not built until 1915.[58]

Sixteen years later, Indian Affairs official G. H. Barry conducted an inspection of the Kuper Island school and concluded that the toilets were too few in number and the washrooms were poorly ventilated. Even with twice-daily cleaning, "there is quite a smell." When he returned three years later, there were still too few toilets and only a "very limited number" of them were in working order. Addressing this issue was "a very urgent matter," he wrote. In 1935, the Indian agent reported that the floors of the boys' and girls' playrooms were "completely gone," since the supporting sills had rotted away; the stove and oven needed replacing; and the upstairs walls needed resurfacing. In 1936, the principal was informed that, due to a cut in Indian Affairs funding, roofing repairs would have to be limited to "the work that is absolutely necessary."

To Inspector F. H. Paget, the Regina, Saskatchewan, school in 1908 looked "more like a deserted place than a government institution." The building was old, the floors worn, the plaster broken, and the paint worn off. Neither the children nor the dormitories appeared neat and tidy. There was no money for paint or bedspreads, or for replacing mattresses whose springs had sprung. According to a local Presbyterian minister, F. A. Green, the girls, having no playroom, were obliged to play in the dormitories; the blackboards were "a disgrace and largely useless"; and the school was underfunded, compared to Catholic and Methodist schools. By the following year, it was apparent that outbuildings were on the verge of collapse. But, no repairs were to be made until the future of the school was determined.

Inspector Paget had even harsher words for the schools on the Blood Reserve in Alberta. He described the boys' dormitory at the Anglican school as "an old log building of two stories with low ceilings, unplastered and quite unfit for the purpose it is being used for. It was without exception the worst building I was in on my travels and no time should be lost in replacing it." Of the Catholic school, he wrote, "The roof leaks and requires repairs, ventilation is deficient and there are no outside fire escapes but plenty of staircases." Sixteen years later, the building was still standing—and it was in even worse condition. Because Paget had condemned it in 1908, no significant repairs had been carried out since then. It was not until 1927 that new Catholic and Anglican schools were built near Cardston to serve the Blood Reserve. A government inspector described the buildings as "first class," but noted that "the rain seeps through the brick work at both schools." By 1929, faults with the two schools were all too apparent. At the Anglican school, corrosion was blocking the water pipes, and a girls' fire escape was needed. The roof had no eaves, and rainwater was leaking into the walls. A government inspector wrote that "the interior of the school will be ruined if this continues." In heavy rains, water continued to soak through the walls, staining the plaster in both schools.

In the Indian Affairs annual report of 1908, Kate Cunningham, the principal of the school at File Hills, Saskatchewan, noted, "For the past 2 years 10 boys have slept to a new brick school and residence. It was to take another two years before an addition was constructed.

In 1914, Indian agent [illegible] gave the following description of the Presbyterian school in Kamsack, Saskatchewan: "Dormitories low, play rooms dirty, water closets dirty. Many pupils dirty and poorly clad. Miss Gilmour's retirement from this school seems to have started it on the down grade and now it is not fit for children to stay in under its present conditions." In commenting on the report, Martin Benson noted that the school seemed to be going from "bad to worse."

Church officials were well aware of the problems. In 1925, T. B. R. Westgate, the field secretary for the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, inspected the Anglican schools on the Peigan and Blood reserves and concluded they were both in need of replacement. At Peigan, the location was inadequate, the chimney threatened to collapse, and the building needed to be replaced. The Blood Reserve school buildings were "in almost every way unequal to the purpose for which they exist." In [illegible], Westgate reported on the dismal conditions at three more schools. The Royal school at Alert Bay, British Columbia, was "old, leaky, drafty and rests on timbers which in places have almost completely rotted away." The Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, school buildings were "old, unsafe, antiquated in design, and incapable in every way of accommodating the number of children awaiting admission." The school buildings at Whitefish Lake, Alberta, were "very poor and do not measure to the standards required by your Department." Conditions at these schools did not improve. In January [illegible], the Alert Bay principal wrote that because "no action has yet been taken to remedy existing drainage and flood conditions," heavy rains had once more led to flooding of the boiler room. By the fall of that year, the principal was still unable to get funding to waterproof the school's outside walls. In [illegible], the Anglican Lord Bishop of Athabasca described the Whitefish Lake and Wabasca, Alberta, schools as being "in deplorable condition." The following year, Indian agent [illegible] wrote that although the Anglican school at Wabasca had undergone repairs, the buildings remained "unfit for anybody to live there."

Conditions worsened during the Depression. In [illegible], conditions were so bad at the school in Mission, British Columbia, that Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott recommended closing the school until a new one could be built. In the face of church opposition, he relented, and temporary classrooms were constructed. By the fall of [illegible], the building still had not been replaced, and the school's new principal, Father [illegible], described the living conditions as "deplorable." In December [illegible], Inspector George [illegible] wrote that he dreaded "the possibility of fire" at the school and recommended the installation of rope fire escapes in the boys' dormitory.

In March [illegible], Indian agent [illegible] drew the department's attention to "the absolute necessity of a new School at Mission. Years have gone by since it was first promised." He pointed out that if the government had not promised to build a new

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Sanitation and drinking water

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

strongest language for the outside toilets, which were "in a tumble-down, rotten condition; the soil about them is saturated with sewerage and the stench from them is unbearable. These toilets are a distinct menace to the health of the children and not at all in keeping with appointments of a modern school." He recommended they be destroyed at once.[illegible]

McCuaig hoped to use the report to pressure Indian Affairs into paying for improvements at the school. In passing it on to the local inspector of Indian agencies, he noted: "We may consider ourselves extremely fortunate that we have succeeded in carrying out these investigations without the news spreading among the Indians. The nearest approach to it was when Joe Jules, during the cold weather, removed his boy from school."[illegible]

By 1930, the government was forced to consider rebuilding the school at Sandy Bay. It had no permanent water supply and, according to Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham, "there is no chance of carrying out farming" at the school location.[illegible] Four years later, the Sandy Bay principal said the water situation was urgent. During the winter, the school had used a sleigh to haul water from the nearby lake. He reported: "This spring we are still more embarrassed than ever as we haven't even our usual quantity of rain water. We have had so far only one barrel full of water from our roof, which I may say was far from being fit to drink." As a result, three tanks of water had to be hauled from the lake on a daily basis. He asked the department to provide a truck, a tank, and a pump, as a stopgap.[illegible]

A fur coat in the classroom: Failures of the heating systems

The heating systems were often as inefficient as the sanitary systems. Sister Félicitas gave this description of the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school in the 1890s:

> In vain did we run around to keep warm; we shivered and our teeth chattered uncontrollably. The refectory was the coldest. The stove roared until we thought the chimney was on fire, yet the room remained icy. The meat, coffee, everything was frozen, and Sister Saint Fabian had to summon all her strength to cut the beef steak which was like rock. In cooling, the dishes stuck to the table. The nights were frigid.[illegible]

In 1897, at the Presbyterian school in Kamsack in what is now Saskatchewan, the teacher wore a fur coat in the classroom, water in a jug remained frozen all day, and a sewing machine could not be operated because the room was too cold.[illegible] In 1899, the newly appointed Brandon school principal, T. Ferrier, complained that the school's heating system

> has been so tampered with and mutilated that it exists no longer in its original form. The projection of the main building is heated by two additional furnaces, which have so many disconnected pipes and broken doors, disordered draughts and dilapidated grates, that it is impossible for the circulation of air to take place.[illegible]

The Calgary school had opened in December 1896.[illegible] According to Principal George Hogbin, much of the exterior originally had been simply boarded over with "shiplap" (wooden sheathing). By 1904, it had been lathed and plastered, making it possible "to keep the building fairly warm, which before had been practically impossible." The baths were moved from the basement to the top floor and students no longer "had to climb the whole height of the building past every door to the exterior, in order to reach their dormitories."[illegible] But heating problems persisted. In 1906, Hogbin reported that classroom work was "regularly carried on during the winter, that is, whenever the temperature of the schoolroom will allow. Owing to the defects repeatedly reported in our heating system it is occasionally found that the school-room is so cold as absolutely to forbid its use."[illegible]

The school principal in Regina concluded in 1904:

> Our heating system is several degrees short of perfection. We burned last year very little short of three hundred tons of soft coal. Even at that we were none too warm. The long rambling shape of the building makes it very difficult to heat by the hot-air system, especially during the stormy days, of which we had many last winter.[illegible]

In 1908, due to a coal shortage, the school had to be heated with straw, leaving a covering of fine straw ash throughout the building.[illegible]

The boiler at the Birtle school in Manitoba was in such poor repair in 1927 that it could not push the temperature above 50 degrees Fahrenheit (10 degrees Celsius) in the winter. There was no hot-water supply. According to the principal, H. B. Currie, "Every bit of hot water required for bathing 90 pupils and the Staff has to be carried from the kitchen up to the bath rooms, up one or two flights of stairs, in buckets."[illegible]

Not all schools were in a state of collapse. In 1908, as he was deploring the condition of the schools in Regina and on the Blood Reserve in Alberta, Inspector Paget judged the buildings at the Battleford school in Saskatchewan (run by the Anglican Church) to be in good repair, clean, and neat. He found the Brandon school (operated by the Methodists) to be "excellently conducted," its buildings "scrupulously clean and tidy."[illegible] And, in a 1920 report, W. M. Graham, after criticizing the management of the Gleichen school in Alberta, commented that the school at Hobbema, Alberta, while old, was "spotlessly clean." The St. Albert, Alberta, school was "wonderful," "the finest Indian Institution I was ever in, large, airy and well lighted. The beds and bedding could not be better. There was no crowding, and the food was good and wholesome." Similarly, the Cluny, Alberta, school was “large, airy and well lighted.… There was nothing in the whole Institution that a person looking for trouble, could find fault with.”[92]

Although there are many more examples of positive assessments of specific schools, the most telling assessment of the overall quality of the residential school buildings in Canada can be found in a lengthy memorandum that Welfare and Training superintendent R. A. Hoey wrote in 1940. Hoey estimated that, by then, Canada had invested $10 million in residential schools.[93] Since he started with Indian Affairs in December 1936, there had never been “the funds necessary to undertake the repairs required at a majority of our residential schools.” As a result, many government and church-owned schools were “in a somewhat dilapidated condition” and had “become acute fire hazards.” He laid responsibility for the “condition of our schools, generally,” on their “faulty construction.” This construction, he said, had failed to meet “the minimum standards in the construction of public buildings, particularly institutions for the education of children.”

He pointed out that poor brickwork at schools at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, and Alert Bay, British Columbia, meant that the walls constantly leaked rainwater. Both school buildings had been in operation for only a decade. The foundation of the ten-year-old school at Birtle was sinking. Faulty eavestroughing was causing the north wall to buckle at the Presbyterian school in Kenora. The roof of the twelve-year-old Lytton, British Columbia, school leaked and was in need of repair. Over the previous three years, the department had made improvements to the water supply at nine schools. There were, however, “still a large number of schools where the water supply is wholly inadequate.” He noted critical shortages at the Chapleau school in Ontario, and the Brandon and Sandy Bay schools in Manitoba.

Hoey’s roll call of disaster continued: the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school needed a new sewage plant; the Pine Creek, Manitoba, school had been on the verge of collapse and still needed substantial repair; the Round Lake, Saskatchewan, school was “one of the most dilapidated and insanitary schools we have at present”; the Delmas, Saskatchewan, school was “in poor state of repair,” as were the Wabasca, Whitefish Lake, and Sturgeon Lake schools in Alberta; the Anglican and Roman Catholic schools in Brocket, Alberta, were so strangely constructed that they swayed and rocked in a high wind; and the ramshackle Squamish, British Columbia, school was “an acute fire hazard.”

The location of some schools defied logic. After noting that the Elkhorn school in Manitoba had been closed during the First World War, Hoey commented that “it is difficult to understand at this date why it was ever re-opened.” Most of the students at the school in southwestern Manitoba came from the North, and “the cost of transportation is quite substantial.” The school principal at Edmonton, Alberta, J. F. Woodsworth, was deemed to be “one of our best principals,” but, even though he was allowed to recruit students from the British Columbia coast, he had not been able in recent years to fill a school "that cost more to erect than any other in our entire system."

Hoey recommended that the government close twelve schools: in Manitoba, Portage la Prairie and Pine Creek; in Saskatchewan, Round Lake and Delmas; in Alberta, Wabasca, Whitefish Lake, Sturgeon Lake, and two in Brocket; in British Columbia, Kitimaat, Port Simpson, and Squamish. He further recommended that the government transfer funding of the St. Paul's Hostel in the Yukon, where the majority of the students was Métis, to the Yukon administration, saying, "This is not an Indian Residential School in any sense: there is not at this date a single Indian student in attendance." He wanted to replace the schools whose closing he recommended with at least twenty-five day-school classrooms. This policy of school closures is one that Hoey would continue to advocate into the 1940s.[94]

Superintendent Hoey apologized for the length of the memorandum, explaining that "I have felt very keenly, however, owing to the condition of our residential schools since I entered the Department, and my inability to keep these schools in a proper state of repair and efficiency."[95]

Perhaps the most chilling revelation in the memorandum is Hoey's statement that he was "personally of the belief that no residential school should be built in the future—either new or designed for replacement—other than those of fireproof construction throughout."[96] The fact that fireproofing was not already an established building standard is an indictment of government policy—particularly in light of the long history of fires at residential schools.

CHAPTER 18

Fire, a deadly hazard: 1867–1939

At 3:00 a.m. on September 28, 1873, Shingwauk Home principal E. F. Wilson was awoken by the sounds of boys running about in the dormitory over his bedroom. He opened the door to discover that "flames were leaping up at the back of the house, seeming to come from the cellar, which was entered by a staircase from the outside.... Everyone was now crying 'Fire!' and all seemed to be rushing about frantically."

Efforts failed to put out the flames with water hauled from the nearby river. Fortunately, no lives were lost, but the boarding school, which had opened only six days earlier at Garden River, Ontario, was destroyed.[1] Wilson's daughter died of a non-fire-related illness a few days later.[2] For Wilson, it was a time of tremendous trial: "We suspected incendiarism and knew not whom to trust, and my little daughter was dead and my wife seemed to be dying."[3] Despite these tragedies, he launched a new fund-raising campaign, and opened a new Shingwauk Home, located closer to Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, in 1875.[4]

The Shingwauk fire underscores the serious risk that fire posed in the late nineteenth century. Residential schools were often poorly built and isolated from help in case of fire. Many of the boarding schools were of wood-frame construction. The wood- and coal-burning stoves used to heat the buildings could throw off sparks that could result in a blaze. Heat was transmitted from room to room by stovepipes that were themselves a potential source of fire. Most of the schools were far from any source of electricity, and, for years, most of them were lit by gas lamps. For example, at the Yale, British Columbia, school in 1908: "Coal-oil lamps are almost entirely used for lighting purposes. These lamps are attached to the walls or ceiling, in rooms occupied by the children, or in the passages. Candles in addition to lamps are used in the chapel, and sometimes by the teachers."[5]

The January 1904 fire that destroyed the Qu'Appelle school started in the school lamp room that stored 150 lamps along with a supply of coal oil and other inflammable materials. In reviewing the fire, Indian Affairs official Martin Benson noted that although the fire had been caused accidentally, the school administration had been careless in not ensuring that students did not have access to the room.[6]

Over time, most schools acquired electrical generators, but poor wiring was often the cause of school fires. An electrical short circuit started a fire that destroyed the rebuilt Qu'Appelle school in 1932.[7] A 1938 inspection of the Cranbrook, British Columbia, school noted that the poor condition of the plaster walls throughout the building meant that "should fire break out it would be drawn up through the walls and ceilings through the places where the plaster is missing, and run under the floors all over the building before anyone would be aware."[8] Efforts to control student behaviour also increased the fire risks. The school principal at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, J. P. Mackey, thought that a 1936 boiler-room fire could have been the result of "boys sneaking their way to the boiler room, in order to have a smoke" and throwing their cigarettes away to avoid detection.[9] Some fires were deliberately set by students. Although there was no official determination that the 1873 Shingwauk Home fire was the work of an arsonist, there were reports that the fire was started by band members. According to some accounts, the opponents of the school objected to English-language education; other accounts suggest they were opposed to the cultural change that the school presented; and, in yet other accounts, the arsonists may have harboured a personal grudge against Wilson.[10]

From the records produced and available to it, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has determined that at least thirty-seven schools were destroyed by fire between 1867 and 1939. During this period, there were never more than eighty schools in operation at any one time (see Table 18.1). In addition, at least thirty-two outbuildings were destroyed by fire during this period (see Table 18.2). There were at least forty-eight additional recorded fires (see Table 18.3). It was suspected or proven that at least 26 of these 117 fires were deliberately set (see Table 18.4).

There were three tragic building fires throughout this period (from 1867 to 1939). The 1905 fire at Saint-Paul-des-Métis, in what is now Alberta, claimed one life;[11] the 1927 fire at the Beauval, Saskatchewan, school claimed twenty;[12] and the 1930 fire at the Cross Lake, Manitoba, school claimed thirteen.[13] In addition, in three separate incidents (Middlechurch, Manitoba, 1895;[14] Beauval, 1909;[15] and Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories, 1924[16]), students died from burns when garbage-disposal fires set their clothing on fire. It also appears that a girl from the Ahousaht, British Columbia, school died of fire-related injuries in 1916.[17]

Even when there were no deaths, fires could be devastating. When fire destroyed the Anglican school at Wabasca, Alberta (also known as Lake Wapuskow), in 1903, staff and children lost everything but their nightclothes.[18] After a fire at the Kamloops, British Columbia, school in 1925, one of the Sisters of St. Ann lamented, "All our wardrobe, library, and valuables acquired during the fifty years of service went up in flames."[19] When fire destroyed the Qu'Appelle school in 1932, the boys were able to salvage some clothing and bedding, but the girls, who were in church when the fire broke out, lost everything but the clothes they were wearing.[20]

Table 18.1. Schools destroyed by fire: 1867 to 1939. (Religious affiliation of the school is identified when there are two schools in a single location.)

Île-à-la-Crosse, North-West Territories (now Saskatchewan) (1867)[1]
Shingwauk Home, Garden River, Ontario (1873)[2]
Wikwemikong, Manitoulin Island, Ontario, boys' school and girls' school (1885)[3]
Coqualeetza Institute, Chilliwack, British Columbia (1892)[4]
Roman Catholic school at Onion Lake, North-West Territories (now Saskatchewan) (1894)[5]
Fort William, Ontario, orphanage (1894)[6]
Elkhorn, Manitoba (1895)[7]
Mohawk Institute, Brantford, Ontario (1903)[8]
Anglican school at Wabasca, North-West Territories (now Alberta) (1903)[9]
Qu'Appelle, North-West Territories (now Saskatchewan) (1904)[10]
Saint-Paul-des-Métis, Alberta (1905). One student died in this fire.[11]
Kitimaat, British Columbia, girls' home (1906)[12]
Rupert's Land school, Middlechurch, Manitoba (1906)[13]
Wikwemikong, Manitoulin Island, Ontario, girls' school (1911)[14]
Norway House, Manitoba (1913)[15]
Fort Vermilion, Alberta (1914)[16]
Alberni, British Columbia (1917)[17]
Ahousaht, British Columbia (1917)[18]
Sechelt, British Columbia (1917)[19]
Île-à-la-Crosse, Saskatchewan (1920)[20]
Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan (1920)[21]
Crosby Girls' Home, Port Simpson, British Columbia (1921)[22]
Joussard, Alberta (1923)[23]
Kamloops, British Columbia (1925)[24]
Île-à-la-Crosse, Saskatchewan (1925)[25]
Beauval, Saskatchewan (1927).[26] Nineteen students and one staff person died in this fire.[27]
Gleichen, Alberta (1928)[28]
Roman Catholic school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan (1928)[29]
Gordon's Reserve, Saskatchewan (1929)[30]
Cross Lake, Manitoba (1930). Twelve students and one staff person died in this fire.[31]
Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan (1932)[32]
Fort Vermilion, Alberta (1932)[33]
Anglican school at The Pas, Manitoba (1933)[34]
Alberni, British Columbia (1937)[35]
Carcross, Yukon Territory (1939)[36]
Fort Albany, Ontario (1939)[37]

Table 18.2. Outbuildings destroyed by fire: 1867 to 1939. (Religious affiliation of the school is identified when there are two schools in a single location.)

Mount Elgin at Muncey, Ontario, playhouse (1889)[1]
Battleford, Saskatchewan, carpenter's shop (1894)[2]
Elkhorn, Manitoba, girls' dormitory (1895)[3]
Old Sun's, T'suu Tina, North-West Territories (now Alberta), stable (1896)[4]
Mission, British Columbia, laundry building (1896)[5]
Metlakatla, British Columbia, girls' dormitory, laundry, and the school workshops (1901)[6]
Mohawk Institute, Brantford, Ontario, barns (1903)[7]
Mohawk Institute, Brantford, Ontario, temporary boys' dormitory (1903)[8]
Birtle, Manitoba, stable (1903)[9]
Coqualeetza Institute, Chilliwack, British Columbia, several outbuildings (1904)[10]
Hay River, Northwest Territories, henhouse (1907)[11]
Mount Elgin, Muncey, Ontario, boys' playhouse (1907)[12]
Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, pump house (1913)[13]
Mount Elgin, Muncey, Ontario, barns (1915)[14]
Gleichen, Alberta, laundry building (1921)[15]
Round Lake, Saskatchewan, classrooms (1923)[16]
Anglican school on the Peigan Reserve, Brocket, Alberta, principal's house (1925)[17]
Chapleau, Ontario, the former school building (1926)[18]
Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, the former school building (1926)[19]
Lestock, Saskatchewan, laundry and garage (1931)[20] The school engineer was injured in the fire and the government declined to pay his medical bills, saying they were a church responsibility.[21]
Blue Quills, Alberta, stable (1931)22
Spanish, Ontario, boys' school, chicken coop (1932)[23]
Shingle Point, Yukon Territory, principal's residence (1934)[24]
Anglican school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, principal's residence (1934)[25]
Birtle, Manitoba, poultry house (1934)[26]
File Hills, Saskatchewan, poultry house (1935)[27]
Fraser Lake, British Columbia, piggery (1935)[28]
Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories, power plant (1936)[29] Although there were no fatalities, two people were badly burned by the fire.[30]
Roman Catholic school at Fort George, Québec, laundry (1938)[31]
Roman Catholic school at Kenora, Ontario, staff residence (1938)[32]
Anglican school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, pump house (1939)[33]
Roman Catholic school at Kenora, Ontario, the priests' residence (1939)[34]

Table 18.3. Additional reported fires that did not destroy buildings. (Religious affiliation of the school is identified when there are two schools in a single location.)

Battleford, Saskatchewan (1885)
Wikwemikong, Manitoulin Island, Ontario, girls' school (1888)
Shingwauk Home at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (1889)
Anglican school on the Blood Reserve, North-West Territories (now Alberta) (1895)
Kuper Island, British Columbia (1895)
Metlakatla, British Columbia, main building (1899)
Red Deer, North-West Territories (now Alberta), piggery (1899)
Birtle, Manitoba, basement (1901)
Rupert's Land school at Middlechurch, Manitoba, laundry and kitchen (two separate fires, two days apart) (1903)
Mount Elgin, Muncey, Ontario, kitchen (1906)
Elkhorn, Manitoba (1908)
Mount Elgin, Muncey, Ontario, barn (1908)
Presbyterian school at Kamsack, Saskatchewan (1913)
Alberni, British Columbia (1913)
Roman Catholic school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan (1913)
Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan (1914)
St. Albert, Alberta (1917)
Duck Lake, Saskatchewan (1917)
Alert Bay, British Columbia (1918)
Mount Elgin, Muncey, Ontario, kitchen (1922)
Fraser Lake, British Columbia (1923)
Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories (1923)
Alert Bay, British Columbia (1924)
Birtle, Manitoba, boys' dormitory (1925)
Marieval, Saskatchewan (1926)
McIntosh, Ontario, laundry (1927)
Morley, Alberta (1927)
Anglican school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan (1928)
Mission, British Columbia (1928)
Anglican school at The Pas, Manitoba (1929)
Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories (1929)
Blue Quills, Alberta (1929)
Pine Creek, Manitoba (1932)
Anglican school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan (1932)
Hay River, Northwest Territories, laundry (1933)
Blue Quills, Alberta (1933)

Gleichen, Alberta ([illegible])
Gleichen, Alberta ([illegible])
Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories ([illegible])
Cluny, Alberta ([illegible])
Morley, Alberta ([illegible])
Hay River, Northwest Territories, school roof ([illegible])
Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, boiler room ([illegible])
Sioux Lookout, Ontario, engine room ([illegible])
Morley, Alberta, stables ([illegible])
Fraser Lake, British Columbia, laundry ([illegible])
Alert Bay, British Columbia, boys' dormitory and dining room ([illegible])
Fraser Lake, British Columbia, laundry and roof ([illegible])

Table [illegible] School fires that were suspected or proven to be deliberately set. (Religious affiliation of the school is identified when there are two schools in a single location.)

Shingwauk Home at Garden River, Ontario ([illegible])
Wikwemikong, Manitoulin Island, Ontario, girls' school ([illegible])
Shingwauk Home at Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario ([illegible])
Kuper Island, British Columbia ([illegible])
Anglican school on the Blood Reserve, North-West Territories (now Alberta) ([illegible]). Staff member suspected of starting fire.
Birtle, Manitoba, barn ([illegible]). Barn destroyed
Mohawk Institute, Brantford, Ontario ([illegible]). School destroyed
Mohawk Institute, Brantford, Ontario, barn ([illegible]). Barn destroyed
Mohawk Institute, Brantford, Ontario, boys' temporary housing ([illegible]). Housing destroyed
Saint Paul des Métis, Alberta ([illegible])
Mount Elgin, Muncey, Ontario, barn ([illegible])
Presbyterian school at Kamsack, Saskatchewan ([illegible])
Duck Lake, Saskatchewan ([illegible]). Several attempts in one year
Ahousaht, British Columbia ([illegible])
St. Albert, Alberta ([illegible])
Alert Bay, British Columbia ([illegible])
Alert Bay, British Columbia ([illegible])
[illegible], Saskatchewan ([illegible])
Morley, Alberta ([illegible])
Anglican school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan ([illegible])
[illegible], British Columbia ([illegible])

[illegible], Alberta ([illegible])
Pine Creek, Manitoba ([illegible])
Cross Lake, Manitoba ([illegible]; school destroyed)
Cluny, Alberta ([illegible])
Morley, Alberta ([illegible])

The fire risk in public buildings

By the late nineteenth century, the risk that fire presented to large public institutions such as schools was well recognized throughout North America. In [illegible], the Church of the Holy Redeemer Parochial School in New York City caught fire. The interior stairwell became blocked and, as the number of children in the stairway increased, it collapsed. Fifteen children died in the disaster. Despite the fact that since [illegible], public buildings in New York City had been required to have fire escapes, the Holy Redeemer school had no such escape. The following year, twenty-two children died in an orphanage fire in Brooklyn. Again, the building had no fire escape. A school fire in suburban Cleveland in 1908 killed [illegible] children. These tragedies led to an increase in laws and in the enforcement of laws requiring schools to have enclosed exterior fire escapes, fireproof basements, and [illegible] exits.

Fire escapes were [illegible] to otherwise unsafe buildings, but they were a measure of last resort. By the early twentieth century, it was recognized that student safety was best ensured by improved building technologies, including the use of fire-resistant materials. Many people also argued that public schools should not be more than two storeys in height, effectively decreasing the difficulty in evacuating students from the building in case of fire. By the 1920s, the benefit of fireproof construction techniques in New York City was apparent. In [illegible], there were [illegible] school fires in city schools, but no fatalities.

Canadian officials were well aware of the fire risk in large public buildings: most famously, in 1916, a fire took seven lives and destroyed most of the Canadian Parliament Buildings. Between [illegible] and [illegible], there were [illegible] disastrous fires at schools and orphanages in Quebec:

- February 1907, Hochelaga School in Montreal, sixteen students and one teacher dead
- February 1918, Montreal Grey Nuns Orphanage, [illegible] children dead
- Summer [illegible], Shawbridge, Quebec, Jewish orphanage camp, [illegible] children dead
- December [illegible], [illegible], Quebec City, St. Charles [illegible] Orphanage, [illegible] children dead

- [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

the following year, Indian Affairs issued an instruction to principals in schools on the Prairies that required that "all dormitory, school-room, interior hall, and exterior doors should open outwards" to ensure that "the building may be emptied quickly and without danger of blockade in case of fire."[illegible]

It took another twenty years and a major fire disaster before this became a national expectation. In October 1927, weeks after a fire claimed twenty lives at the school at Beauval, Duncan Campbell Scott issued a national instruction that fire-escape doors should open outward. If they were sealed, "it should be possible for even a young pupil to break through with a chair or boot." In dormitories for young students, there was to be either "an older trusted pupil or a member of the staff" assigned to a bed near the fire-escape exit. There were to be monthly fire drills and sufficient fire extinguishers located throughout the school. Schools that did not employ a night watchman were to assign a staff member to "make a thorough inspection of the building at ten o'clock and again at midnight." There was also to be a patrol in the morning.[illegible]

Another instruction issued in 1932 improved upon these measures by requiring that fire escapes were to be "efficient, kept in repair, free from snow or ice and unlocked exits to them must open out."[illegible] Despite these instructions, there were continual reports during this period of schools with insufficient fire escapes and of principals keeping the doors to these fire escapes locked.

An effective fire-escape system was one that allowed students to leave a school quickly and safely. From the point of view of a residential school principal, such a system had two potential drawbacks. First, a fire escape that allowed students to leave the school quickly during a fire could also be used by students who simply wished to run away from the school. Second, an exterior staircase from a dormitory to the ground ran both ways. Boys could climb up such a staircase to gain access to the girls' dormitory. As a result, principals resisted the installation of outside fire escapes. When they were finally obliged to install them, they often chose dangerous and frightening pole-style escapes that students were expected to slide down in the event of fire. And, to prevent students from using them in ways deemed improper, they locked the doors and windows leading to the escapes. The federal government tended to support the use of pole-type escapes, on the grounds of cost, but, after 1932, locking access to fire escapes was contrary to repeated federal instructions. The fact that the government was unable to achieve compliance on this matter is a sign of the failure of responsibility that characterized the administration of the residential school system.

One of the first signs of resistance to fire escapes came from Mount Elgin principal W. W. Shepherd, who informed Indian Affairs in 1898, "We have not any out side [sic] fire escapes, and cannot well have as the pupils would be likely to escape when we did not want them to. We have experience in that line."[illegible] (It is not clear if the sentence was underlined by Shepherd or the letter's recipient.) Two decades would pass before Indian Affairs instructed a new Mount Elgin principal, S. R. McVitty, to install outside fire escapes on the student dormitories.[65] When he inspected the work in 1912, architect Robert Ogilvie reported that although the fire escapes had been installed, they should not have "finished at the lower story." While Ogilvie's note provides no additional information, it is likely that this means that the escapes did not go down to the ground.[66] Improvement at Mount Elgin—one of the oldest residential schools in Canada—was slow. A 1924 inspection report pointed to the "very inadequate provision for preventing loss of life in case of fire. Suitable arrangements for fire escape should be made at once to insure the safety of the residents of the main building."[67]

Using much the same language, a 1927 report commented on the "very inadequate provision for the safety of the children in case of fire" at Mount Elgin.[68] In August 1929, Acting Assistant Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs A. F. MacKenzie concluded that "fire protection is not at all satisfactory" at the school. He instructed Principal McVitty to install two steel-stair fire escapes and to remove flammable material from the school attic.[69] The risk of fire at Mount Elgin was far from hypothetical: from 1906 to 1922, there had been at least five fires at the school.

Throughout this period, many schools lacked adequate fire escapes. A 1923 inspection of the Squamish school in North Vancouver reported that the fire alarm gongs were in very poor condition, the fire extinguishers needed recharging, the fire hose needed replacement, and there were no outside fire escapes.[70] In 1926, Indian agent A. O'N. Daunt called for "some system of fire escapes" at the school at Mission, British Columbia.[71] At the Roman Catholic school in Kenora, Ontario, in 1926, Inspector Bennett noted, "One of the doors leading to the fire escape is 'Frozen' solid," and recommended that the ice be cut away.[72] The following year, Indian agent Frank Edwards recommended that a chute-type escape be installed at the school.[73] When one more year had passed, another inspector concluded that the school had insufficient fire escapes.[74] Ten years later, an inspection report on the same school noted that the fire escape was unsafe because it was too close to the school windows. According to the report, "If a fire should break out on the first or second story the escape would be cut off by the fire going out of these windows."[75]

In September 1929, Indian Affairs inspector A. G. Hamilton reported that at the Round Lake, Saskatchewan, school:

> The fire escape from the girls' dormitory on the west side of the building is so situated that a child in sliding down the pole can hardly avoid coming in contact with the railing along the steps leading into the boys' playroom. This railing is about six or eight feet off the ground, and a child striking it coming down as swiftly as they do is liable to meet with an accident. I would suggest that this fire escape be North to the next window which would then give plenty of clearance to anyone coming down the escape. The pole of this fire escape is secured at the top by a brace against the school. This brace I found to be detached and the pole was swinging free. I pointed this out to Mr. Ross, who was aware of it,

> but as this fire escape has not been used for fire drill he has neglected fixing it. Since the return of the children, the Principal has had no fire drill. Upon my request this was carried out, but, as a number of the staff were unaccustomed to the proceedings, it was necessary that they be told and consequently I did not consider the drill was a real test.[76]

In 1934, G. H. Barry wrote that although, in his previous report on the Christie school on Meares Island, British Columbia, he had noted that the only fire escape at the school was a set of "wooden stairs and wooden ladder attached to the back wall of the school," he now reported that "EVEN THIS POOR ESCAPE HAS BEEN DONE AWAY WITH." In case of fire, he did not see how the children could be saved.[77]

Not all principals were opposed to fire escapes. The principal at the school at Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan, Charles Hives, wrote in 1923 that he was "not at all satisfied about our fire escape system."[78] He had good reason to be dissatisfied: the three-storey building was only two years old and had no fire escapes.[79] In 1927, at Birtle, Principal H. B. Currie reported that the junior girls' dormitory would be a fire trap, since the school had no ladder long enough to reach the dormitory windows.[80] That same year, at Portage la Prairie, Principal W. A. Hendry asked the federal government for support in making improvements to the existing fire escapes. In some cases, the fire escapes did not go all the way to the ground; in others, they were built over the furnace room, which was often where residential school fires originated.[81] Similar problems existed on the west coast. In 1928, L. Choinel, the newly appointed principal of the Cranbrook school, wrote to Ottawa to confirm his predecessor's opinion that the school fire escapes were "absolutely inadequate."[82]

In other cases, however, it was Indian Affairs staff members who drew attention to the need for improved fire escapes. In 1929, when Indian Affairs identified the problem of a lack of fire escapes at the Anglican school at Whitefish Lake, Alberta, T. B. R. Westgate, the field secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, responded that "the height from the dormitory window to the ground is not so great that a child would receive much injury if it jumped from the window to a mattress on the ground." Despite this, he agreed to add fire escapes to the school.[83] In 1930, W. M. Graham described the Hobbema, Alberta, school as "nothing but a fire trap," and recommended that until it was replaced, it be supplied with two new fire escapes.[84]

There was no unanimity on the type of fire escape to be installed at residential schools. In 1923, P. Bousquet, the principal of the Fort Alexander, Manitoba, school, opposed Ottawa's proposal for a wooden ladder fire escape for the girls' dormitory. It would, he said, "give an easy way to climb up to visit the girls." Instead, he proposed the installation of an iron pipe, three inches (7.6 centimetres) in diameter, down which girls could slide in the case of a fire.[85] Two years later, Indian Affairs informed C. Perrault, school principal at McIntosh, Ontario, that it wanted him to install an inexpensive, pole-type fire escape, rather than the more expensive type he had proposed.[86] The pole-type escapes could be quite primitive. Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan, principal C. F. Hives said that "if we had the proper sliding brass poles, it would be almost perfect. We have just the spruce pole now, which is alright until it becomes polished by constant usage. Then it becomes dangerous for the small children, on account of their not being able to control their descent."[87]

The Beauval and Cross Lake fires

The dangers inherent in poorly built schools with insufficient and inaccessible fire escapes were realized in two tragic fires. On the evening of September 19, 1927, a fire broke out at the Beauval school in northern Saskatchewan. The blaze originated in the basement furnace room and moved quickly up two separate stairways to the boys' dormitory on the third floor. The boys, along with the nun who was supervising them, were trapped by the two fires and could not get access to the exterior fire exits. Although the flames had soon engulfed the entire building, the girls had more time to leave the building, "many of the older ones carrying their small companions in their arms, thus saving their lives."[88] Nineteen boys, aged seven to twelve, and the supervising nun died in the blaze.[89] An inquest absolved the school of blame. However, an editorial in a local paper (*The Standard*) reached a harsher verdict, arguing that "the Department showed gross negligence according to the implication contained in the verdict of the jury."[90]

The second disastrous fire took place at the Cross Lake, Manitoba, school on February 25, 1930. Principal G. E. Trudeau had inspected the basement at 11:00 p.m. and midnight. Another staff member inspected the basement at 2:00 a.m. At 3:00 a.m., "the basement and ground floor of the old part of the building was found to be all in flames with flames coming up stairways to the second floor." The fire was detected by Sister Angus, who had been awakened by the smell of smoke. She woke the five other nuns who were sleeping with her on the second floor. Sister Superior Marguerite Marie instructed Sister Angus to fetch the male staff members, who lived in a separate wing of the school. Marguerite Marie then mounted the staircase to the third floor to awaken the children. She was never seen alive again.

When the fire prevented Sister Angus from reaching the wing of the school housing the male staff, she returned to the sister superior's room and gathered up a four-year-old girl who had been sleeping in that room. She took the child to the front balcony, threw a comforter to the ground, and then threw the child from the balcony in hopes that she would land on the comforter. The girl missed the comforter, but landed safely in a snowbank. Sister Angus later jumped from the balcony into a blanket being held by two of the school staff. The four sisters whom she had awoken could not get through the flames to the room on the second floor that had access to the fire escape. Instead, they had to jump from their windows; one suffered a fractured back as a result.

The boys' and girls' dormitories were located on the third floor and were separated from each other by a solid wall. There were two, sliding, pole-type fire escapes from the boys' dormitories and only one from the girls' dormitory. The fire had destroyed the electrical system, so the dormitories had to be evacuated quickly in the dark. The children were badly panicked. Sister Marie des Anges stood at the top of the girls' fire escape, where she had to "almost force the small girls down as they did not wish to descend the cold iron pipe with only their night clothes." While performing this duty, she froze her feet.[91]

Evelyn Jebb, a former Cross Lake student, provided the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada with the following description of the fire.

> It was, it was on a cold winter night in 1930 when the fire broke out. It must have been about 40 below at that time. At around 3:00 after midnight we heard big noises; the supervisor came yelling. She said, "Fire! Fire!" So we all got up and I just put my socks on and I ran to the fire escape.
>
> The fire escape door was frozen and one of the girls kicked it and it opened wide. Then we ran, I remember the door was frozen. After that they took us to the barn.[92]

Bella Quekeapow, another former Cross Lake student, provided this description of the fire.

> Well, it was there while we slept, while we slept that we were called "get up the school is burning." Right away I woke, and right away I ran to the metal poles to slide down, there were two? [Yeah.] But I reached the metal poles and I slid down as much as I could. And when I made it down, we then went and stood at the side. We stood in the snow, there were no socks. Only what we had, our bare feet. While we stood there I felt my feet start to freeze. So we stood there not knowing what was going to be done to us. Then we were told if we could run to the barn if we could. And truly I ran there following others; the barn—it was further away. I don't know how I felt but my feet were freezing, and after I ran I got to the barn. So I went there, where the cows were. And there until morning, until they came and gave us clothes to wear. It was only then that I knew when I was given clothes to wear sitting there. That's what I remember until morning when parents came to look for their children, many were not found.[93]

Eleven girls died in the fire.[94] Because the boys had more fire escapes, only one boy died.[95] According to the provincial inspector, J. L. Fuller, the fact that there was only one fire escape in the girls' dormitory, coupled with the fact that their dormitory was in the wing where the fire started, "accounts for the heavy fatalities among the girl pupils." Fuller wrote, "If the building had been equipped with proper stair fire escapes, and an adequate means of giving alarm in case of fire, that could be turned in from any floor in the building, there would have been little, if any loss of life."[96]

Ineffective fire escapes

Concerns over the effectiveness of existing fire escapes, particularly the pole type, continued into the 1930s. An inspection of the File Hills school in 1932 noted that although the young children could use the pole fire escape during fire drills, "they might let go of the pole and suffer a serious fall under excitement." The inspector also noted that flames could come out of nearby windows, making use of the pole impossible. He recommended the installation of the type of spiral staircases used in public schools, even though they were expensive.[97] The principal opposed such a measure, saying the pupils would "use it for getting away from the dormitory and other undesirable purposes, at night." Indian agent George Dodds said that the improper use of fire escapes was a problem at all schools, but did not think "it is a good way to solve this by limiting the means of escape."[98]

Dr. J. J. Wall, who visited the schools on behalf of Indian Affairs, vividly depicted the limitations of the existing fire escapes. Wall wrote in 1938 that whenever he stayed overnight at the Sandy Bay, Round Lake, Cowessess, or Hobbema schools, he always had his "flash-light, overcoat, socks and gloves available and prepared for a sudden dive into the winter night." All four schools were vulnerable to fire and, in his opinion, needed improved fire escapes. The existing "iced poles of iron, narrow snow or ice filled metal stairs on the outside possibly open to a wall of flames from some window it passes will only add to the panic at night."[99]

These four schools were far from being the only ones with ineffective fire escapes. A 1935 inspection of the Cluny, Alberta, school reported the fire escapes were "no good: in fact, dangerous if ever used."[100] In March 1938, John Marshall, the principal of the Sioux Lookout, Ontario, school, reported that the school fire escapes "have always been nothing less than a death trap owing to the fact that this building has no eaves trough and that there is a continual drip from the roof onto the centre of the stairway of the fire escapes, making them very dangerous." He said it was impossible to keep the escapes free of snow and ice.[101] There was a similar, long-standing problem at the school at Fraser Lake, British Columbia. In February 1932, Indian agent Moore reported that the fire escapes at the school were covered by ice in the winter. As a result, the steps were slippery and the pulleys to lower the escapes were difficult to operate.[102] According to an inspection report from six years later, "the dripping of melting snow from the roof not only covers the fire escapes with a sheet of ice but also completely seals the windows leading to the fire escapes, prevents the lowering of the bottom landing and on the North side of the building covers the ground at the bottom of the fire escape with sheer ice." These conditions made it almost impossible to have fire drills during the winter, and, in the opinion of the principal, W. Byrne-Grant, in the event of fire, "would almost certainly lead to serious injury."[103] In the following year, an inspector recommended that wooden rails be placed on top of the iron handrails on the fire escapes at the Lytton, Fraser Lake, and Cranbrook schools in British Columbia: "It is impossible for small children to make their way down such escapes at night in sub zero weather as their hands would stick to the iron rails and the skin would be torn off each time they tried to catch hold of the guiding rails."[104]

By the end of the 1930s, there were still reports of schools that did not have enough fire escapes. A 1937 inspection of the Thunderchild school in Delmas, Saskatchewan, concluded that while most of the school was well provided with fire protection, there were no fire escapes for a recent addition, which included a second-storey dormitory and staff quarters on the third floor. Permission was granted to remedy the problem.[105]

Locked doors

Even if a school had a safe, working fire escape, another barrier existed to students' being able to exit a burning building quickly: principals across the country had taken to locking the doors leading to those escapes. An inspector found in 1908 that the boys' dormitory at the Regina school was locked on the outside. Since the person with the key slept a distance away from the dormitory, it was thought this represented a hazard in case of fire. The principal was instructed to have someone sleep next to the door if the practice of locking it was to continue.[106]

The Indian commissioner for the Prairies, W. M. Graham, was one of the harshest critics of the practice of restricting access to fire escapes. In 1925, he was in a fury over the habit of the principal of the Anglican school at Brocket, Alberta, of nailing windows shut to prevent escape. "It is almost criminal," he wrote, "and it shows the class of man we have in charge of that institution."[107]

In 1930, Graham discovered that at the school at Fort Alexander, Manitoba, the "floors the fire escape poles run through [were] surrounded by a trap door with a hasp, staple and padlock on, and the key in the possession of the Brother, which means if the Brother was away from the building and the fire alarm rang, everyone would rush to the fire escape and pile up and it would be a very serious situation." In response to his instruction to remove the lock, he received "the usual argument that the boys can escape, or that someone can come into the dormitories."[108] After learning the following year that the exits to the boys' dormitories at the Sandy Bay school were locked at night, Graham informed Ottawa, "The practice of locking these exit doors is common in many of our residential schools."[109] Seven months later, an inspection by A. G. Hamilton of the Anglican school in The Pas revealed, "All doors leading to the fire escapes are locked. The Principal and the Matron claim they can do nothing else as the children run away at every opportunity." For the same reason, the bedroom windows were kept closed to prevent the students from getting "out by the use of bed sheets."[110] Graham called this a "terrible thing," recommending that the principal be ordered to remove the locks.[111] Three months later, the doors were still locked. The principal explained that without this measure, "several boys and girls would go out during the night, and boys from the Reserve would come into the girls' dormitory." The key to the door was kept in a glass case next to the lock.[112] Graham did not comment on this report; he had been forced into retirement at the end of March 1932.[113]

Despite the fact that in 1932, Indian Affairs had sent out instructions that fire escapes were to be kept unlocked, in 1935, Indian Affairs inspector M. Christianson noted that the fire escapes at the Morley, Alberta, school were padlocked. The principal, Edgar Staley, defended the practice, saying that several staff members had keys to the doors and that there was an axe on the wall by the door that would allow students to break down the door. Christianson was not satisfied. He recommended that if Staley wished to prevent students from using the fire exit to run away or to facilitate visits between the boys and girls, he should install an alarm on the door that would go off whenever it was opened.[114] An inspection of the Elkhorn, Manitoba, school in 1937 found that although the fire escapes were in good condition, the "doors leading to the escapes were locked and there was considerable delay in securing a key to fit."[115]

Even though Indian Affairs issued instructions in 1907 that there be a system of fire drills and, in 1927, required that they be held monthly, the department was having difficulty gaining full compliance with this policy. In 1937, Inspector G. H. Barry reported on the "great trouble" he was having in getting the principal of the Port Crosby, British Columbia, school "to train the children in Fire Drill."[116] In a follow-up report, the inspector wrote that although the principal said that fire drills were being held regularly, he found the news "difficult to believe." He discovered that the reason why such drills had not been held in the past was that fine wire-mesh screens had been "nailed outside the windows leading from the dormitories to the escapes." Furthermore, the water supply was not sufficient to fight "even a small fire."[117] By the following year, the windows had been set on hinges that opened outwards and students in each dormitory had been given training on how to care for younger students in case of a fire.[118]

Even when the doors or windows leading to fire escapes were not locked, students might face other barriers to getting out of a burning residence. As late as 1927, according to W. M. Graham, in many schools, the fire exits were "reached through a small private room where access to them might be rendered extremely difficult by the carelessness, fright, or timidity of the occupant." He also noted his concern that the plans for the school in Kamsack, Saskatchewan, which had not yet opened, called for the exit doors to open inwards.[119]

Fire escapes and fire drills did save lives. When fire destroyed the Gleichen, Alberta, school in 1928, T. B. R. Westgate of the *Anglican* MSCC wrote that the regular fire drill "proved its value for on the alarm every child jumped from bed, wrapped itself in a quilt, picked up its clothes and marched down the fire escapes."[illegible]

Deliberately set

Deliberately setting fire to a public building with the intention to damage or destroy it can be seen as an act of wanton vandalism or the symptom of a psychiatric disorder. It also can be a very dangerous and risky form of protest. The record indicates that at least twenty-five fires were either suspected or proven to have been deliberately set by students. It is impossible to put an exact figure on the number of fires that were deliberately set or to know why they were set. Some suspicions probably were unjustified; some other attempts to set fire to a building probably were never detected. When they were, the consequences for students could be significant. In some cases, individuals were tried and convicted for their involvement in these fires. In others, they were not charged, but were punished by school officials. Often, the students had admitted to their involvement and were not represented by legal counsel. Although the evidence is limited, it does not appear likely that the students who made these admissions did so in the presence of their parents or a responsible adult.

Deliberately set fires could have tragic results. The students who set fire to the Anglican school at Onion Lake in 1928 gave warning to other students, ensuring that they were able to escape safely.[illegible] However, at Saint-Paul-des-Métis, Alberta, and Cross Lake, Manitoba, students died attempting to escape from student-set fires.

Government officials recognized that the deliberate burning down of school property was a form of protest. In April 1903, the three-storey, brick Mohawk Institute was destroyed by fire. Although the fire broke out at night, all the children escaped safely.[illegible] A fire in May of that year destroyed the school barns.[illegible] The following month, another fire destroyed the building in which the boys had been housed after the first fire.[illegible] The rash of deliberately set fires led Indian Affairs official Martin Benson to conclude that the government faced two problems. The first and most pressing was to find and punish "the perpetrators of the crime." But he also believed that the second problem was that the fires were evidence of an underlying failure. In a reflection of the department's attitudes towards Aboriginal people, he wrote, "Even an Indian will not set fire to buildings, destroy valuable property and endanger life from pure cussedness. There must have been some real or imaginary grievance which led some of the boys to commit incendiarism."[illegible]

In some cases, it appears students set fires to protest their treatment at the school. According to Principal E. F. Wilson, in 1888, a boy who had been confined to the

Shingwauk Home "lockup" for theft "set fire to his prison, and we thought the whole place would be burned down."[illegible] Nelson Hughes said that he took part in setting the 1930 Cross Lake, Manitoba, fire because the principal was always punishing him.[illegible] After Nelson's conviction for conspiracy (he was acquitted of the charge of arson) in setting the fire, his lawyer, John L. Ross, called upon the federal solicitor general to hold "a full and complete investigation ... as to why two school boys should set a school on fire." He said the evidence presented in court showed that "every boy in that school had a hatred of the officers in charge there. Such a condition is not right, nor is it moral in an Indian school." He suggested that, had the trial been held in northern Manitoba, "perhaps the Court and jury would have agreed with my contention that the State had failed in its duty to the Indian and half-breed of the North Country."[illegible]

In other cases, the students were responding to school policies. When asked why they had tried to burn down the Kuper Island school in 1896, three boys said, "We have done so because we were informed that henceforth the holidays would be abolished."[illegible]

In writing about a series of fires at the Pine Creek school in 1930, an Oblate observed, "It is a known fact that some Indian children will not hesitate to set a fire in the hope of going home."[illegible] That is clearly the motivation in several cases. The two girls who attempted to burn down the Alert Bay school said they hoped they "would have a good holiday before a new one could be built."[illegible] The boy who instigated the 1905 fire at the school at Saint-Paul-des-Métis referred to the school as a "prison."[illegible] The boy who attempted to burn down the St. Albert school in 1917 had been advised by a relative, who had attended Saint-Paul-des-Métis when that school was destroyed by fire, that if he "wanted to get out of the school all he had to do was burn it down."[illegible]

In the spring of 1881, relations between the principal and members of local First Nations at the Mount Elgin school had deteriorated to the point that the principal feared some community members might attempt to set the school on fire. As a result, the federal government agreed to pay for the employment of a night watchman at the school.[illegible] Principal W. W. Shepherd wished to see charges laid against one member of the local reserve for attempted arson, but Martin Benson thought the charges were too "indefinite," and the matter was dropped.[illegible]

Punishment for setting fire to schools varied. If the damage was limited, discipline usually was left to the principal and the local Indian agent. Cases that involved the loss of life or the destruction of buildings usually were turned over to the police. The local Indian agent suggested that the principal give the girls who attempted to burn down the Alert Bay school in 1918 "a good thrashing," but not prosecute or discharge them.[illegible] Chief Inspector W. E. Ditchburn disagreed. He pointed out that this was the fifth fire at a school on the west coast in nine months and the third arson. (The Ahousaht, Alberni, and Sechelt schools had been destroyed by fire, and the fire at the Clayoquot school had done little damage. The record is not clear as to whether the

Clayoquot fire was at the Clayoquot day school or the Christie school, which was also located on Clayoquot Sound. Departmental secretary J. D. McLean disagreed with Ditchburn and recommended against prosecution. Six years later, in [illegible], when three girls attempted to burn down the Alert Bay school, McLean once more recommended against prosecution, informing the Indian agent that it was sufficient that "they were whipped in the presence of parents."

Indian Affairs thought it would be difficult to convict the boy who had attempted to set fire to the St. Albert school in [illegible]. Instead, as a form of punishment, the Indian agent recommended that the boy be sent to the industrial school at Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan. In a similar fashion, the boy who had attempted to set fire to the Morley, Alberta, school in [illegible] was transferred to the [illegible] Church school in Edmonton. When several boys tried to burn down the Morley school in [illegible], the principal requested that, instead of sending the boys to reform school, he be allowed to administer "a severe strapping" and keep them at the school. Indian Affairs approved the request, suggesting that the punishment be administered in the presence of the Indian agent, by either the parents or the principal.

Indian Affairs recognized that stories about students burning down schools amounted to bad press. Indian agent [illegible] tried to have Mission principal [illegible] fired after he turned the two girls who attempted to set fire to the school in [illegible] over to the provincial police without first consulting with him. The girls, aged twelve and thirteen, spent short periods of time in the Oakalla, British Columbia, jail and the British Columbia Industrial School for Girls before [illegible] was able to arrange their transfer to the Roman Catholic school in Kamloops. [illegible] was irritated that by involving the police, [illegible] had attracted "undesirable publicity to the institution."

In many cases, students were sent to correctional facilities. The boy who attempted to burn down the Shingwauk Home in [illegible] was sentenced to a year in the reformatory at Penetanguishene, Ontario. Three of the boys involved in setting the fires at the Mohawk Institute in [illegible] were sent to the Mimico, Ontario, Industrial school for between three and five years. A fourth boy was sentenced to the Kingston, Ontario, penitentiary for three years. An Indian Affairs official informed the father of one of the boys sent to the Mimico Industrial school that his son would be sent back to him after his release. When the boy didn't return home, an inquiry to the superintendent of the Mimico school revealed that the boy had found a job locally. The Mimico superintendent thought it best if the father not be allowed to "interfere or meddle with the boy."

According to a report written three decades after the fact, the boys who had been charged with burning down the Saint-Paul-des-Métis school in [illegible] were "pardoned." The boy who set fire to the Mount Elgin school barn in [illegible] was turned over to the authorities for prosecution. Two students who admitted to setting fire to the Cowessess, Saskatchewan, school were sent in [illegible] to the Manitoba Industrial School for Boys (a home for delinquent boys operated by the Manitoba government). One

[illegible]

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CHAPTER [illegible]

Food and diet at residential schools: 1867–1939

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for want of food." Their children were "used to being well fed at home." If the quality of food provided at the school was poor, the school might fall into disrepute. The following year, the principal, at the advice of a doctor, sent three pupils home because "the diet of the school did not agree with their former way of living; they were used to live [sic] almost exclusively on fish and oil."

After an 1896 cut in funding, Kuper Island principal G. Donckele wrote that the food situation at the school was so dire that he had been forced to slaughter the school's lone remaining pig. The practice had been to feed the pig with table and kitchen scraps. However, rations were so short that there were no scraps. If there was a further cut, he said, the parents would all withdraw their children from the school.

In 1910, Kamloops, British Columbia, principal A. M. Carion wrote that "the scale of rations allows 12 ozs. of raw meat daily for each pupil." However, due to inadequacies in the per capita grant at the school, "this quantity has been reduced to 8 ozs., thus making a saving of 17 lbs. of meat a day and, at the present high price of meat, more than $300 a year."

Dependence on school farms was risky. In 1917, Indian agent John F. Smith reported that at the Kamloops school, the yield from the school vegetable crops "is very nearly a complete failure," and "they have practically no hay with which to winter the few animals on the place."

This combination of vague instruction and piecemeal application characterized the government's policy on student diet throughout this period. After receiving reports in 1921 that students at the Anglican school in Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, were being served poor-quality bread and only water to drink, Duncan Campbell Scott instructed the Anglican Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada that "the children be provided with good, substantial and well cooked food." The following year, Russell Ferrier, the superintendent of Indian Education, sent out a circular asking principals to send him copies of their school's dietary scale, outlining what students were being fed and the quantity of food each student was receiving. He planned to have the responses analyzed by the health department. The results would be used to assess the school 'diet sheets.' Apparently, they were to be the basis for a revised dietary scale. One of the few responses on file did not provide enough information to allow for analysis. There is no record of any analysis being carried out, or of any ongoing assessment of school menus or attempts to ensure compliance with Scott's directive.

In 1929, when the federal government was establishing its first and only residential school in the Maritimes, Dr. E. L. Stone, the director of medical services for Indian Affairs, was asked to provide medical advice to Father J. P. Mackey, the Shubenacadie school's newly appointed principal. It was as vague and permissive as the instructions issued by Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Vankoughnet forty years earlier. Stone advised Mackey that

> you will have to feed your pupils better than you would think necessary. The healthiest schools are those in which the feeding is best. I suppose you are getting cows. If you can give the children plenty of clean, whole milk you will be going far to keep them healthy. I do not believe in making butter at schools. The pupils ought to have the milk fat and butter too. A diet high in protein—fish, meat, beans, cheese, etc., seems best for Indians. Give them brown bread if possible. Your cows, of course, ought to be free from tuberculosis."[29]

This was good advice, and in keeping with contemporary dietary thinking. But it was presented as advice only, not as policy direction. The government set no standards. When it found that children were being underfed, it rarely looked for the underlying cause, but instead told the principals to do better. This lack of firm direction, coupled with the never-ending need to control costs, created ongoing problems.

School menus, 1893

The Indian Affairs annual report for 1893 contained school menus for the schools at Qu'Appelle, Gordon's Reserve (both schools were located in what is now Saskatchewan), and Middlechurch, Manitoba (see tables 19.1 to 19.3). The phrase *ad libitum* used in these menus (sometimes abbreviated as *ad lib.*) means "at one's pleasure," implying that student consumption of a particular food item was not regulated. Bread was the only food item available on this basis. "Dinner" was the name usually given to the noon meal and was often the most substantial meal served at the schools. Usually, the evening meal was referred to as "supper," but in some cases, it was termed "tea."

The appearance of an item on the menu is no guarantee that it was actually served. The menus do not provide any information about the quantity of food students were served. They are, however, useful indicators of what the government thought was appropriate.

The menus present a highly monotonous food plan. The Qu'Appelle school rotated two breakfasts, and at the Gordon's Reserve school, there were only two breakfasts and two dinners. Three of the suppers were offered twice a week. The fact that the Qu'Appelle menu does not provide as much detail as the other menus suggests that all the dinners and suppers were, in essence, interchangeable. The menus are more than monotonous. They appear to be insufficient. At the Middlechurch school, for example, nine meals per week consisted solely of bread, butter, and tea, and two more consisted of only bread, butter, fruit, and tea. Protein was never served at the evening meal at that school. At the Gordon's school, rice or suet (meat fat) pudding was the main protein source at the evening meals, with fish being served on occasion.

The Gordon's Reserve school appears to have done the best job of providing students with milk. Milk is on the menu thirteen times a week (plus "tea or milk" on two additional occasions). It is difficult to tell how often milk was served at the Qu'Appelle school. At breakfast, cereal was served "with either milk or syrup"; at dinner, "bread and milk" rotated with two other desserts, but the daily dinner beverage was water, and tea was the supper beverage. Milk was served only once a week at the Middlechurch school during the winter, but butter was served twelve times a week. The principal provided an additional note: "Fish in season has been given three times a week instead of meat. Cured meat is seldom used, as the children do not care for it. In summer time vegetables are used in great variety, also a great deal of milk."[21]

Table 19.1. Menu for the Qu'Appelle, North-West Territories, Industrial School, 1893.

Meal	Menu
Breakfast	Four days in the week porridge of oatmeal or cornmeal with either milk or syrup, this is served with hot tea and bread; the working pupils, and those not in robust health, receive butter in addition. On three days all the pupils receive butter and cheese with their bread instead of porridge, this is served with hot tea.
Dinner	Soup, meat or fish, vegetables and bread ad libitum. For dessert, rice or stewed apples, or stewed rhubarb or syrup, or bread and milk, with cold water to drink, excepting to the weak children, and those working outside, who get hot tea.
Supper	Meat for the working pupils, hashed meat and vegetables for the rest, bread ad libitum and dessert similar to that named for dinner, hot tea.

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1893*, 174.

Table 19.2. Menu for the Gordon's Reserve, North-West Territories, Boarding School, 1893.

	Breakfast	Dinner	Supper
Sunday	Oatmeal porridge and milk, bread, beef or bacon, tea.	Beef, potatoes and other vegetables, bread, tea.	Bread, prunes or apples, tea or milk.
Monday	Oatmeal porridge and milk, bread and butter, tea.	Irish stew, bread ad lib., milk.	Bread pudding, bread and syrup, tea or milk.
Tuesday	Oatmeal porridge and milk, bread, beef or bacon, tea.	Irish stew, bread ad lib., milk.	Same as Sunday, or fish and bread and tea.
Wednesday	Oatmeal porridge and milk, bread and butter, tea.	Irish stew, bread ad lib., milk.	Rice pudding, bread and milk.
Thursday	Oatmeal porridge and milk, bread, beef or bacon, tea.	Irish stew, bread ad lib., milk.	Suet pudding, sugar, bread and tea.

	Breakfast	Dinner	Supper
Friday	Oatmeal porridge and milk, bread and butter, tea.	Irish stew, bread ad lib., milk.	Same as Monday, or fish and bread and tea.
Saturday	Oatmeal porridge and milk, bread, beef or bacon, tea.	Beef, potatoes and other vegetables, bread, tea.	Rice pudding, sugar, bread and tea.

Source: *Canada, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1893,* 258.

Table 19.3. Menu for the Middlechurch, Manitoba, Industrial School, 1893 (Winter diet).

	Breakfast	Dinner	Tea
Sunday	Bread and butter, tea.	Cold beef pudding or pie, vegetables.	Bread and butter, fruit, tea.
Monday	Porridge and milk, bread and butter.	Meat stew, vegetables.	Bread and butter, tea.
Tuesday	Bread and butter, tea.	Boiled beef and gravy, vegetables, bread.	Bread, syrup, tea.
Wednesday	Porridge and syrup, bread and butter.	Cold beef, vegetables, pudding or pie.	Bread and butter, tea.
Thursday	Bread and butter, tea.	Meat stew, vegetables, bread.	Bread and butter, fruit, tea.
Friday	Porridge and syrup, bread, butter, tea.	Soup, bread, boiled beef and gravy, vegetables.	Bread and butter, tea.
Saturday	Bread and butter, tea.	Meat stew, vegetables, bread.	Bread and butter, tea.

Source: *Canada, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1893,* 256.

Inspectors' reports

In 1893, when these menus were in force, Indian Affairs inspector T. P. Wadsworth reported on meals at the Qu'Appelle school. "I was present during several of the meals, the food was plentiful, well cooked, and well served, and each pupil appeared to have the opportunity to eat all that he or she wanted."[22] An 1895 report on an inspection of the Middlechurch school came to a more sombre conclusion: "The 'bill of fare' is plain. I believed it to be barely sufficient for the older pupils, who have now, at fifteen to eighteen years of age, larger apetites [sic] than they will have when older."[23]

In 1918, Indian agent John Smith inspected the Kamloops school and reported his "suspicion that the vitality of the children is not sufficiently sustained from a lack of nutritious food, or enough of the same for vigorous growing children."[24] A local doctor concurred that "for some months past the food supplied has been inadequate for the needs of the children."[25]

There were, however, numerous positive reports on school food. In 1905, A. E. Green stated that at the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school, "during my stay of six days at the institution I took my meals in the same dining-room as the boys, where I could see that the food was plentiful and good. Meat is served twice a day, a beef being killed every ten days."[26]

In 1908, Green reported that at the Coqualeetza Institute in Chilliwack, British Columbia, the "children have plenty of good wholesome food and are well and warmly clothed"; at the Mission school, "the food is wholesome and abundant, while the clothing is neat, clean and suitable"; at the All Hallows school in Yale, the "food is plain, but good and abundant"; at the Lytton school, "food and clothing were good and sufficient"; back at Williams Lake, "the food was good and sufficient"; at the Cranbrook school, "the food is plain, but well prepared, suitable and sufficient"; and at Port Simpson, the "food though plain, was good and sufficient."[27]

Martin Benson was suspicious of such positive assessments. In 1897, he wrote, "In almost every instance when meals are mentioned by Inspectors they are said to be well cooked. I doubt very much whether they ever took a full regulation school meal of bread and dripping, or boiled beef and potatoes." In Benson's opinion, "The bill of fare is decidedly monotonous and makes no allowance for peculiarities of taste or constitution. What is one man's meat is said to be another man's poison, but at our schools it is die dog or eat the hatchet."[28] (The colourful phrase means to fully commit oneself; in this case, to eating the unpalatable.[29])

Students thought the schools put on a show for inspectors. According to Dorothy Day, when she attended the Mount Elgin school in Muncey, Ontario, the only time she "had a good meal was when guys came from Ottawa to visit the school, and then we'd have a good meal. We'd have juice and a boiled egg—we'd have a wonderful meal."[30]

On occasion, teachers also raised concerns about the quality of food at the schools. In a letter of complaint to the United Church, Lucy Affleck, a teacher at Round Lake, Saskatchewan, wrote in 1929 that while the food at the school was of a good variety and sufficient quantity, "it is not very well chosen and is very unattractively served. As there are a great number of pigs raised on the farm, much of the milk must go to them so only one table of girls (about 12) get milk at meal-time. None of the children ever get butter. It is always lard, that they must use on their bread (bought in barrels)."[31]

A 1929 report on the Roman Catholic school on the Blood Reserve in Alberta concluded that the "pupils do not get a sufficient supply of butter and milk."[32]

Inspectors admitted they felt constrained. Indian agent F. J. C. Ball wrote in 1931, "It is difficult to keep a close check on the food supply as officials are courteously but none the less effectually prevented from any close investigation and one is naturally desirous of avoiding any unpleasantness with the reverend principal who has been in charge so long."[33]

However, many inspectors did file negative reports that reveal ongoing difficulties in providing students with adequate supplies of food staples. This was a problem not only in the nineteenth century, but one that also continued into the 1920s and 1930s.

Milk

The basics often were hard to obtain at the schools, a fact that was well known in Ottawa. Milk, in particular, was frequently in short supply. Although milk was not part of a traditional Aboriginal diet, North American medical experts viewed it as an essential part of a child's diet and a key component of the diet of anyone with, or at risk of developing, tuberculosis.[34] Government officials of the day had no knowledge of the high degree to which Aboriginal people experienced lactose intolerance, a condition that can lead to a variety of digestive disorders. This is just one example of the belief that all Western practices were inherently superior.[35] In 1914, W. M. Graham, the Indian commissioner for the Prairies, complained that the students at the High River school in Alberta "get very little milk." There were only three cows at the school, where, he felt, there should be ten. The principal laid blame for the problem on the sisters, who, he said, "were strongly opposed to the girls milking."[36]

Nurse Margaret Jean Ramage visited the Cluny, Alberta, school in the fall of 1921 to investigate complaints over poor diet.[37] The Indian agent reported that Ramage had concluded that the "children got very little milk, no pudding nor butter. I have since gone into this matter and submitted a tentative diet sheet, with quantities which a child should get daily and have had the assurance that everything will be entirely satisfactory in the future."[38]

Russell T. Ferrier, the superintendent of Indian Education, was alarmed to discover in 1922 that all the milk provided to the fifty-nine students at Delmas, Saskatchewan, came from two cows, who were producing only 7.5 litres a day.[39] The principal was able to increase the number of cows being milked.[40] A similar problem existed at the Qu'Appelle school in that year. Inspector M. Christianson reported that "the condition of the stable is the worst feature at the Qu'Appelle Industrial School." Buildings were in bad shape and manure was piled up behind the stable. The cattle were poorly fed and tubercular, and the milk supply was inadequate. He believed that the entire herd should be disposed of and a new one acquired.[41]

In his inspection report on the brand-new school at Fraser Lake, British Columbia, in 1923, R. H. Cairns noted, "There is really not enough milk for the children. This school should have more cows than it has at present."[42] Principal Nicolas Coccola responded that he could not purchase more cows without first constructing additional stables and barns.[43] In 1923, travelling nurse I. M. Lucas provided a negative report on the nutrition at the Lestock, Saskatchewan, school. According to Indian Affairs official A. F. MacKenzie, Lucas felt "the children at this school do not get the proper nourishing food, or enough. They get no milk and no vegetables, except potatoes, and very small portions." MacKenzie instructed the local Indian agent to inform the principal that "it is expected that the children will receive a sufficient quantity of nourishing food, also that an ample supply of milk will be furnished for the use of the younger children."[44] Again, the message was indirect and lacking in detail.

A 1926 report on the Roman Catholic school in Onion Lake reported that "they keep ten milch cows [dairy cows], seven of which were giving milk at the time. The Sister in charge informed me that they were poor milkers and they should have at least four more cows to provide for their requirements."[45] In his report on the Birtle, Manitoba, school in 1927, A. G. Hamilton noted that the available farmland was distant from the school and, since the cows were "of very poor type," the milk supply at the school was not sufficient.[46] An inspection later that year found that the number and quality of the stock had improved and the "food was ample and wholesome."[47]

A nurse's report on the Anglican school in The Pas, Manitoba, in 1927 concluded that the students were not getting enough milk.[48] Indian agent J. Waddy's investigation reported that the cows "do not appear to thrive on the rough forage in that place." Increasing the herd was not an option, since the principal had "no room for more."[49] The situation was slow to improve. In 1928, Waddy noted that the cows still were not producing and, as a result, the "pupils are not receiving much milk."[50] A 1929 inspection report observed: "The school is very short of milk and now receives about 1 gal. twice a day. At present there are about 75 pupils in residence. I understand 4 of the cows are of little use as their udders are partly destroyed, so that this leaves only 5 good milk cows and at present they are practically dry." The inspector thought the problem could not be remedied without the appointment of a good farm instructor.[51]

Inspector A. G. Hamilton concluded that the school herd at the Roman Catholic school in Sturgeon Landing, Saskatchewan, was in such poor shape that it was "impossible for the cows to provide milk sufficient for 108 children, as well as a staff of 12 or 14."[52] Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham identified the need for additional cows at the school as "a very important matter," and added that "if there is no way of producing feed for these cows it is another matter, but I have no doubt there is a means of supplying the necessary feed or the Department would never have built a school at this point."[53]

Milk supply problems continued into the 1930s. In 1931, it was reported that at the Squamish, British Columbia, school, "the children who have been ill and a few others get two cups of milk daily, while other children do not get milk to drink."[54] Two years later, a visiting nurse wrote that at the Anglican school in The Pas, Manitoba, the students' "diet consists mostly of tea, bread and meat, milk supply is low, butter and eggs also."[illegible] As late as 1937, disease among the cows at the Kamloops school had cut milk production by 50%. To the principal's frustration, Ottawa refused to fund the construction of an additional barn, which would increase milk production and allow for the isolation of sick animals.[illegible]

Even when the dairy herds were producing satisfactorily, the students did not always get the full benefit of the milk the school produced, since often the milk was separated, and the skimmed milk was served to the children. In 1922, Inspector R. Cairns wrote of the Kuper Island school:

> I do not think these pupils are well fed. I have gone into this matter with the Principal very thoroughly. All the milk is separated. That means that all the butter fat is taken out of the milk and the pupils receive skim milk. I went into the boys' dining room at supper time. Here is what each boy had: soup, bread and apple sauce, and tea with milk. If I had my way I would banish every separator from these Industrial and Boarding Schools. The pupils need the butter fat so much.[illegible]

Cairns also reported that at Alert Bay, British Columbia, the school had sold 26 of the 170 litres of milk produced in one month, along with two of the four kilograms of butter that had been produced. Ferrier believed this left the school with "quite an inadequate supply of milk." After saying that none of the milk or butter should be sold, he instructed the local Indian agent to "consult the Principal regarding the obtaining of more milch cows, and inform the Department as to what he proposed to do in this matter." There was no direct instruction to tell the principal to stop selling milk and butter.[illegible] In 1924, Cairns reported on an "insufficient milk" supply at the Cranbrook, British Columbia, school.[illegible] Two years later, he wrote that at Alert Bay, "the food given these growing boys is too meagre," and the senior teacher, Miss Long, who was also a nurse, thought "more fats were needed to obtain the best results."[illegible] Inspector W. Murison noted in 1925 that at Elkhorn, Manitoba, the school's cows were producing enough milk for the school, but the students were not getting "the full benefit of this milk as I found that they were making about 20 lbs. of butter a week, and a great deal of the milk given the children is separated milk, which has not much food value."[illegible] Throughout the 1920s, most of the milk and eggs produced at the Cranbrook school were sold to help cover school costs.[illegible]

Separating the milk was not necessarily a problem if the milk fat was returned to the children as either cream or butter. But, in many cases, these products were either sold by cash-starved schools or served to staff. Students were well aware of this practice. In her memoir of attending the Qu'Appelle school in the early twentieth century, Louise Moine wrote,

> Although the boys milked cows, we never ate butter or drank whole milk. It was common knowledge that the butter was being sold to the villagers. Why was it sold when the children went without? The priests and nuns ate butter. Even

> *though the children complained among themselves, it didn't change matters any.*[115]

Former Mount Elgin student Lila Ireland recalled that in the 1930s, the milk "was so skimmed it was blue," and the cream was sold to a local dairy.[116] According to Emmert General, who attended the Mohawk Institute in the mid-1930s, "They sold the cream, and gave us the skim milk. Not very often we got whole milk – never, that I can remember."[117] Simon Baker recalled how at the school at Lytton, British Columbia, butter from the creamery was sold, along with the vegetables and fruit the school farm produced, to help the school cover its costs.[118] When C. M. Turnell took over as principal of the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, in 1885, one of the first things he did was to double the students' butter ration, since he believed "children such as he has require more butter fat in their food."[119]

Bread

Complaints about the quality of the bread were not uncommon. When children at the Spanish, Ontario, school complained in 1928 that the bread was sour, Duncan Campbell Scott asked for an analysis of some sample loafs. The chief government analyst of the Department of Trade and Commerce concluded that the nutritive value of the bread was "about average," but the taste was "slightly sour."[120] Scott advised the Spanish principal that since "bread is one of the staple articles of diet" at the school, care should be taken to make sure "that only that of the best quality is furnished the children." The record gives no indication that either the children or their parents were informed that their concerns had been largely justified. Also, Scott did not inquire deeply into why the bread at the Spanish school was substandard.[121] Two years later, on the basis of a visiting nurse's report, departmental secretary J. D. McLean instructed the Qu'Appelle school principal, "Kindly arrange for a little more variety in the diet often, and insist upon a more careful preparation of the bread."[122] The implication was that the problems were not a result of federal underfunding and that the central responsibility for solving them lay with the principals.

Indian agent H. Graham noted in 1922 that at the Lytton school, it was "impossible to bake sufficient bread" in the school ovens.[123] In 1925, when parents protested that the Anglican school on the Peigan Reserve was "feeding the children sour bread" and insufficient amounts of "milk and butter," Commissioner W. M. Graham concluded that the parents "have good grounds for complaint."[124]

"The staff—they got the best of everything"

Since the students and the staff lived together in the same quarters, students were also aware of what the school staff was being fed. Students often recalled that staff members were better fed than they were. Sarah Soonias attended the Battleford school from 1900 to 1914. She recalled that a common beverage at the school was "tea without sugar" and porridge was served with skimmed milk, which the students did not like. She assumed that "the staff must have had all the cream." Former File Hills, Saskatchewan, student [illegible] chafed at the inequality she saw: "They got the cream and we got skim milk." Former Mount Elgin student Melvin George recalled, "The staff—they got the best of everything and the butter, we just got dry bread. We had skim milk—they had to have the butter for the staff."

The dietary scales used when the industrial schools were established assumed that teachers would eat better than students. Table 19.4 sets out some elements of the scale that was used to calculate the per capita grant for the Regina school. It indicates that the staff beef ration was more than double the student ration, while the student flour ration was two-thirds of the teacher ration.

Table 19.4. Dietary scale used in the establishment of the Regina Industrial (partial).

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Beef	180 pounds	400 pounds
Cheese	5 pounds	5 pounds
Currants	2 pounds	2 pounds
Beans	10 pounds	10 pounds
Flour	400 pounds	600 pounds
Butter	1 pound	1 pound

Source: Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume [illegible], file [illegible], [illegible] to Superintendent General Indian Affairs, [illegible]

The following table sets out the monthly dietary scale for industrial schools in Manitoba and the North-West Territories in 1884.

[illegible]

[illegible]		
	Employees	Pupils
Apples, evaporated	[illegible]	[illegible]
Bacon	[illegible]	[illegible]
Beans	[illegible]	[illegible]
Beef	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cheese	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cornmeal	[illegible]	[illegible]
Currants	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fish	[illegible]	[illegible]
Flour	[illegible]	[illegible]
Lard	[illegible]	[illegible]
Oatmeal	[illegible]	[illegible]
Oil (coal)	[illegible]	[illegible]
Pork, salt	[illegible]	[illegible]
Raisins	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rice	[illegible]	[illegible]
Soap	[illegible]	[illegible]
Salt	[illegible]	[illegible]
Sugar	[illegible]	[illegible]
Syrup	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tea	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

lost ten pounds (4.5 kilograms) in one month at the school, adding, "the child is quite reliable."

Complaints about the quality of the food at the Anglican school in The Pas in 1931 were investigated by A. G. Hamilton. He reported that there were staff tensions at the school that affected the management of the institution, and concluded that "plenty of good food is provided, but lacks proper cooking and serving."

In the spring of 1936, Inspector G. H. Barry reported to Ottawa that he did not think the food at the Kuper Island school—which had suffered from a poor milk supply in the 1920s—was "satisfactory in either quantity or variety." In 1937, a parent wrote to his daughter at the Kuper Island school, "I am really lonesome for you, my dear daughter in school far from here. O yes Mr Graham [the local Indian agent] told some one here that the childrens [sic] at Kuper Island school do not get enough food nowadays." The school principal, J. Geurts, intercepted the letter and asked Graham to "clear this up—and to give the guilty one his desert." Whether or not Graham had made the claim, the following year, Inspector Barry still felt that, despite some improvement, the students at Kuper Island "should have more to eat here. Breakfasts are too light and could be greatly improved by the addition of a little stewed fruit and more bread." He added that, in light of a number of recent deaths due to tuberculosis, "the food should immediately be very greatly improved."

Indian agent N. P. L'Heureux reported in 1937 that at the Wabasca school in Alberta, all the school's vegetables had frozen during the winter, and, as a result, "the children appear dull and sickly." In his report, L'Heureux noted that the children "did not look very healthy."

The student experience

Basil Johnston, who was enrolled in the Spanish, Ontario, school in 1939, had distinct memories of being served "mush, mush, mush, sometimes lumpy, sometimes watery, with monotonous regularity every Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday."

In this, he was not alone. Of his time at the Mohawk Institute in the 1870s, First Nations political organizer F. O. Loft wrote, "I recall the times when working in the fields I was actually too hungry to be able to walk, let alone work. When parents visited the child, invariably the first question was, 'Did you bring anything to eat?'" Both Isabelle Knockwood at the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school, and George Manuel at the Kamloops, British Columbia, school had similar recollections of how they looked forward to the food that family members brought from home when they visited.

Students at Mount Elgin and the Mohawk Institute in southern Ontario came to refer to their schools as the "Mush Hole" because of the porridge that was a breakfast staple.[92] Doris King, who attended Mount Elgin in the 1930s, said, "I was always hungry—we didn't seem to have enough food. For breakfast we would get a glass of milk, a slice of bread and porridge. That's why they gave it the name 'Mush Hole.'"[93]

Another former Mount Elgin student, Dorothy Day, recalled the food as being

> terrible. In the mornings we would get oatmeal and it would be half-cooked, no sugar, skim milk to put on that—just like water—white water—after they took the cream off it they gave it to the children. You had a glass of milk to drink—that same stuff, but I never drank it. One slice of bread—no butter, nothing else on there.[94]

Of his time at the Mohawk Institute in the 1930s, Raymond Hill said, "The boys were always hungry—that's for sure."[95] Mary Englund, who attended the Mission, British Columbia, school in the early twentieth century, had similar memories: "And we had a fork and a spoon. There was no, never much of knives because you didn't get no butter and you didn't get no meat to cut up, everything was grounded up. And green tea. We never got no milk except skim milk to put in your tea."[96]

Edward Groat, a former Mohawk Institute student, was less critical. He recalled that during the 1930s, his family had little to eat at home. "I can remember my grandmother going out into the back shanty and grinding the corn, bringing it in and making cornmeal mush out of it, going down the cellar and getting a jar of fruit, putting fruit on the mush to make it palatable. We had no milk, we had no butter." By comparison, the food at the Mohawk Institute "wasn't the best, but you got three meals a day—kids you know, they've got hollow legs when it comes to eating—you can eat all day. We got enough to sustain us—probably not enough to satisfy us, but there was enough."[97]

Food was also a currency at the schools. Students could trade it for favours or protection. Ron Deleary recalled that at Mount Elgin, "we did have a bun every Sunday, but when I first went there I never got my bun, because I had traded it away and always owed it to someone. We had whole milk once a year and we never got any meat."[98]

When Mary John first went to the Stuart Lake, British Columbia, boarding school, she desperately missed the meals her mother used to prepare. There was no more "roast moose, the dried beaver meat, the fish fresh from a frying pan, the warm bread and bannock and berries."[99] Some principals sought to provide meals that were more familiar. At the Kitamaat school in British Columbia in 1913, "Native food, such as dry fish and grease, is used when procurable."[100] Far more common were the contests of will as supervisors attempted to force children to eat food that was unfamiliar and—all too often—poorly prepared. Harrison Burning recalled that at the Mohawk Institute in the 1920s, "the food—the whole supper or three meals anyway—you couldn't eat it—don't care how hungry you were."[101] Former Mount Elgin student Clyde Peters said he was told that if he did not eat his serving of boiled onions, he would be strapped. He was saved from either fate by his older sister, who knocked the onions to the floor and told the teacher, "He's not gonna eat those onions."[102] Another Mount Elgin student, Melva George, recalled, "One time we were having cornmeal for breakfast, and my cornmeal wasn't cooked." She said the principal stood over her shoulder and insisted she finish it all.[103]

Protests and resistance

Not surprisingly, students often chose to fend for themselves. The Kuper Island school had a conduct book in which student misbehaviours and punishments were recorded. The entries for the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century list numerous examples of students being punished for taking food. For "pulling carrots," three boys were required to kneel during the supper hour—a form of public humiliation. At least eight boys were punished with "confinement" for "stealing apples." Another boy was given the same punishment for stealing fruit. On the second occasion that one boy stole apples, he and his two accomplices were punished with both "whipping & confinement." Two boys were punished with "kneeling" for stealing apples. For stealing plums, at least five boys were put on bread-and-water diets (the conduct book does not state for how long). One boy was confined for two hours for stealing plums. Another boy was put in confinement for up to three hours for stealing plums on two occasions and for stealing fruit on another; he was also given a reprimand for stealing bread. Two other boys were also reprimanded for stealing bread. Another boy was put in confinement for stealing turnips, a food most students professed to hate.[104]

On one occasion, the students at the File Hills school came across barrels of apples that were meant for the staff. Over time, the students worked their way through the apples. When the deed was discovered, they were strapped and sent to bed without a meal.[105] In fair weather, the boys at the school would trap gophers and roast them over open fires to supplement their diets.[106]

At some schools, the principals encouraged students to hunt. Gilbert Wuttunee recalled being allowed to hunt at the Battleford school:

> There would be a bunch of us and we would go out together. One would have a gun and the others would have bows and arrows. Bows and arrows that we made ourselves, oh boy, we could handle them too. There were rabbits racing back and forth and we would pull back on the bow and let the arrow go. Sometimes we would provide supper with rabbits.[107]

Red Deer, Alberta, principal J. P. Price reported in 1905, "The bigger boys are sometimes allowed to hunt, in which they are quite expert, providing wild fowl for the whole school a number of times. There is also good fishing right at our doors, the river being full of fine fish including magnificent mountain trout."[108]

When Doris King worked in the Mount Elgin kitchen, she and other girls would slip extra food into their long bloomers. One girl would "keep look out," and alert the rest of the group to the presence of a staff member by saying "Jiggers on track." Once, King stuffed what she thought were two hard-boiled eggs into her bloomers, only to discover when she sat down on them that they were raw.[109] Lila Ireland said, "We'd steal food—that was part of being at Mount Elgin! We didn't steal it out of the kitchen—they used to have the carrots piled for the winter in a big pile of earth and we'd dig them out."[110]

Pauline Creeley, a former File Hills student, "used to steal bread for the boys; put them in the milk cans. I would watch them eating the bread as they made their way to the barns. I didn't care if I got caught but I never got caught."[111]

In 1935, a parent from Thicket Portage, Manitoba, complained to Ottawa that the students at the Brandon, Manitoba, school "don't get enough to eat." As a result, some of them were obliged to steal food from local stores, landing them in trouble with the law.[112]

Runaways often said they had been motivated to leave by the poor quality of the food they received at the schools. The inquiry into the death of Duncan Sticks, a boy who froze to death after running away from the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school, heard several complaints about rotten food and students being punished for refusing to eat food they found unpalatable.[113] Ruth Miller and her sister ran away from the Mohawk Institute in 1913 because they did not like the food there. The punishment they received was so severe that their parents were able to launch a successful court action against the principal.[114]

Parents often took up their children's complaints. In 1915, parents did not send their children back to the Norway House school because they were unhappy about the poor quality and quantity of the food and clothing at the school. According to Methodist church official T. Ferrier, the decision to operate the school for that year, which was located in northern Manitoba, was not made until just before the close of navigation. Once the rivers and lakes froze, it had been impossible to send in additional supplies. As a result, "the supply of food and clothing sent in ran out in some lines before navigation opened up." The problem was compounded by the fact that the school lacked a proper facility for storing food.[115] An Indian Affairs official also investigated the parents' concerns, and, after overcoming his initial belief that such parental "complaints often lack proper and sufficient cause," he concluded "there have been some grounds for the Indians to complain as they have done." There was, he wrote, an "absence of a sufficient quantity of fatty foods and such food as would put the children in good physical condition." The bread was "not readily digestible." According to the local doctor, several students who had been hospitalized began to recover "when they received proper nourishing food in the hospital." The principal agreed that the school had but a limited supply of vegetables, but he hoped the coming crop of potatoes would amount to 200 bushels. He intended to also grow turnips, carrots, beets, and cabbage. This was to be supplemented by imported food. Inspector George Bunn wrote that "this however is not very satisfactory. The school should certainly bend every effort to raise all the vegetables they require. After next spring there should not be any lack of this essential in the dietary of this institution, I intimated this to the Principal." Bunn also recommended that the principal increase the proportion of beans in the school's Boston Baked Beans, and not serve the children "sucker" fish, since they were "poor food."[116]

Four parents with children at the Coqualeetza Institute in Chilliwack wrote to Indian Superintendent A. M. Tyson in 1915 with their concerns that "the food is not sufficient and that some children's shoes are worn out." The parents noted that because the school was so distant from their communities, they could not inspect it themselves.[117] Tyson inspected the school three months later, determined the food to be plentiful and of good quality, the children in good health, and their clothing—with exceptions—"clean and substantial," and concluded the parents had "no cause for complaint."[118]

After the death of a student at the Elizabeth Long Home in Kitamaat in 1922, parents withdrew their children from the school, which was operated by the Methodist Church. According to a Mounted Police investigation, virtually every member of the community signed a petition demanding the dismissal of the entire school staff. The petition claimed that the children "had been compelled to eat rotten fish and oat meal with worms in it." The principal, Ida Clarke, acknowledged "it was often impossible to obtain fresh meat or fish; but the children always have sufficient food to eat." At a public meeting held on the issue, an Indian Affairs official said that the parents had no right to withdraw their children, having signed a contract "for them to remain there." The First Nations people responded that "the contract with the school was to the effect that the children would be well cared for, provided with sufficient clothing, food etc." At the end of the meeting, the parents agreed to return their children to the school on the condition that the principal "sign her name to a paper before us that she would see that the children got all the food they wanted, that they would be well cared for, and be supplied with sufficient clothing." She signed the paper and the conflict was defused. In this instance, resistance came at a price: John Adams, who had protested, was convicted, in the words of the Indian agent, of "having used insulting language" to one of the school staff. His sentence was stiff: two months in jail or a fine of $20. He paid the fine.[119]

In 1923, the parents of Edward B., a student at the Anglican school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, received the following letter:

> We are going to tell you how we are treated. I am always hungry. We only get two slice of bread and one plate porridge. Seven children ran away because there [sic] are hungry, two from Saddle and one from Frog Lake, and two from Snake

> Plain, 3 girls and 4 boys because are always hungry too. I sold all my clothes away because I am hungry too. Try and send me some money, $2.50, please to buy something to eat and send me pictures those I left in the wagon.[120]

The letter ended up in the hands of F. C. Mears, a parliamentary press gallery reporter, who forwarded it to Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott. He brushed off the complaint and said the student had "no cause for complaint." He also wrote, "Ninety-nine per cent of the Indian children at these schools are too fat."[121] Indian Affairs eventually identified the boy and informed his father that "your boy is being well fed and clothed."[122] In reality, there had been ongoing concerns about the quality of food at the school, and Scott knew that. Just two years earlier, school inspector Sibbald had reported negatively on the quality of the bread and the fact that the children had no milk to drink. A follow-up report by Indian agent L. Turner had concluded that, although the food was adequate, "there was nothing to drink upon the tables." He recommended that the principal be instructed that "these conditions must be improved."[123] Scott himself had issued instructions that the food at the school be improved.[124] It does not appear that a news story on the issue was ever published, despite the fact that the parents, or their acquaintances, had taken the issue to the press.

Instructions such as Scott's to improve food were of little benefit to students. The root problem was Ottawa's underfunding of the system, an underfunding that was at least initially based on a belief that children's labour would be able to produce enough food to make the schools largely self-supporting. For some schools, economic self-sufficiency could be achieved only by cutting the students' diet, and selling food or food products that might otherwise have gone to them. This was apparent to F. O. Loft when he was a student at the Mohawk Institute in the 1870s. He later wrote, "I can frankly say that another serious evil is the false economy that is practised in denying the children a satisfactory measure of diet, and that in the midst of plenty produced on the farm and garden by the labor of the boys."[125]

By the turn of the century, the fallacy of this expectation had been exposed. Officials such as Martin Benson were well aware that the dietary problem could not be resolved without more money. In 1903, when supporting a request for an increase for the Qu'Appelle school per capita, he wrote that "there is almost too much economy exercised at this school as regards the clothing and diet of the pupils,—this having been rendered necessary by the increased cost of supplies, fuel and labor and the difficulty of recruiting pupils."[126]

The principals also stressed the link between inadequate grants and poor diet. Kamloops principal A. M. Carion justified a 1909 request for an increase in the school pupilage by pointing out that "the cost of flour, meat and cord wood is a great deal higher than it was formerly."[127] The struggle to feed students properly even led to a rare moment of Catholic-Protestant unity. In 1920, John T. Ross, the principal of the

Presbyterian school in northwestern Ontario, agreed with his counterpart at the local Catholic school, C. Brouillet, that the per capita grant was "not sufficient to meet our needs in buying food for the children." It was, he said, "absurd to imagine that an Indian child can be fed on 40 cents per day, leaving clothing out of the question." He suggested that the two of them work together to lobby the local business community for support for an increase in funding.[128]

In the early 1930s, the federal government cut the school per capita grant by 15%. In 1938, the Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission pointed out that from 1935 to 1938, the cost of flour had gone up 43%; rolled oats, 8%; tea, 24%; and sugar, 6%.[129] As funding declined and food costs went up, it was the students who paid the price—in more ways than one. By the end of the 1930s, it was discovered that the cook at the Presbyterian school at Kenora was actually selling bread to the students, at the rate of ten cents a loaf. When asked if the children got enough to eat at meals, she responded, "Yes, but they were always hungry." The agent ordered an end to the practice.[130] The fact that hungry students would be reduced to buying bread to supplement their meals in 1939 underscores the government's failure to provide schools with the resources needed to feed students adequately throughout this period.

CHAPTER 20

School clothing: 1867–1939

At the beginning of each residential school year during this period (from 1867 to 1939), newly arrived students were stripped of their home clothing and provided with a school-issued wardrobe. At many schools, photographs were taken of students in their new uniforms and used to publicize the work of the schools. The schools were expected to produce much of the clothing that students wore. In 1883, Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney informed the newly appointed Battleford industrial school principal, Thomas Clarke, that he would be provided with material from which he was to have clothing made "at as moderate a rate as possible."[1] The requirement that spending on clothing be held to a "moderate" level meant that, just as students were poorly fed, they were poorly clothed.

From material provided by the federal government, students at the Qu'Appelle and High River industrial schools were expected to produce the following wardrobe for each student in 1884.

2 grey flannel shirts
2 pairs of trousers (of *tweed*, grey in color, one pair to be of better material than the other for Sunday use)
2 coats of the same material as the trousers (one for Sunday use)
3 pairs of socks
2 pairs of boots
1 cloth coat
3 handkerchiefs
2 pairs of mittens
1 leather belt[2]

At the Mount Elgin school in Muncey, Ontario, in 1889, the students were to be provided with between one and one and a half suits of clothing a year, all made in the institution. According to Hayter Reed, then the Indian commissioner, the students "had no undershirts nor drawers." They also did not have nightshirts, "the boys having to sleep in those worn through the day." At the nearby Mohawk Institute in Brantford, students were given three suits of clothing, three undershirts, and night shirts, which were replaced annually.[106] In 1895, the girls at the St. Boniface school in Manitoba made all the clothing for the students, with the exception of the boys' dress suits. According to Inspector T. P. Wadsworth, "the boys' suits for fatigue as well as for dress parade excel in texture and value any as yet furnished to government conducted schools." The girls wore "dresses, made of a neat, brown material, wearing also brown Holland pinafores, trimmed with red braid."[107]

The schools depended on the churches for a portion of their clothing supply. The Anglican Church encouraged Sunday schools across Canada to make a financial commitment to support students at the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, in the nineteenth century. According to the school, $25 would clothe a boy for a year in "two suits of strong clothes, one hat, one winter cap, two pairs of boots, one pair mocassins [sic], four pairs of socks, three shirts, two under vests, two pairs of drawers, four pocket-handkerchiefs [sic], one muffler, one pair mits [sic], one overcoat."[108]

Beginning in the 1880s, the Women's Auxiliary of the Anglican Church collected clothing that was sent to church missions and schools across Canada.[109] The Methodist Church's Women's Missionary Society played a similar role, collecting and shipping bales of clothing to Methodist schools in such locations as Chilliwack and Kitamaat in British Columbia.[110] Indian Affairs paid for the shipping costs to the schools. From 1930 onward, the federal government also paid for the shipment of clothing bales to schools in the Northwest Territories attended by Inuit children.[111]

Whether clothing was purchased or donated, it did not necessarily fit the students. At the school in Birtle, Manitoba, Inspector Wadsworth noted in 1895, "Although a great deal of the clothing is received made up there is much of it that requires alteration to be made to fit." The inspector observed that although the girls had nightgowns, the boys did not. He said this problem was to be "rectified forthwith."[112] In some cases, it appears the clothing was either inappropriate or not distributed to the children. For example, a 1908 report on the Presbyterian school at Shoal Lake in northwestern Ontario concluded that "the children were not too warmly clad, although there were ample supplies of unused clothing on hand furnished by the Women's Foreign Missionary Society."[113]

There are also many reports of students being well clothed. For example, in his 1905 report on the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school, A. E. Green wrote, "Clothing is suitable to the season and sufficient. I did not see a child with a patched article of clothing. I also saw the children in their Sunday suits—the girls in a neat blue sailor suit, and the boys in a suit of the same material."[114]

It was common for schools to ensure that students had a good suit of clothing to wear when they appeared in public. Susie Dorman, who attended Mount Elgin in the 1930s, said, "We had to wear uniforms—one for everyday and one for Sundays. On Sundays we'd get to wear our own clothes to go to Church."[115] Martha Hill, who attended the Mohawk Institute during the First World War, said:

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CHAPTER 21

Discipline: 1867–1939

In 1931, Principal Ed Maillard at the school in Sechelt, British Columbia, wrote to his Oblate superiors, seeking extra help in maintaining discipline at the school. He wrote that the students had no respect for the two men he had hired to maintain order among the children. "This life is worse than a life of a jail keeper. So I do not feel very keen in looking after these ruffians if I do not have the help of a Brother." He felt unjustly accused of being too harsh, and suggested that the problems at the school were not his fault, but should be laid at the feet of his predecessor, a man he referred to simply as "Brother Dave." This man, according to Maillard, "had to yield" to the parents' "wishes and desires to cover his tracks. I am really fed up with these savages."[1]

Maillard's frustrated, angry, and racist sentiments are a stark reminder of the degree to which the residential schools were places of compulsion that relied on the application of force. This should not be surprising. Many of the children had been placed in the schools against their will. Most of the children whose parents had voluntarily placed them in the schools would have preferred to have been at home. At the schools, they were poorly housed, poorly fed, and poorly clothed. They were at risk of infection, hard-worked, and forced to study a curriculum that had little cultural relevance to them in a language they did not know. Their cultural traditions were derided while they were indoctrinated in a foreign religion. Not surprisingly, the lonely, neglected children did not always do what they were supposed to do. Resistance might take many forms: talking out of turn, passing notes, speaking their own languages, refusing to eat unfamiliar food, taking extra food, neglecting chores and homework, and running away. Boys and girls also would find ways to be alone with one another. Older children bullied younger ones. When punished by the staff, some of them fought back.

Maintaining order

The schools responded to such predictable resistance with a regime of harsh discipline. In the context of residential schools, *discipline* refers not simply to punishment of wrongdoers, but also to the maintenance of order and obedience. Given that the schools were understaffed and poorly equipped, they sought to control student behaviour through strict regimentation. As early as 1883, Wikwemikong, Ontario, principal R. Baudin wrote, "It is true that a strict watchfulness is kept over them at all times by some member of the Institution. Besides their studies and working hours, they have a person constantly in attendance to know what they are doing."[2] At the St. Boniface, Manitoba, school, an inspector noted, "The sisters immediately in charge have sleeping apartments at one end of this dormitory, simply screened off; therefore they [the students] are under constant supervision, night as well as day."[3] There were always gaps in this surveillance. A later Wikwemikong principal, G. A. Artus, reported in 1890 that "very frequent religious exhortations" had been the main method to improve morals at the school. "However, the scattering of the boys all over the premises for their daily work and industrial training, has a tendency towards weakening their spirit of obedience and relaxing the discipline."[4]

On an 1895 inspection of the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, Indian Affairs official Martin Benson was struck by the

> order, regularity and precision with which all the pupils conducted themselves. This school is as well regulated and controlled as a piece of machinery, going on without stop or hitch from morning to night. The boys have a thorough military organization, being divided into four squads, forming a company, each squad having its corporals and sergeant who act as monitors, and the whole is in charge of a sergeant major.

A similar system for the girls also met with Benson's approval.[5]

In 1905, Christie, British Columbia, principal P. Maurus wrote, "The discipline is mild, but firm. The pupils are under constant supervision and their conduct is watched most carefully."[6]

In 1915, Simon Gavin, a student at the Anglican school in The Pas, Manitoba, wrote a brief article for the school paper that showed the role that bells played at that school:

> I carry wood into the kitchen and bakery every day; when I finish there I go to the skating rink and sweep it. When I hear the big bell I come in and brush my hair; when the little bell rings I line up with the other boys in the play-room and march in to school. I learn arithmetic, spelling, reading, to write stories from the 3rd Reader and to draw maps.[7]

Of his years at Battleford, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Gilbert Wuttunee recalled, "We were controlled altogether by the bell."[8]

A passage from the Anglican history of the Chapleau, Ontario, school, written in 1939, gives a sense of how regimented daily life was for students at the end of this period.

> On week days the rising bell rings at six o'clock; at six-thirty another bell calls bigger girls to help with the work in the kitchen and dining-room, and the bigger

> boys to help with the work at the barn; at seven o'clock the bell is rung again to call all to breakfast, and at seven-thirty prayers are conducted. While the bigger boys and girls are helping in the way indicated, the younger ones are engaged in looking after their respective beds and the dormitories. After prayers the children assist in washing the dishes, sweeping floors, dusting furniture, and on wash days a certain number of them are assigned to the Laundry Supervisor to assist her in that work. At eight forty-five the warning bell for classroom work is rung, and at nine o'clock all who have not been assigned to some special duties enter their respective classrooms. Bells are rung again at recess, at noon, and at various times in the afternoon, each ring having a definite meaning, well understood by all, until the final bells of the day are rung for evening study, choir practice, lights out, and go to bed.[9]

Basil Johnston wrote in his memoir of his years at the school at Spanish, Ontario, "Our treatment implied that we were little better than felons or potential felons."[10]

Many of the Roman Catholic schools employed staff members who were given the title of "school disciplinarian." The principal of the Christie school, G. Forbes, provided a good summary of the work of school disciplinarians when he described the ways in which the one at his school was not doing his job.

> Time and again, I have told him that he must remain with the boys during the recreations, that he must let them go certain places or talk in other places, that he must have the beds made tidily, the dormitory and other places kept clean, that he must see to it that the boys come immediately after the bell rings, that he must have them change boots and stockings when they are wet, they must not leave their work or the recreation room without permission—but all to no avail.

Forbes was so frustrated that he thought he would have to take over the work himself. "The disciplinarian must be on the job: we have had a couple of kissing and hugging parties between the boys and girls already: I do not want what they had last year, fornication."[11]

Religious scripture and corporal punishment

The churches and religious orders that operated the schools had strong and interrelated conceptions of order, discipline, obedience, and sin. They believed that human beings were fallen, sinful creatures who had to earn salvation through mastery of their nature by obedience to God.[12] The approach to discipline in schools was based in scripture: corporal punishment was a biblically authorized way of keeping order and of bringing children to the righteous path.[13]

Nineteenth-century educational bureaucrats such as Egerton Ryerson were critical of excessive force in the school, but even he believed that the "best Teacher, like the best Parent, will seldom resort to the Rod; but there are occasions when it cannot be wisely avoided." Ryerson, a leading figure in the Methodist Church, believed that opposition to corporal punishment was "contrary to Scripture."[14] The birch rod was the staple disciplinary tool of the first half of the nineteenth century. In the 1880s, at the Central School East in Ottawa, there was an average of sixty strappings a month.[15] At the Jesse Ketchum public school in Toronto in 1888, students were strapped for such offences as "fighting, misbehaving in line, lying, eating in school, neglecting to correct wrong work, shooting peas in the classroom, going home when told to remain, long continued carelessness and general bad conduct." At that school, a strapping was between four and twelve beatings on the palm of the hand.[16] The strap was still in use a half century later: in 1933, the strap was administered to 1,500 Toronto school students.[17]

Provincial governments provided public schoolteachers with only limited guidance as to how children were to be disciplined. In 1863 in New Brunswick, the department of education urged teachers to "exercise such discipline as would be pursued by a judicious parent in his family."[18] The 1891 Ontario *Education Act* instructed teachers not to exceed measures that would be taken by a "kind, firm, and judicious parent."[19] Teachers who went beyond these boundaries could be charged with assault under the *Criminal Code*. Canadian courts had ruled that corporal punishment could not be unreasonable, exceed the severity of the offence, or be carried out with malice. Teachers who hit students on the head or took other actions that could lead to permanent physical harm ran the risk of conviction. Courts also ruled that discipline was not excessive if the teacher had an honest belief that the student had committed an offence and that belief was supported by probable grounds.[20] While corporal punishment was an accepted part of education and child rearing in Euro-Canadian society, the courts had placed limits on its use. However, historically, corporal punishment did not have this same level of acceptability among Aboriginal people. And, in many cases, residential schools imposed punishments on Aboriginal children that were in excess of the norms that would be accepted even in Euro-Canadian society at that time. The large number of recorded parental complaints, coupled with the schools' ongoing difficulty in recruiting students, is evidence of occasions where discipline imposed by the schools exceeded what would have been acceptable in either Aboriginal or European communities.

Although the schools felt justified in using discipline, including corporal punishment, to establish and maintain order, Indian Affairs never provided system-wide guidelines or regulations that placed limits on the use of discipline. Instead, instructions were provided on a case-by-case basis. This was so in the 1880s and it still continued in the 1930s.

Indian Affairs officials were aware that, since the beginning of residential schools, staff members were using corporal punishment. In 1885, Albert Lacombe, the principal of the High River school in what is now Alberta, wrote in the Indian Affairs annual report:

> We have found by past experience that it is impossible to control and manage these Indian boys by mere advice and kind reprimand. If we have not some system of coercion to enforce order, and at least a little school discipline, then I assure you it will be very hard to conduct the school with that measure of success which, it was hoped, would attend its establishment.[21]

His successor, E. Claude, wrote in the 1887 Indian Affairs annual report, "The system of discipline is a military one and strictly carried out, no breach of the regulations remaining unpunished, but must say to the honour of our pupils that all, with few exceptions, observe perfectly the daily routine."[22] Hayter Reed, then Indian commissioner for the Prairies, recorded in 1889 that corporal punishment, while resorted to only in "extreme cases," was administered at the Mohawk Institute in Brantford.[23]

As noted in an earlier chapter, in 1889, Deputy Minister Lawrence Vankoughnet instructed Bishop Paul Durieu, regarding the proposed Kootenay school in Cranbrook, British Columbia, "Obedience to rules and good behavior should be enforced, but corporal punishment should only be resorted to in extreme cases. In ordinary cases the penalty might be solitary confinement for such time as the offence may warrant, or deprivation of certain articles of food allowed to other pupils."[24] This is similar to instructions issued to Roman Catholic assistant principals in 1888. They were told to "avoid giving nicknames to his pupils and using too rigorous means with regards to the most rebellious." The only punishments recommended were:

1) The standing or sitting in the corner of the School room.
2) The confinement during one recreation or more.
3) The diet, which is of two kinds, the half diet or deprivation of one plate, the total diet or deprivation of a meal, and then, the pupil shall stand in the centre of the refectory. This last punishment cannot be inflicted without recource [sic] to the principal.[25]

Such vague instructions led to abuses. Parents withdrew five students from the Rupert's Land school in Middlechurch, Manitoba, in 1892 because two students had their "clothes taken up and been whipped in that state," and a boy had been thrashed on the back. The local Indian agent said, "Thrashing at the school, which is a remnant of the dark ages, has caused nearly all the trouble at this School."[26] Seven years later, Indian Commissioner David Laird was obliged to conduct an inquiry into events at the same school. He concluded that several children had been "too severely punished." He acknowledged that it appeared that a girl (whose age was either eight or nine) had been impertinent, but Laird felt that no "child should show marks on her person several days or weeks after being strapped." To Laird's mind, Principal J. F.

Fairlie's treatment of another boy, which included "strappings on the bare back," was "too suggestive of the old system of flogging criminals."[27]

In 1895, after allegations of excessive discipline being employed at the Red Deer school in what is now Alberta (an event discussed in greater detail in an earlier chapter in this volume), Hayter Reed, who was then deputy minister, instructed the assistant Indian commissioner in Regina to issue a directive to the effect that "children are not to be whipped by anyone save the Principal, and even when such a course is necessary, great discretion should be used and they should not be struck on the head, or punished so severely that bodily harm might ensue." Corporal punishment was to be reserved for grave offences and where it could serve as a deterrent.[28] Although the assistant commissioner may have issued that directive, as he was specifically instructed to do, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not been able to locate a copy of it in federal government records. If such a directive were sent out by the assistant Indian commissioner in Regina, its circulation likely would have been restricted to the schools in Manitoba and the North-West Territories (the regions for which he had authority). It would not have applied to all the schools the government funded. Reed's instructions contained no direction as to what other types of discipline were to be used, what the children could and could not be punished for, whether a record of punishments was to be kept and reported annually or otherwise, whether parents were to be notified, whether more than one adult was to be present, whether it was acceptable for clothing to be removed prior to the administration of corporal punishment, or whether children were to be punished in front of other students.

There are other problems with Reed's instructions: no limits were placed on the number of blows that could be administered, or on the instrument that was to be used in administering them. In the Indian Affairs correspondence on corporal punishment, there are frequent references to students being "whipped" or "thrashed." It also appears that principals devised their own disciplinary tools. For example, Birtle, Manitoba, principal George McLaren wrote in 1892 that he did not use severe punishment, but on occasion he made use of "a small raw hide when the guilty person was large and the offence serious such as persisting in running away."[29] In December 1896 in British Columbia, the Kuper Island school's acting principal gave two boys "several lashes in the Presence of the Pupils" for sneaking into the girls' dormitory at night.[30] Reed's admonition that children were not to be struck on the head may also have given principals perceived licence to administer blows to any other part of the body.

In their annual reports for 1896, many principals provided information on their discipline policies. Principal John Scott at Metlakatla, British Columbia, wrote that, at his school, disciplinary measures consisted of "extra lessons, work in play-time, deprivation of a meal or being sent to bed during part of their play-time of an evening, and as a last resource for persistence in serious wrong doing, expulsion from the school."[31]

The principal of the girls' school at Port Simpson, British Columbia, J. Redner, reported: "Discipline is firm but kind. The pupils are trained as much as possible to govern themselves. The punishments used are private reproof, corporal punishment in rare instances and solitary confinement in extreme cases."[32]

The principal at Mission, British Columbia, E. C. Chirouse, wrote:

> As regards punishment, I must confess that our methods seem rather strange to those who have only had dealings with white children. The Indian thinks it an awful disgrace to be struck, and to avoid the bad effect which would more than counterbalance any good arising from such treatment, we usually punish the boys by giving them lines to write, depriving them of play, or by giving them a meal on their knees in the refectory, though occasionally they receive a slap on the hand with a light cane. The girls are so docile and gentle that punishment even of the mildest kind is altogether unnecessary.[33]

At the Shingwauk Home in Ontario, Principal G. L. King reported, "The methods of punishment adopted are: fines, impositions and kept in to work on half-holidays. Corporal punishment is administered only as a last resource and in cases of repeated acts of disobedience."[34]

Principal A. M. Carion, at Kamloops, British Columbia, wrote:

> A system of marking faults committed has been adopted, and twice a day, at roll-call, attention is called to those faults and the wrong-doers are reprehended, and, if deemed necessary, punished by being confined during recreation or deprived of dessert. Corporal punishment is resorted to only in extreme cases.[35]

Kuper Island principal Father G. Donckele wrote, "The discipline laid down in the regulations of the department was strictly carried out, and for punishment for occasional infractions moral persuasion seemed to have a better effect than any kind of corporal punishment."[36] The Alert Bay, British Columbia, principal wrote, "The pupils have been well-behaved, and are generally industrious, and punishment is rarely necessary."[37] Middlechurch principal John Ashby noted, "Punishments have been very few. I have found a kindly talking to more avail than any punishment. I have whipped, but it only hardens instead of softening, deprivation of privileges being generally sufficient."[38]

No matter what the European standards of the day might have been, residential school discipline clearly violated the norms by which Aboriginal parents expected their children to be treated. In her memoirs, Louise Moine recounted an incident in which a student at the Qu'Appelle school complained to her parents about being strapped. The girl's mother "marched right down to the playroom where she confronted the Sister by shaking her fist at her and telling her off in Sioux. The Sister, fearing abuse, held her cross up in front of the woman but she knocked it out of the Sister's hand."[39]

Principals recognized they were violating parental norms, but concluded that such norms were "inappropriate." In 1922, Andrew Paull, the corresponding secretary of the Allied Tribes of British Columbia, wrote to W. E. Ditchburn, the chief inspector of Indian agencies in British Columbia, to complain that the principal of the Alberni industrial school, Mr. Currie, "unmercifully whips the boys on their backs, which is objected to as well as Mr. Curry fighting and kicking the boys for the purpose of correction. It is further reported that Mr. Curry gets extremely mad at the slightest provocation, and whips or hits the boys with his fists, or chokes them."[illegible] Currie said he thought himself to be "patient, kind and lenient with every child who shows any attempt at obedience to the rules, but certain offences must be dealt with firmly." But, he said, Aboriginal parents never punished their children. "The result is that when the teacher does it they magnify the thing to appear that the child was being murdered."[illegible]

In the absence of guidelines and directives, individual principals decided for themselves what was and was not appropriate. When principals, or perhaps other staff members, changed, the pattern of discipline also changed, resulting in inconsistency within schools from year to year, and from school to school.

Other disciplinary options

As the principals' reports indicated, corporal punishment was not the only tool employed in an attempt to maintain discipline. Students might be forced to eat everything on their plates or be denied holidays. At the Sechelt school in 1936, the school disciplinarian held extended drills, requiring boys to hop on one leg "for longer periods than usual," in an effort to force them to reveal who had stolen a set of the school keys. The method failed to bring about the recovery of the keys, but the boys did complain to their parents, who in turn complained to Indian Affairs. The disciplinarian defended the punishment, saying it was not as vigorous as the activities the boys engaged in during their own playtime.[illegible]

Many former students spoke of having their ears twisted as a classroom punishment. This punishment is not often referred to in the documentary record. However, in 1906, parents complained that at one of the schools at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, students were having their ears twisted. Indian Commissioner David Laird instructed the Indian agent that "ear twisting for punishment should be dropped."[illegible] Again, this was not a system-wide instruction, but one that was limited to one Indian agent, who was expected to pass the instruction on to a single principal.

Cornelius Kelleher, a half-Irish, half-Nooksack boy who attended the Mission school in the nineteenth century, recalled that when a student's work was not prepared, the teacher would "hit you on the fingers with a rod, I'll tell you. There was no soft things in them days."[illegible] It was not uncommon for runaways to have their hair cut short or shaved off, in addition to being strapped. Alice Star Blanket attended the File Hills, Saskatchewan, school in the 1930s. She recalled that runaways at that school were "punished with a strap, shave their hair off, get bald heads."[35] Sarah Soonias (known as Sarah Wuttunee when she was in school) was enrolled in the Battleford school in 1908. She recalled being strapped by a Mr. Denton: "I got a good strapping from him because I wouldn't say a word. I got sad, I waited too long, I couldn't speak and I got a strapping." She recalled that another teacher was always distressed at having to strap students and sought to console them afterwards.[36]

In extreme cases, bad behaviour might be dealt with by expulsion. Kuper Island principal George Donckele expelled one boy in 1891 for his "very offensive disobedience and insubordination."[37] In February 1915, the department supported the principal of the Kuper Island school in discharging a student who was "having such a bad influence on the other pupils and the discipline of the school."[38] Chapleau, Ontario, principal A. J. Vale sought in 1936 to discharge a girl who had been at the school for eight years. He said,

> We have had considerable trouble with her due to her stubbornness. I have tried severe whipping and various methods of punishments, such as extra work instead of play, being sent to bed early and loss of extra privileges but all seem to have failed to cure her of exhibitions of temper and passive resistance to the rules of the classroom and school in general.

Vale could see no alternative but to send her "back to her own people at Rupert's House where she belongs."[39] In 1938 in British Columbia, one girl, who ran away from the Williams Lake school twice in one year, was discharged.[40]

In 1907, much to the displeasure of the students' parents and Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham, Principal W. McWhinney of the Presbyterian school at Kamsack, Saskatchewan, tied ropes around the arms of boys who had run away and "made them run behind the buggy from their homes to the school." Their parents complained that "the children are not dogs." Graham told the principal to cease the practice: if he had trouble with runaways, he should seek permission to send "the worst offenders to another school."[41] Martin Benson asked the deputy minister whether McWhinney's behaviour entitled the department to demand his resignation.[42] McWhinney explained that he had gone looking for a group of runaways in the school buggy, accompanied by his wife. When he encountered the three boys almost thirteen kilometres from the school, he took the smallest boy into the buggy. The older boys were instructed to walk behind the wagon.

> After going a little distance while drawing near a bluff, the boys showed unmistakable signs that they were going to make a break for liberty. I stopped and tied a rope loosely around one arm of each and threw the other end of the rope over the back of the buggy and over the seat. The rope was not tied to the buggy in

> anyway. Then we proceeded to the school, the horses walking or trotting slowly, so that the boys could follow without danger of hurting themselves in any way.[illegible]

Punishment could also take the form of cancelling vacation. This happened at the Mohawk Institute in [illegible] when it was discovered that a group of older male and female students had been meeting secretly at night for what the principal described as "a series of wild escapades."[illegible] When two girls ran away from the Cowessess Reserve school in Saskatchewan, the principal and the Indian agent informed them that their discharge from the school would be delayed for six months as punishment for their behaviour. Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham refused to authorize the punishment, saying that the principal and the agent had no authority to impose it.[illegible]

Another option was to transfer a student to a different school. In [illegible], Indian agent W. Christianson reported "an epidemic of truancy at the Gordon's Reserve school." Students said they had run away because they "did not like the Farming Instructor." However, the problem continued after the instructor was replaced. Christianson recommended transferring two of the more persistent runaways to a more distant school, saying it would "put a stop their escapades" and have a "salutary effect on other boys and girls."[illegible] In [illegible], Paul Bousquet, the principal at Fort Alexander, Manitoba, sought permission to transfer persistent runaways to the school at Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan.[illegible] In [illegible], the principal of the Sandy Bay, Manitoba, school attempted to have two boys transferred to the Muscowequan school in Lestock, Saskatchewan.[illegible] The department denied the request, pointing out that, since the boys were only fourteen and thirteen years old, the school was expected to "exert sufficient moral suasion to prevent these boys from being chronic truants."[illegible] In [illegible], the principal sought to have another boy transferred to Muscowequan. In this boy's most recent episode of truancy, he and two other boys had stolen a horse in Winnipeg. The principal felt the boy could not be discharged, since his father's whereabouts were unknown and his mother was in a sanatorium.[illegible] In [illegible], Mount Elgin principal O. B. Strapp was given approval to transfer six students—"the ring leaders among the truants"—to the school at Chapleau, Ontario.[illegible]

Students were also sometimes punished for things beyond their control. It is not uncommon for children who have been removed from their homes and placed in institutions to develop involuntary bedwetting.[illegible] In Canada's residential schools, humiliating punishments were created for those who wet their beds. At the Spanish, Ontario, school, these students were called "pissers" and they were thrashed regularly. In [illegible], one chronic bedwetter was placed in a tub filled with hot water. According to a staff member, "After a half-hour stay, he became sick to his stomach so had to take him out. It cured him from wetting his bed for two nights, but now he is as bad as ever."[illegible] In [illegible], the boys were given [illegible] baths in cold water in an attempt to cure bedwetting. This led to short-term improvements, but, by [illegible], bedwetters were being spanked.[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

had acquired by selling the school skates to a second-hand store. The clerk who sold the boys the extract was jailed, but the Indian agent was uncertain about what to do with the boys. "I could handle them as was done previously, but it seems useless to beat them, and I do not think it possible to cure the wild ones."[95]

An inspector of Indian agencies, A. G. Hamilton, wrote in the early 1930s that the only way to control the older boys at the Anglican school in The Pas would be if "a proper boys' supervisor were secured, and he would need to be a real man, it would be a big step towards handling the children. This would also strengthen the authority of the other members, who at present find themselves unable to control the children."[96]

But this forceful approach had real limits. In 1932, a teacher at the same school tried to maintain his authority by striking a student on the arm with a shovel.[97] A church investigation concluded the teacher had been provoked, but recognized that only the principal was authorized to administer corporal punishment at the school. The field secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, T. B. R. Westgate, proposed that the teacher in question be allowed to stay at the school until he could be transferred to another school.[98] Instead, the teacher was dismissed, but Indian Affairs noted that there would be no objection to his being hired at another Anglican-run school.[99]

In 1936, a boy refused to do some barn work and struck a staff member at the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario. The staff member retaliated by hitting the boy with a horseshoe. Inspector A. G. Hamilton wrote that he did "not like the idea of a man forgetting himself to such an extent that he would resort to methods of this nature." The staff member was not a teacher, but a hired hand and, to use Hamilton's term, "of foreign birth." Hamilton, revealing the levels of racial prejudice in operation at the time, wrote he was "not enthused with the employment of such people as instructors of our Indian children. I am quite sure that their method of discipline would be on a much lower level than ours." For his part, the principal said the man had regretted his action and should not be fired.[100]

Changes in staff, particularly in principal, could bring about changes in discipline. When C. M. Turnell took over the Mohawk Institute in 1915, he found it necessary to "relax in some respects the somewhat rigid discipline" he found at the school.[101] Martha Hill, who attended the school during this period, recalled how the approach to discipline changed when Turnell took over from Nelles Ashton, the previous principal: "Ashton—when he was there—he was cruel. When he gave you a licking he used the cat-o'-nine-tails [a multi-tailed whip]. Until Turnell went in—he took that out. All you could use was the strap, and he couldn't hit you no place—only on the hands."[102]

In 1918, without consulting the federal government, the New England Company dismissed the more lenient Turnell. Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott initially opposed the move, threatening to cut off the school's funding unless the New England Company sent an official to Canada to discuss the matter with him.[103] However, in July

1918, Turnell left. His replacement, a former school employee, complained that the "boys are out of hand as Mr. Turnell was not strict enough with them."[illegible]

School case studies

The rest of this chapter examines a series of discipline-related issues at residential schools from 1892 to 1939. They are a reminder that although corporal punishment was acceptable in Euro-Canadian schools, the degree and severity of punishment administered at Canadian residential schools for Aboriginal children were regularly viewed by government officials as being excessive. In some cases, the violations were so severe that they landed principals and staff members in court. In other cases, the government investigated and absolved the principals and schools of excessive behaviour.

The government's response to discipline-related problems remained piecemeal, vague, and contradictory. The absence of any overall regulations, standards, or policies meant that government officials had to draw their conclusions about whether discipline had been excessive based on their own instincts and prejudices. Their judgment also would have been affected by the belief that decisions that favoured parents' complaints would serve only to weaken the authority of the system. Disciplinary policies were clearly in the hands of the schools, despite the fact that the 1910 contract between the federal government and the churches provided the government with the authority to impose any regulations on the schools that it deemed necessary.

The contradictory nature of Indian Affairs policy is captured in its handling of two events from the 1920s. In 1922, Russell Ferrier, the Indian Affairs superintendent of Indian Education, described the disciplinary regime at the Chapleau school as "severe."[illegible] The following month, Indian Affairs instructed the principal, George Prewer, "Give careful and thoughtful attention to the discipline problem of the school and assiduously avoid any corporal punishment that could be considered by outsiders as pitiless."[illegible] In 1928, when commenting on the treatment of runaways from the Gordon's Reserve school in Saskatchewan, the local Indian agent noted that all but three of the boys had been "punished corporally but whether severely enough to check them remains to be seen."[illegible] Principals, it would appear, were expected to be severe enough to stop children from running away, but could not be seen to be "pitiless."

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has yet to locate a single, system-wide, directive on discipline that applies to this historical period. The churches and, more specifically, individual principals were left to develop their own policies. When these policies attracted unwanted attention, the government might step in and demand that the policy be changed or that the principal be dismissed. In many cases, the churches refused to comply with such instructions.

The death of Lazarus Charles: Battleford, 1892

Indian Affairs sent Inspector A. J. Macrae to the Battleford school, in what is now Saskatchewan, in the spring of 1892 to investigate parental complaints about discipline at the school. Much to the principal's displeasure, Macrae took control of discipline at the school. In the opinion of another Indian Affairs official, Alex McGibbon, Macrae actually increased the severity of discipline at the school. In a report from the fall of 1892, McGibbon wrote:

> Locking a boy up in a cell, tying a girl's hands behind her back as has been done here, not with the consent of the Principal, however, will neither redress faults, nor will they tend to develop good qualities. Making pupils stand for two hours along side of a fence as punishment has been the case here. Punishments like these are more calculated to bring contempt on a school than to accomplish any lasting good.

The boy locked in the cell by Macrae was Lazarus Charles. He later became ill and was sent home. Principal Thomas Clarke contended that Macrae's punishment of the Charles boy contributed to his death from unreported causes in October 1892. In his defence, Macrae stated that the boy was confined only at night in "a well ventilated room about 14 feet by 16 feet" to prevent him from running away. The dispute quickly shifted from a discussion over whether students were being poorly treated to a dispute as to whether Macrae had exceeded his authority, and had been consistent in later descriptions of the events. In the end, Macrae was transferred and his responsibilities were reduced. His demotion was the result of his attempts to avoid responsibility for his actions, not his overly harsh disciplining of students.[108] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not located evidence of any further investigation into the cause of Lazarus Charles's death.

The death of Duncan Sticks: Williams Lake, 1902

On February 8, 1902, nine boys ran away from the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school shortly after lunch. A teacher chased after them, and later organized a search that returned eight of the boys to the school. The principal, Henry Boening, was not at the school at the time, but when he returned at 5:00 p.m., he was informed that the ninth boy, eight-year-old Duncan Sticks, was still missing. Boening later stated that he did not send out a search party because he expected that Sticks would find shelter under a haystack for the night. Boening did spend the night looking for four other boys who had run away in a separate incident that day. The following day, he sent a school staff member to a First Nations settlement "to see if he could get some Indians to go after the boy."[109] Later that day, a local man, Antonio Boitano, found Sticks frozen to death.[110]

The coroner initially opposed holding an investigation into the death, reportedly saying that "he thought the Government would not allow the expenses as he could see nothing to warrant an enquiry."[111] However, a local businessman named E. C. Gibson and a former teacher named Brophy lobbied for an inquiry. Brophy claimed to have kept a record of the mistreatment of students at the school. The local Indian Affairs representative, E. Bell, doubted its accuracy. He viewed Brophy, who had been fired for absence from the school, as untrustworthy.[112] Bell gave this report of his investigation into why students were running away:

> I examined the boys as to their reasons for running away from School and the only reason they gave me was "the teacher whips us." I asked them if it was the Principal they said no asked if he whipped their head they said 'no' only on the legs. The teacher showed me his book where a record of all the chastisements the pupils get is kept and I must say they are slight indeed compared to the time I went to school. I asked the boys why they were whipped and the reply was "When we don't have our lessons." I have frequent letters from the parents of the boys who have been running away from this institution asking me to find out why the boys run off claiming they cannot do so from their children. My own opinion is there is no good reason for their absconding only the wild nature of the Indian hates confinement as they are well fed and cared for.[113]

In late February 1902, a coroner finally conducted an investigation. The inquiry heard from several students who complained about the food and the discipline at the school. Eleven-year-old Mary Sticks, sister of the boy who died, stated:

> The sisters scold me all the time—they gave me bad food—the beef was rotten I couldent [sic] eat it—they kept it over and gave it to me next meal—they tied my hands and blindfolded me and gave me nothing to eat for a day. My hands were tied with a piece of rag behind my back. I saw them strike Ellen Batiste across the face with a strap and I afterwards saw a bandage on her face. I ran away from the school last fall and came home no one came after me from the school. I was brought back to the school by my father. I was never allowed to speak to my brother at the school, and dont [sic] know how he was treated.[114]

Christine Haines, who had been at the school for five years, told the coroner:

> I ran away twice from the school because the sisters dident [sic] treat me good—they gave me rotten food to eat and punished me for not eating it—the meat and soup were rotten and tasted so bad they made the girls sick sometimes—I have been sick from eating it—they shut me up in a room by myself for 3 days and gave me bread and water—the room was cold and dark—they beat me with a strap, sometimes on the face, and sometime took my clothes off and beat me. This is the reason I ran away.[115]

Fifteen-year-old Ellen Charlie told the coroner she ran away "four times because the Sisters and the Fathers did not treat me good; they gave us bad food which was fit only for pigs, the meat was rotten, and had a bad smell and taste." As punishment, she said, "they would sometimes lock me in a room and make me kneel down for half an hour or an hour. They once kept me locked up for a week—they gave me some work to do. They sometimes whipped me with a strap on the face and sometimes stripped me and whipped me."[116]

Ellen Batiste, who had been a student at the school for nine years, stated that she had been whipped for talking to another girl. On that occasion, a sister "hit me with a strap on the head several times but did not hurt me very much."[117] Ten-year-old Francis, a boy who had run away with Sticks, said he had been horsewhipped by Principal Boening for throwing rocks at the school fence. He said that "the whip left blue marks on my legs, and my legs hurt me."[118] Another boy, twelve-year-old Louis, said he had run away a number of times in the past because "they whipped him all the time." He said he was always whipped on the legs, never on the face or head.[119] Augustine, another boy who had run away with Sticks, said he ran away because "the teacher whipped me with a strap on the legs for not knowing my lessons."[120]

Duncan's father, Johnny Sticks, told the inquest that his son had been at the school for three and a half years. He told the inquiry:

> I was glad for him to be at the school. He ran away from the school about a year ago and was found on the road and brought to the Rancherie—he had two companions with him. He gave as his reason for running away that he did not get sufficient food and that they whipped him too much—he said he was beaten with a quirt [a riding whip]—he said the food was bad and he could not eat it, and he was allowed no other food until he had eaten it. He was sick when he arrived home and when he got better I brought him back to school—I made no complaint to the fathers at the Mission about his treatment.

Mr. Sticks had not been informed that his son had run away on February 8. If he had been told, he said, he would "have gone at once and hunted for him."[121]

Joseph Fahey, a teacher at the school, said he had sometimes punished Sticks for not finishing his lessons, adding that he "never punished him severely—used a leather strap across the legs—seldom exceeded 6 blows."[122]

Principal Boening had taken over the school less than a year earlier. In a statement prepared for the inquiry, he wrote that, for the last nine months, boys had been regularly running away from the school. He said that when he tried to find out why they were running away, the only reason they had given was the poor quality of the food. He said he had

> never known the teacher punish [sic] the boys with undue severity or too frequently, and the strap which he uses I do not think too severe. I sometimes have

> occasion to administer corporal punishment to the boys myself for special faults, and I use a strap similar to that used by the teacher—I have used on perhaps 3 occasions a saddle whip or quirt to punish boys for immorality—I limit myself on these occasions to 8 10 or 12 blows across the back outside of the clothes on the seat, and on only one occasion have I punished several boys after taking off their coats and then used the ordinary strap.

He said the punishment of the girls was left to the discretion of the sister superior, but he knew of no unduly severe punishment being given to the girls.

> I have never known of a girl being confined alone in a room for a week, or being whipped with a strap across the face, at least since my arrival, though I am aware of such a case occurring in the past. No child has ever been confined in a dark room since my arrival, though I have heard from others that cases of the kind have occurred in former times.[123]

The sister superior, Sister Euphresia, said:

> The girls sometimes have to be whipped with a strap—generally on the back, sometimes on the hands, and on the occasion when Ellen Batiste was hit on the head, she raised her hands to her head and the blow took part effect on the head unintentionally—I found fault with the Sister on that occasion and I believe it has never occurred since. Sometimes girls are shut up in a room for serious faults for periods varying from a few hours to 10 to 12 days—this is the longest time—this latter has only happened once, they are fed on bread and tea, or water at breakfast when confined as above and get the ordinary school diet for their other meals. If a girl is whipped it is always done outside some of their clothes.[124]

Deputy Chief Little Pete told the inquest that although he had been glad when the school was established, he now felt that "ill treatment is the cause of the deceased running away and meeting his death."[125] The coroner's jury concluded that Sticks died of "exposure and exhaustion from want of food and fire, after a long walk through deep snow." The jurors also said the issue of discipline and food at the school should be addressed by an independent inquiry.[126] No such independent inquiry was held, although the Indian superintendent for British Columba, A. W. Vowell, did interview several boys and girls at the school. He concluded that nothing he was told reflected "in any serious way upon the management." What he was told was the following:

- One boy "was whipped on the legs with a strap by the teacher for not knowing his lessons."
- One boy "ran away because the teacher whipped him on the legs."
- Another boy "ran away because he was punished in like manner."
- Another boy "ran away because he did not get enough food, and also because he was whipped on the legs."
- Another boy "repeated what the last boy said."

- One girl ran away because she had been "whipped at school for talking to another girl"—in the course of the whipping, which was meant to be administered to her hands, she held her hands close to her head and was hit on the head.
- "Other girls" said that they ran away because "they wanted freedom of restraint from the school discipline and wanted a chance to play with the boys." (The superintendent described these as "foolish excuses.")

Vowell wrote that he thought the older boys ran away because they thought they could get jobs and make money, and the younger students accompanied them, "wishing to appear brave."

He also said that the former teacher, Bridger, was creating problems by making "the most serious charges against the Management." He spoke with Christine Haines and Ellen Charlie, two of the girls who had testified at the inquest. They "both persisted in stating that the meat was bad in the soup and that at times the bread was like putty. Ellen Charlie said she was whipped sometimes for talking to and looking at the boys; whipped on her hands mostly, sometimes her clothes were turned up." The superintendent added that Christine Haines and Ellen Charlie had been discharged from the school for "bad conduct." The principal told him that, because a number of boys wet their beds at night, the principal had taken to refusing to allow them any water after the evening meal. The inspector told him this "was bordering on cruelty," to which the principal replied that "in most cases they were not actually in need of a drink but took it out of mischief."[127]

In the wake of the tragedy, Indian Affairs issued no policy recommendations—neither specifically to the school nor generally to all principals—that provided directions on food, punishment, or the policy to be pursued when students ran away. The complaints of former staff and students were discounted or dismissed. There was no question that students were subjected to corporal punishment, and that, at least on some occasions, this punishment was administered with a riding whip. Superintendent Vowell made no effort to determine if all other forms of discipline had been tested before the supposedly "last resort" of corporal punishment was administered.

The confinement of Hazel and Ruth Miller: The Mohawk Institute, 1913

In 1913, eleven-year-old Hazel Miller and her thirteen-year-old sister Ruth were confined to the school's punishment cell after running away from the Mohawk Institute. There, they were also subjected to corporal punishment and had their hair cut short.[128] Their father, acting through a law firm he had hired, asked for an investigation into conditions at the school. In making the request, his lawyers stated that

> children are being punished from time to time in a shameful manner for trifling offences and that they are treated from time to time as though they were criminals. For instance, boys are whipped until they are cut, girls have had their hair cut off close to the scalp, and parents are not allowed to see their children if they (the children) happen to be under punishment at the time.[illegible]

Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott advised the Indian Affairs minister that there was no need for an investigation, since the father, George Miller, was a Baptist and was simply motivated by denominational jealousy against an Anglican-run school. Scott did acknowledge that the rules governing discipline at the school were "antiquated," and that he had set in motion measures to improve them. He noted that the children were "whipped with a strap allowed by the Department of Education in Ontario." At this point, Scott expressed his personal view: "I do not believe in striking Indian children from [sic] any consideration whatever. If children resident in the schools prove themselves continuously so untractable as to require physical punishment, they should be discharged from the school. This school is not a reformatory."[illegible]

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not found any evidence that Scott ever ordered the sort of ban on corporal punishment that would have been consistent with the views he expressed to the minister. Scott informed the parents' lawyers that, while it might be necessary to make "minor improvements in discipline and dietary," there was no need for an investigation. They were, he added, free to take the case to court.[illegible] He advised the minister that, by taking this stand, "we will not hear very much more about the matter." He was also concerned with saving face: holding an independent inquiry "would only be considered a triumph, first of these men personally, and second of their faction."[illegible]

The suit proceeded, although the government attempted to frustrate its progress. The Six Nations council had offered to support the girls' parents by making a $100 deposit with their law firm. Indian Affairs refused to allow this expenditure of band funds, deeming the case a "personal matter."[illegible] By this time, Scott had reviewed the school's disciplinary code in detail, and concluded it was "too severe." However, he felt, "this has been in use so long in the Mohawk Institute that it is difficult to change it." The best he could report to the minister was, "As time goes on it will be possible perhaps to relax it." In the same letter, he described the Mohawk Institute as "one of our best conducted schools." These were words he might come to regret.[illegible]

The case went to trial in April 1914. According to the *Brantford Expositor*, Ruth Miller testified that she

> had run away from the Institute because she did not like the food. When brought back she was put in the cell on the third floor, which was 3 feet by 6 feet, with a little hole in the door. There was no light, no bed and no chair. In this she remained for three days, getting bread and water on Sunday. Her hair was cut off on Monday. She was put on the black list, having to walk in a ring in place of

> playing, and not being allowed to talk to the other girls. She tried to get away a second time, but was caught. She got a hitching the next day, receiving thirteen stripes on the bare back while laying face downwards on a bed, from Miss Weatherall. The latter had been told to give her 12, but she gave her 13. After that for a week and a half it was hard for her to sit down. She had never received such a whipping before for it was hard. Her back was black and blue and had red marks.[illegible]

Principal Neilos Ashton said that although the whip had been used in the past, upon his becoming principal, he had "ordered that the whip be prohibited to any officer." He stated that he did instruct Weatherall to "whip" Ruth Miller but that he had not instructed her "how it was to be done." Ashton maintained that Ruth had been punished with a strap. Weatherall had left the school and was living in Medicine Hat. As a result, she was not called to testify. Other students testified that the punishment had been administered with a strap, not a whip, and gave lower counts as to the number of blows that were inflicted.[illegible]

The court dismissed the claim for damages for cropping the girls' hair and for providing them with poor food. However, the court awarded Ruth Miller's father $100 in damages for the school's imprisoning her for three days on a water diet and $100 for the physical punishment to which she had been subjected.[illegible] Ashton, who had been principal since 1911, was replaced that year.[illegible] On his departure, Indian Affairs official Martin Benson inspected the school and concluded that the pupils "are disciplined to death. What is needed at this school is an entire change of system, as the one inaugurated by Mr. Ashton has been too long in existence."[illegible] Although the next principal, C. M. Tarnell, did relax discipline at the school, his time in office was only four years.[illegible]

Shoal Lake: 1914–1917

In 1914, rumours were circulating in the Lake of the Woods area of northwestern Ontario that one of the students at the Presbyterian school at Shoal Lake had been so badly beaten that her death a short time later was due to humiliation.[illegible] John Semmens, the Indian Affairs inspector (and the former principal of the Brandon school), investigated and concluded there was no truth to the rumour. He concluded that the girl in question had not been punished and her death was the result of measles. However, he wrote, "the Principal has resorted to corporal punishment at times and the children have reported this to their parents and dissatisfaction is the result and recruiting has been made difficult." Semmens instructed the principal to use "other means of correcting the pupils."[illegible] Departmental secretary J. D. McLean agreed that the principal should "adopt other means of correcting pupils instead of resorting to corporal punishment, as the Indians are so prone to take offence."[illegible]

In their correspondence, neither McLean nor Simmons made reference to any existing policy documents relating to discipline or the use—or banning—of corporal punishment. While it would appear that senior Indian Affairs officials such as Scott, Simmons, and McLean viewed corporal punishment as being self-defeating and unnecessary, no one was prepared to ban it. Three years later, an Indian Affairs inspector reported that at the school:

> Quite a number of the children have run away, and have travelled through all sorts of hardships to reach their distant homes. When such things happen on an extensive scale, one begins to look about for some adequate cause, and careful enquiry showed that two reasons were given, first, too much hard work, and second frequent punishment. Information showed that boys were not treated with the same leniency which marked the treatment of the girls, and that often the Principal enforced discipline he displayed considerable temper possibly forgetting his own strength, without realizing the subjects of correction were only children after all.[illegible]

Hemlock poisoning: Williams Lake, 1920

In August 1920, a First Nations man (identified by the Indian agent only as "a Canoe Creek Indian named Sam") asked the Indian agent, Arthur O'N. Daunt, to discharge his son from the school at Williams Lake, British Columbia, because the disciplinarian was "much too free with his cane." Daunt stated he would not normally have taken such a request very seriously, since "Indians are very much averse to any kind of restraint, and to put it mildly, not to be believed as a general thing when they complain about Schools or similar institutions, as they let their imaginations run riot, if they think that by so doing it will help them to gain what they happen to want at the moment." However, in this case, the father reported that a school death that had been treated as an accident was, in fact, suicide. According to Sam, the level of discipline at the school had put several of the boys "in a very depressed state of mind." Nine of them decided to try eating poison hemlock. One boy, Augustine Allan, told his friends "he would eat the hemlock first and that they should eat after him." Allan died, and the others became very ill. The local coroner had decided not to hold an inquest into the death because, according to Daunt, "there was nothing suspicious about children eating a poison weed." Daunt himself did not believe the death was the result of suicide, but noted that "anything of that sort will spread like wildfire among the Indians."

It is apparent from Daunt's letter that he believed the school administration would not co-operate with the government in any investigation into either the death or the alleged harshness of the disciplinarian. To get around such opposition, he suggested to the Indian Affairs departmental secretary in Ottawa that the department tell the school it wanted to carry out a medical examination of all the boys in the school:

> By this means we should know whether boys were unduly flogged or chastised by the Fathers, and if the examination was held in some other room, such as to locate possible cases of flogging etc, the School authorities would not be aware of what we were doing. We will then be in a position to deal with the matter as we see fit, and not ignore the complaints of the Indians.[illegible]

While the Indian agent was recommending that the department employ this ruse to find out what was actually going on in the schools, the department was funding the bulk of the cost of the school and had the right, by contract, to inspect the schools whenever it wanted. That an Indian Affairs employee felt it necessary to propose the use of such a deception is a sign of the degree to which Indian Affairs had failed to assert control over the schools it was funding.

Rather than authorizing the surreptitious medical examination, Indian Affairs instructed [illegible] to conduct an inquiry into complaints of "unduly severe punishment" at the Williams Lake school.[illegible] By the time [illegible] received this instruction, he thought the time to carry out a medical examination had passed, since many of the boys had gone home for their vacation. Also, he was not hopeful about the outcome of any further investigation, since the case would be subjected to "uncorroborated statements of Indian children, against the testimony of the church authorities, and to take action upon that will bring a religious hornets [illegible] around the ears of the Department, unless the reverence in which missionaries are held in this Province has undergone a great change since I lived there."[illegible] As a result, [illegible] did not carry out the inquiry as instructed.

The issue was revived in late August when Paul Stanislaus, a member of the Canim Lake Reserve and the father of Augustine Allan, the boy who had poisoned himself with hemlock, requested that [illegible] assist him in having another son discharged from the school. Stanislaus pointed out that after the death of Augustine, the school did "not send any notice to me to say that he died (they never said any too). But he was going to bury him in the morning. You know how it is for a man not to see a boy of his before the body is put away." He was asking for the discharge of his son Patrick because he feared he would kill himself as well.[illegible] [illegible] forwarded the letter to Ottawa, noting that "the Indians are not well satisfied with the conduct of the Missionary schools in this part of the country."[illegible]

The inspector of Indian schools, R. H. Cairns, was instructed to investigate. In discharging this responsibility, Cairns never bothered to visit the Williams Lake school or speak with any of the children or parents. Instead, he met with [illegible] who had been in charge of the Williams Lake school at the time of Augustine Allan's death. By then, [illegible] was the principal of the school at Mission, British Columbia. The

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

the school and the community were so poor that "the only way I can fill this school is by force." By contrast, he said, parents were willing to send their children to the nearby Presbyterian school. The principal also refused Edwards's invitation to meet with a band member who had complained at his office about the school. According to Edwards, Kerbrat "would not come with any Indian, he would not lower himself."[104]

Despite this attitude towards the parents of the children he was teaching, Kerbrat was allowed to remain in office. Two years later, Mindijibik, of the Sabaskong Band, wrote to Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott, claiming that Kerbrat was punishing children by whipping, tying their hands and feet together, and locking them in the cupboard "and outhouse and four of them put in the cellar and kept there for 8 hours." The matter had been raised with Edwards, but he had not done anything about it.[105] According to Edwards, one student who "used to shut herself up in the dormitory toilet at night to vex the sister in charge" had been shut in the toilet for two hours with her hands and feet "loosely tied." Kerbrat denied whipping children, but, because Edwards had recommended against corporal punishment, he had taken to locking students in the cellar with their hands tied for up to two hours as punishment. Edwards said he thought the principal, a war veteran who was suffering from "shell shock," was doing his best, but needed to be replaced.[106] Kerbrat remained on the job until February 1925.[107] By then, the school was grappling with a murder-suicide: a hired man wounded a fellow hired worker, then shot and killed a priest, and finally killed himself.[108]

"Black from his neck to his buttocks": The Pas, 1920–23

In 1920, Indian agent J. W. Waddy reported that he thought E. V. Bird, the principal of the Anglican school in The Pas, Manitoba, was "too severe in punishing the children at that place." Waddy wrote that parents had brought their fifteen-year-old son into his office to show the treatment he had received at the school. According to Waddy, "He was black from his neck to his buttocks where he had been strapped." The boy had refused to work because his hands were blistered from handling a hay fork. For refusing, Waddy said, the boy was "trimmed." He fought back and, for this, was strapped. During the strapping, he said, the principal lost his temper.[109] Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham recommended to Deputy Minister Scott that the principal be discharged, since "he is not fit to have charge of Indian children."[110] The assistant superintendent general, J. D. McLean, wrote to T. B. R. Westgate of the Anglican Church about the incident, saying he concurred with Graham's recommendation.[111] A frustrated Commissioner Graham wrote, "The Inspectors feel that where the churches are concerned there is practically no use in sending an adverse report, as the Department will listen to excuses from the incompetent Principals of the schools more readily than to a report from our Inspectors based on facts as they find them."[172]

In this case, Graham's prediction was borne out by the facts. The church conducted its own investigation and concluded that the boy had been defiant, and that the punishment was deserved, was not as severe as described by the Indian agent, and had led to an improvement in the boy's behaviour.[173] The principal remained in his position, and McLean assured Waddy that the principal "will exercise care in maintaining discipline in the future."[174]

For his part, Waddy stated that he stood by his report. He said, "Mr. Bird is all right in other respects but when he gets an unruly pupil he seems to lose control of himself, and if my report does nothing else than make him careful in the control of his temper it will be enough."[175]

It was not. The following year, Waddy was once more writing to Graham about the same principal. This time, he said a man had informed him that a boy who ran away from the school had been so badly beaten, he "was welted all around one leg, black and blue." Waddy's informant said that if the government did not take action, he would take up "the matter with the S.P.C.A. like he would if a dog was abused." He also warned, "One of these times a pupil will starve to death in the bush after running away from school."[176] The chief of The Pas Band, P. Constant, wrote to Graham about the case. He said the boy ran away after being flogged. His parents returned him to the school, where he was flogged once more and locked up. He escaped that night, "almost naked and bare footed. There are some white men and some Indians who saw the boy in the state he was in after his flogging, in fact, we were afraid that he would probably die some where as those who saw him say that he was nearly out of his mind."[177]

Graham once more recommended that Bird be fired.[178] On behalf of the Anglican Church, Westgate visited the school. Westgate questioned the veracity of the evidence of the man who had originally found the boy, pointing out that he was "a Frenchman and a member of the Roman Catholic Church." On encountering the boy at the school, he concluded that he was "so rugged and healthy that I did not consider any physical examination necessary." After speaking to the principal and the staff, he concluded that "the punishment administered was neither abusive nor unduly severe, but barely what would be expected under the circumstances."[179] Graham continued to call for the principal's dismissal, pointing out that the church investigation had not consulted the people who found the boy and reported his condition.[180] In late 1926, an unnamed boy who ran away from the school died of exposure.[181] The following year, Bird was serving as the principal of a day school in Saskatchewan.[182]

Rapid blows to the face: Cardston, 1928 and 1934

On the morning of January 9, 1928, a long-simmering conflict between Edwin Smith, the school gardener at the Roman Catholic school in Cardston, Alberta, and seventeen-year-old Albert Many Fingers erupted in violence. During the winters, Smith assisted the boiler operator and the school disciplinarian. According to Smith, he and Many Fingers initially came into conflict because the boy spent a considerable amount of time flirting with the female students working in the kitchen, laundry, and bakery, all of which were located near the boiler room. Smith told Many Fingers to stop this behaviour. Instead, the boy was defiant, at times insulting Smith in such a way that, according to Smith, "no white man would take from another; not speaking of an Indian." According to Smith, Many Fingers also told a student of his intent to fight Smith. Smith took his complaints to the principal, E. Ruaux, who said it would only increase the boy's contempt for Smith if the principal strapped him on Smith's request. Having taken all he could stand, on January 9, Smith told Many Fingers to stay behind when the other students went to breakfast. In his own words, Smith told Many Fingers that "since he thought himself a better man than I, the time has arrived to show it. He was given the same chance that I had myself. I hit him a few times and the result was a bleeding nose. When I saw that he was making no attempt at striking back, I quit."[103]

Many Fingers ran away and complained to his parents, who wanted to launch a prosecution. The local Indian agent, J. E. Pugh, first became aware of the incident when the principal informed him that Many Fingers had run away. However, it was not until Many Fingers's father approached him about laying charges against Smith that Pugh found out about the assault. When Pugh went to the school, Smith was absent on leave. The principal confirmed that Smith had challenged Many Fingers to fight and had bloodied his nose. Pugh wrote, "While dealing with the matter, I stated that the Department, as far as I knew, would not countenance the striking of a boy by fists, and stated that I thought the proper method should be by the use of a regulation strap." In future cases, he expected that any school employee who struck a student would be dismissed.[104] Pugh informed Duncan Campbell Scott of the affair, saying he hoped to keep the matter out of the courts and noting that the family was still seeking a prosecution.[105] Scott agreed it would be best to avoid any publicity, but recommended that Smith be fired.[106]

Principal Ruaux, however, chose to support his staff. He accused Pugh of taking the family's side because the school was Roman Catholic. He said the Indian agent had no business involving himself in anything other than the physical operation of the school.[107] Scott supported Pugh, saying that in light of the "unwarranted assault" on the student and the principal's unwillingness to dismiss Smith, Pugh should not take any steps to stop the family from having a charge laid.[108] The Mounted Police officer who conducted the investigation noted that Smith made a "futile attempt to justify his activities by saying that this was the only way to enforce obedience, which is obviously ridiculous."[189] The case went to trial on February 25, 1928, and, based on the evidence, including Smith's testimony that he had challenged Many Fingers to a fight, police magistrate J. W. Low convicted Smith of assault. In his decision, he said, "I think that the accused stepped outside the bounds of his official position, when he invited Albert Many Fingers to fight. This in my opinion was not discipline." Smith was given the choice of paying a $10 fine or spending ten days in jail.[190]

Instead, he successfully appealed the verdict. In overturning the conviction, Judge A. M. MacDonald recast the key facts of the incident. Whereas all the evidence to this point, including a written statement from Smith, showed that Smith had challenged Many Fingers to a fight, in MacDonald's version of events, Smith told Many Fingers that he had been disobedient in the past and was still disobedient—even though none of the evidence reported from the original trial indicated that Many Fingers had been disobedient on the morning of the fight—and he was going to be punished. "Other words then passed between them and Many Fingers, seeing that he was about to be punished, assumed a fighting attitude with closed fists. Upon his so doing Smith struck him three rapid blows about the face and head with his fists, causing his nose to bleed."

MacDonald transformed the whole affair back into a matter of discipline, adding that Smith had the right to punish any pupil for violating school rules. In determining whether the force was reasonable or not, MacDonald quoted the testimony of the Reverend William R. Hanes, whom he described as having "considerable experience in the management of Indian Schools." Hanes had testified that if a student had ever attempted to fight with him, he would "knock him down and then take him to the principal." In reaching this decision, the judge made no effort to determine if the school had a discipline policy or whether Smith's actions were consistent with the policy.[191] On reading the decision, Deputy Minister Scott wrote to the head of the Oblate order in Alberta, saying he was still opposed to the form of punishment that had been carried out and might still be requesting that Smith be dismissed.[192]

Relations between Ruaux, the principal, and Pugh, the Indian agent, remained tense. Late in 1928, when a father returned his runaway son to the school, he asked that he not be whipped. The principal told him he would do so unless the Indian agent prohibited the punishment. Pugh complained to Ottawa that it was not fair for the principal to burden him with the decision, adding he preferred to "deal with the Indians strictly according to the Act."[193]

Six years later, complaints were raised once more about Father Ruaux's treatment of another boy at the school, Willie Big Head. In the principal's opinion, Big Head was a troublemaker whose inability to control his temper was bound to land him in trouble. One day in 1934, when the boys were leaving the school chapel, Ruaux noticed that Big Head had his hands in his pockets. A letter from the Oblate headquarters in Ottawa, defending Ruaux's actions, gives the following account of what happened next when the principal asked Willie to take his hands out of his pockets.

> The boy answered in a mumbling way which the principal did not understand. The Principal repeated the order. Same mumbling. The father left the chapel with the boy and asked him four times: "Have you anything to say?" No answer. A fifth question—the same—was asked. No answer but then the boy took the Principal by the wrist. The Principal took hold of the boy's hand and held his thumb. Scuffling followed. Kindly note that boys and girls had stopped and were watching the scene. The principal seeing that it was time to act if he did not want to lose authority and escape a black eye (his own words) put his hand in the hair of the boy (not pulling) who covered his face with his arms. The father then struck his arms 3 or 4 times with his fist, not touching directly his face or head. Then he left him, the boy being apparently subdued. But the father noticing that he was nose bleeding [sic] sent him to wash his face and told him to behave in the future. Then, through the advice of one of the chiefs' (Edward Red Crow) adopted son (a bastard and a sneak father called him) Willie jumped from a window five feet from the floor (showing that after all his supposed injured arm was not too bad) and ran to his home.

Indian agent Pugh was informed of the event and had Big Head examined by a doctor. According to the principal's unnamed Oblate defender, the doctor "could not say that the nose was broken," and, within a few days, the "black around the eyes had disappeared." A police investigation did not lead to charges being laid, but the principal believed that the Indian agent, acting on anti-Catholic bias, had met with the local chiefs to agitate for the appointment of a new school principal. In complaining about this action to his superiors, Ruaux asked, "What business do they [the chiefs] have in the government of his school?"[194] In his report on the matter, the Indian agent said the chief and council had come to him to request the principal's dismissal, noting that the boy's father was so angry that he did not trust himself to speak to the principal.[195] In May, Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Harold McGill instructed Pugh to inform the chief and council that "this matter had been taken up with the Church authorities, and I feel assured that a similar difficulty will not again occur at the Blood School." He went on, "As intimated in my letter of March 28th, last, I feel that it would be in the best interests of all parties concerned to allow the matter to drop."[196] The government had the authority both to request and to enforce the dismissal of any staff member, and made use of this authority in other situations. In this case, it chose not to do so, even though it was apparent to government officials that Ruaux engaged in, and encouraged, the excessive disciplining of students.

Dragged and strapped: Norway House, 1931

In 1931, Principal William Shoup at Norway House, Manitoba, was prosecuted for common assault. According to the Mounted Police record of the case, Shoup was alleged to have struck a student, who, he thought, was being impudent, in the head with his fist. Two other students said the principal then knocked the student down, "kicked him and then dragged him across the floor to another room and strapped him." The principal stated that after chastising the boy for his impudence, he had "caught hold of this boy by the collar and threw him across the room where he fell." He denied striking or kicking the boy, but acknowledged that when "the boy would not get up he had dragged him to another room where he had administered a strapping." The officer in charge of the Norway House detachment, D. C. Saul, wrote, "The accused took over as principal of the School last summer and different stories regarding his harshness to the pupils have been brought to my notice, this being the first one that action was taken on." The principal was acquitted of assault, but with a warning "to punish only with the strap." Officer Saul concluded his report by noting, "Assuming that the boy deserved a strapping for his impudence, I do not think that it warranted the abuse he received."[197]

Strappings and confinement: Blue Quills, 1932–1940

The punishment of three girls who ran away from the Blue Quills, Alberta, school in either late 1931 or early 1932 almost led to the dismissal of that school principal. In his report for January 1932, Indian agent W. E. Gullion reported that there was a good deal of truancy at the school.[198] A few weeks later, Blue Quills principal Joseph Angin reported that the father of one of the runaways had refused to return his daughter to the school and had been encouraged in this behaviour by the Saddle Lake chief. Angin requested that Gullion depose the chief.[199] In March 1932, Duncan Campbell Scott wrote to the head of the Oblate Fathers Provincial House in Edmonton, informing Father U. Langlois that

> I have learned, from a most reliable source, that the Reverend Joseph Angin, O.M.I., Principal of the Blue Quills Indian Residential School, has lost the confidence of a great number of the Indians in the vicinity, and I have information which leads me to believe that he is certainly not the right type for our work. In the interests of the Oblate Order, itself, and of the School, the Department does not wish to go into the details or to have any formal investigation, but I write to ask you to remove him at once and to appoint a suitable new principal in his place.

If this was not done, he said, the government would have to consider closing the school. He concluded by noting that the information on which the government was basing this decision had come to light only a few weeks earlier.[200] In a letter to Langlois, Russell Ferrier, the superintendent of Indian Affairs, wrote, "There is nothing against the moral character of Father Angin at all. His method of dealing with Indians is clearly unfortunate, and, if given publicity by an investigation, might be undesirable in his case, to say the least."

One of the government's concerns in these issues was that it not be seen to be yielding to First Nations criticism. However, since there had been "no recent difficulties," Ferrier did not "believe it would be subversive of discipline on the reserve if Father Angin left quietly. The Indians could not feel that they have won any 'Victory,' as they have not recently sent in any formal complaints."[201]

Langlois reasonably protested that he could not remove Angin without being provided with the details of the complaints against him.[202] Ferrier arranged to have Mounted Police Constable English meet with Langlois in Edmonton to provide "personal information in connection with one incident in the old school last fall."[203] It was eventually revealed that there were three complaints levelled against the principal. The first was that two female students were punished with a rawhide quirt. For the punishment, it was alleged, they had been forced to lie on their stomachs, with their otherwise bare bottoms covered with a sheet. Supposedly, a police officer and two other individuals, including the son of W. E. Gullion, the local Indian agent, were also in the room. In the second incident, it was alleged that one of these girls and another girl had been locked in an outside toilet as a punishment for running away. It was claimed that they escaped through the toilet holes and made their way home. Finally, it was charged that the girls had been "corrected by the Sisters when they had menstruation."

The school officials rejected the allegations. According to the school's mother superior and the two school disciplinarians, the two girls—who were being punished after their third attempt at running away from the school—were wearing their nightgowns when the principal used the quirt to discipline them. They were standing up and had freedom of movement. They also said that the punishment took place not only in the presence of a local constable, but also of all the girls (but not Gullion's son, who, they said, was outside in a car). They stated that although one girl wept, neither screamed, which, they said, "proves that the correction was not very hard." In the second case, the nuns maintained that although the two girls did run away from the toilets, they had not been locked in, and that they had escaped through windows. The nuns also denied punishing the girls for having their menstrual period.[204]

In the end, Indian Affairs backed down and Angin remained as principal. The incident resulted in strained relations between him and Indian agent Gullion.[205] Problems at the school continued. In the fall of 1933, T. H. Tuck, the school disciplinarian, complained he had "nearly all the biggest boys against me, owing to the fact that they say I handle them too roughly." Tuck acknowledged he was "very quick-tempered & have at different times got after them perhaps a little too severely." He also said that, at times, he had had trouble with the nuns "giving scandal in front of the children which I know was a wrong thing to do." He said that after the return to school that fall, there had been two or more runaways every eight days. When eight boys left on one night, Angin threatened to fire Tuck. In his defence, Tuck argued that, when hired, he had been told the school was looking for "somebody who would discipline these boys."[306]

Tuck's temper was still creating problems in 1935, as evidenced by Langlois's comment in a letter to the superior general of the Grey Nuns: "As far as Mr. Tuck is concerned, he has been properly warned, and I hope these outbursts of anger he has given in to will not recur."[307]

In 1939, Chief Moses of the Saddle Lake Reserve complained to the school that Tuck was "not fit for the position he holds. He has a bad temper and in fits of anger he abuses the boys."[308] The school's response was that although Tuck should not have struck the boys, he had promised not to do so again, "provided the big boys do not raise their hands to threaten him."[309] In 1941, Tuck left the Blue Quills school to take a position at the Fraser Lake school in British Columbia.[310] He apparently ran into trouble there as well, and efforts were made to send him to the school at Mission. The principal of that school turned down the offer: "Regarding Mr. Tuck I confess frankly that I know him well, having made my novitiate with him [having trained with him] and I do not think that he is the right man for the job here."[311]

Thrashed on their bare backs: Shubenacadie, 1934

In the spring of 1934, $53.44 was stolen from a locked drawer in a cabinet in the office of the mother superior of the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school. Chocolate boxes taken from another locked drawer were scattered.[312] The sister who discovered the theft made some inquiries and located one boy who admitted to taking $2 from the drawer. She took her findings to Principal J. P. Mackey.[313] The principal called both the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and the institute's carpenter. Inquiries at village stores revealed that a number of boys had been purchasing cake, candy, tobacco, knives, and chewing gum. Some of these items turned up in a search of the beds and the toilet room.[314] Several boys were questioned: some admitted involvement in the theft; some denied it. Eight of them, including some who denied involvement, were punished that day. They were thrashed on their bare backs with a seven-thonged strap that was specially made by the school carpenter.[315] After a few more days of investigation, eleven more boys were thrashed and had their hair clipped. Most were put on a bread-and-water diet for two days.[316] Most of the strapping was done by Edward

McLeod, the carpenter, because Mackey was ill. McLeod later said that he gave most of the boys five strokes of the strap, which, he said, was intended to sting but not bruise.[illegible] The local RCMP official, L. Thurston, was present for the initial round of punishment, and said he did not see any blood.[illegible]

The story was reported in the local papers. When alarmed parents showed up at the school, Mackey prevented them from seeing their children because he "did not think it prudent they should see the children and talk the matter among them."[illegible] Sufficient public attention was devoted to the matter that the federal government appointed L. A. Audette, a retired judge of the Exchequer Court of Canada, to conduct an inquiry into the event. He held two days of hearings in June 1934, two and a half months after the boys were thrashed.

On the first day of the hearing, Dr. Daniel McInnes examined ten of the boys. In the case of one boy, he said he discovered "noticeable linear marks, of about the width of a lead pencil, three or four inches long, on the right side of the abdomen. I think the skin would necessarily be broken to cause these marks and are liable to be permanent scars." He said they could have been produced by the strap used to thrash the boys. All but one of the other boys had marks. In two cases, he said it appeared that the skin had been cut.[illegible]

All nineteen boys testified. Some admitted to stealing the money, and others admitted to having been given money, or goods that had been purchased with money they knew to be stolen. Some, including Leonard Tomah, Joseph Toney, Edward Sacobie, Ben Bernard, Jack Stephens, Peter Lafford, and Edward Poulette, said they had been thrashed until they bled.[illegible] In his testimony, Mackey said that the boys did not complain at the time, although one of the younger boys, who received two strokes of the strap, cried. He said he was not aware of any blood on the strap. He also denied rumours that the strap had been soaked in vinegar.[illegible]

In his report, Judge Audette wrote that "punishment must be measured according to the gravity of the offence and not overlooking the complex intelligence of these boys who have all been brought up in the life of Indians."[illegible] Since "all human governments rest in the last resort upon physical paid [sic]," it was well for the students to "realize through experience this ineluctable fact."[illegible] The thrashing was, in short, not only a punishment, but also a 'benefit,' an education into the foundations of civilization.

Audette pointed out that the *Criminal Code* allowed for the use of force in the correction of a child, "provided such force is reasonable under the circumstances." To him, the strap "or what it represents, is an absolute necessity in a school."[illegible]

The judge suggested that being strapped was simply a rite of passage. He asked, "Where is the man who in his boyhood has gone to a school and managed to get through without having a taste of the strap? If he did he must have been a true saint or a clever hypocrite who has been able to deceive his teachers."[illegible] More significantly, he made the point that the principal and school could not afford to look weak in the eyes of the students: "A small punishment to these Indian pupils would have had no effect, would have been turned into derision and they would have laughed at it."

Judge Andrews said that a firm, determined exercise of authority was required, since "Indians, in terms of civilization, are children, having human minds just emerging from barbarism." A few lines later, however, Andrews argued, "If strap, cane and birch are used in the white man's schools, as a fair human expedient, why can it not be resorted to with the Indians?" As to the marks the strapping had left on the backs of some students, Andrews wrote that "flesh differs. Some skin or flesh has more or less resistance than others. Some skin will take imprints much easier than others. That is well known. For instance, Toney and Trueman received the same number of strokes and delivered by the same person, McLeod, yet one showed marks and the other did not." In short, if the boys were injured, the fault lay with them and their thin skin, not with the person who was inflicting the punishment.

Judge Andrews provided the principal with a complete exoneration:

> Far from finding fault with the Principal of the School for what he has done, he should be commended and congratulated for carefully investigating the conduct of his pupils and finding all the culprits and punishing them in a commensurate manner. How could order, discipline and good behavior be maintained in the School if he were to have acted otherwise than he did?

No mention is made of the fact that there was good reason to believe that Mackey punished the innocent with the guilty. In addition, Andrews made no effort to determine if there were any rules to guide the principal in how students were to be disciplined or if those rules had been transgressed.

Andrews's report was not the end of the issue. According to former student Isabelle Knockwood, in her memoir of life at Shubenacadie, in the fall of 1934, a secret band council meeting was convened at the request of her father, John Knockwood. The men at the meeting were so dissatisfied with Andrews's report that they agreed to assassinate Father Mackey. But, after further discussion, and weighing the potential impact on the students at the school, the decision was abandoned.

Thrashings: Kenora, 1936

In 1936, two boys ran away from the Presbyterian school in Kenora. Upon being returned to the school by the Mounted Police, they claimed they ran away because they had been thrashed by the principal for insolence. In their efforts to get home, they hopped a moving train and rode it for ninety-seven kilometres. The mother of one of the boys asked that the boy be allowed to attend a local day school. The other boy said he would prefer to attend "some other Indian school." The events surrounding the return of the boys sparked a protest from the school principal, E. R. Byers. He was not at the school when Mounted Police Constable E. Stanley and Indian agent Frank Edwards returned the boys, but staff members had informed him that these officials had taken the boys' side in the affair. According to Byers, "the policeman and also the agent put various members of the staff on the carpet and in the presence of the boys and the mother began to question actions of the staff." The police officer was reported as saying "that when he was twelve years of age if he had been kept in as one of these boys had been, he would have gone farther away than the boys did." The agent reportedly told the boys they would not be punished and they should write to him if they wished to be transferred to another school. The whole process, he felt, left the boys and their mother, who was present at the time, with the sense that the "boys were quite justified and that if there were any blame that it could only be placed on the staff." Byers said, "Never at any time has any pupil been unduly strapped," but felt that corporal punishment was necessary at times. He said that after the Indian agent left, the boys told the supervisor she could not punish them anymore. Byers said the agent and the police officer had effectively undermined discipline at the school, concluding that "Indian children must be dealt with firmly, and if they once conceive the idea that the staff has no authority over them, then the discipline will get out of hand completely."[illegible]

Indian Affairs inspector S. G. Hamilton was asked to investigate the principal's complaints. By the time he arrived at the school, tempers had cooled and positive relations had been restored between the principal and Constable Stanley. Byers and the Indian agent, Edwards, remained at odds: in Hamilton's opinion, both men were harbouring grievances against one another "that should have been forgotten years ago." Notably, no inquiry was ever held into whether overly harsh discipline was responsible for the boys' running away.[illegible] Edwards was, however, instructed by his superiors at Indian Affairs, "The principal is in the best position to decide what disciplinary measures are required." The ability of Indian Affairs field staff to monitor school discipline was, once more, effectively undermined by department officials.[illegible]

Playing with a belt: Mohawk Institute, 1917

In 1917, a Toronto lawyer, H. H. Craig, wrote to Mohawk Institute principal H. A. Snell on behalf of a parent who complained that a teacher, Cyril Logan, had taken his son into a henhouse, where he proceeded to "flog him with a belt." As a result, according to Craig, the boy was covered with bruises.[illegible] In a letter to Indian Affairs, Snell said he had investigated the matter and concluded that the boy was struck on each hand three times with a "light strap." None of the boys "had any knowledge of how the boy had received the bruises that his aunt found on his arms."[illegible] In a letter to Craig, however, he said the boy had been hit four times on each hand.[illegible] Indian Affairs was

[illegible]

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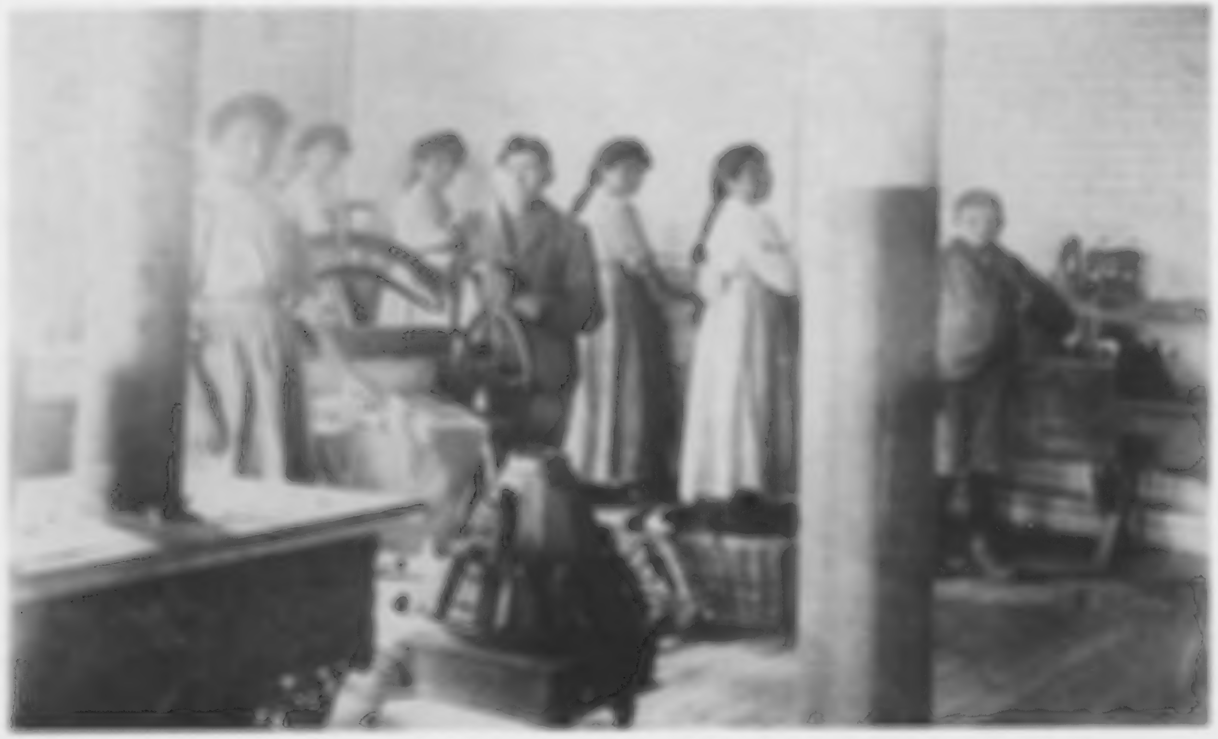
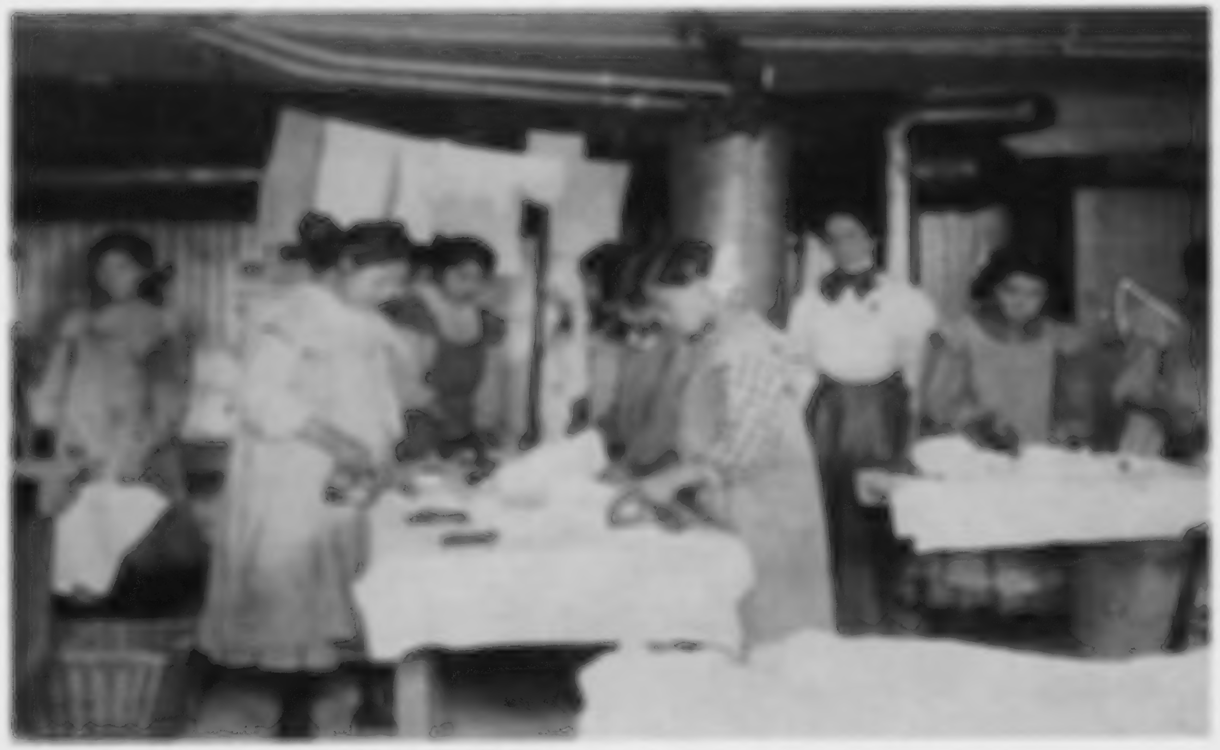
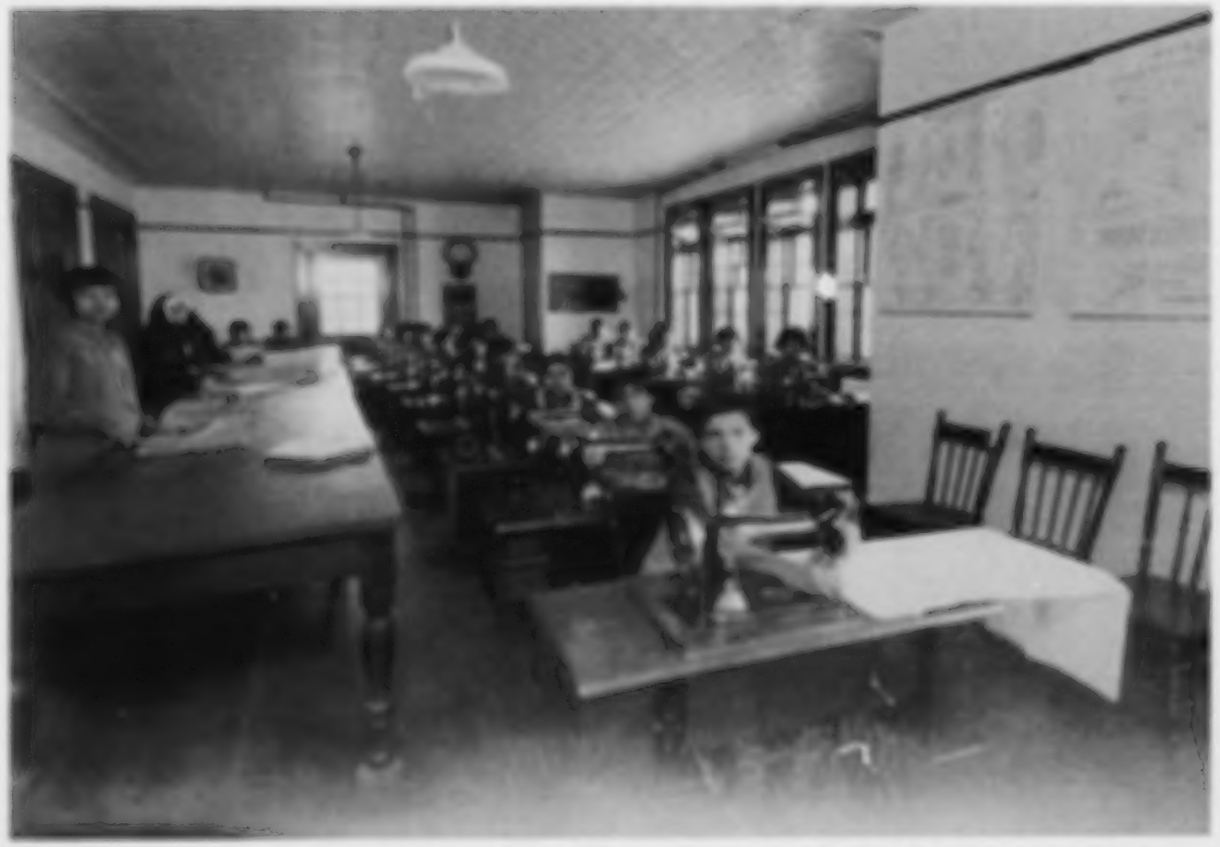


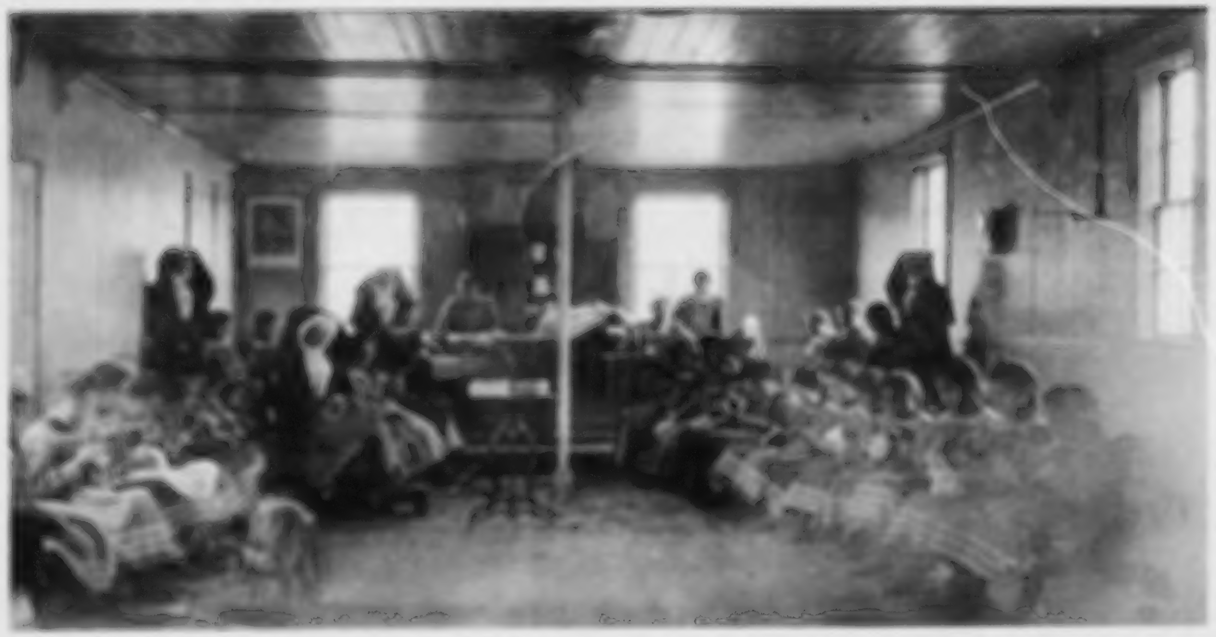
The laundry room at Mount Elgin in Muncey, Ontario.
United Church of Canada Archives, [illegible]



Girls ironing at the Coqualeetza Institute in British Columbia.
United Church of Canada Archives, [illegible]



The sewing room in the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school.
Library and Archives Canada, [illegible]

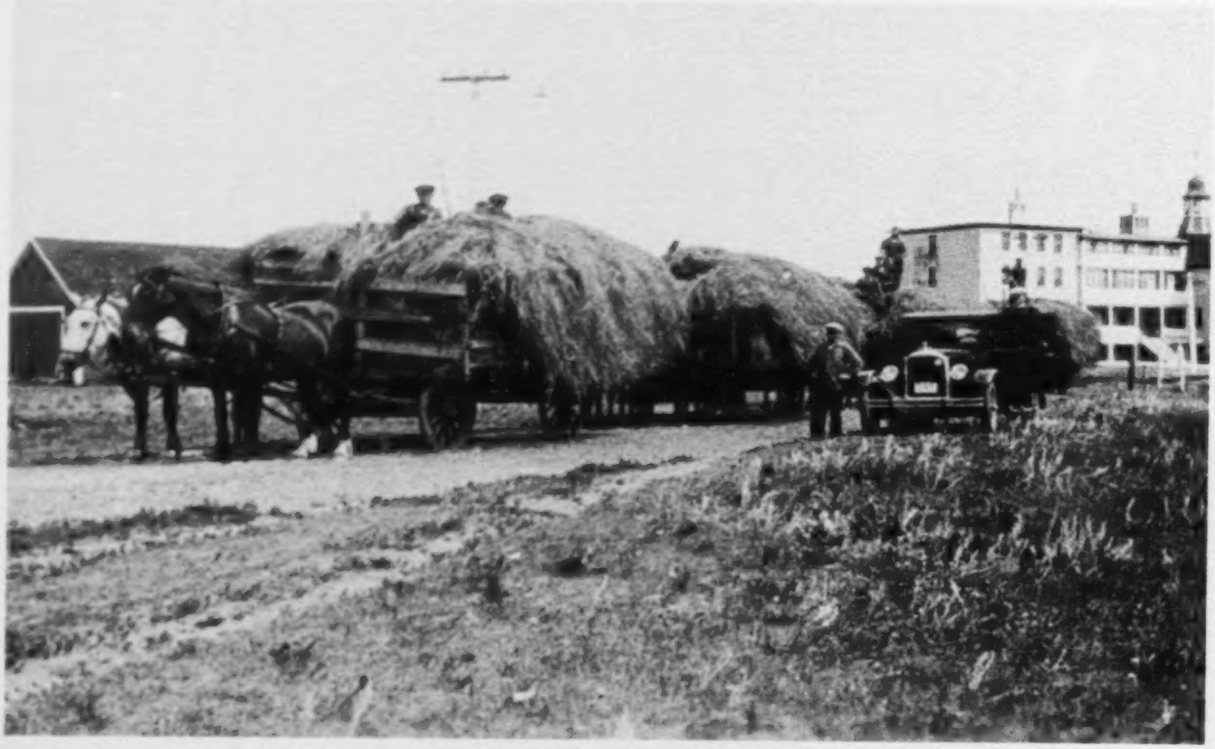


Girls sewing at the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school.
Museum of the Cariboo Chilcotin.

Young boys at work at the Mount Elgin school in Muncey, Ontario.
United Church of Canada Archives, P75-103-S4-505

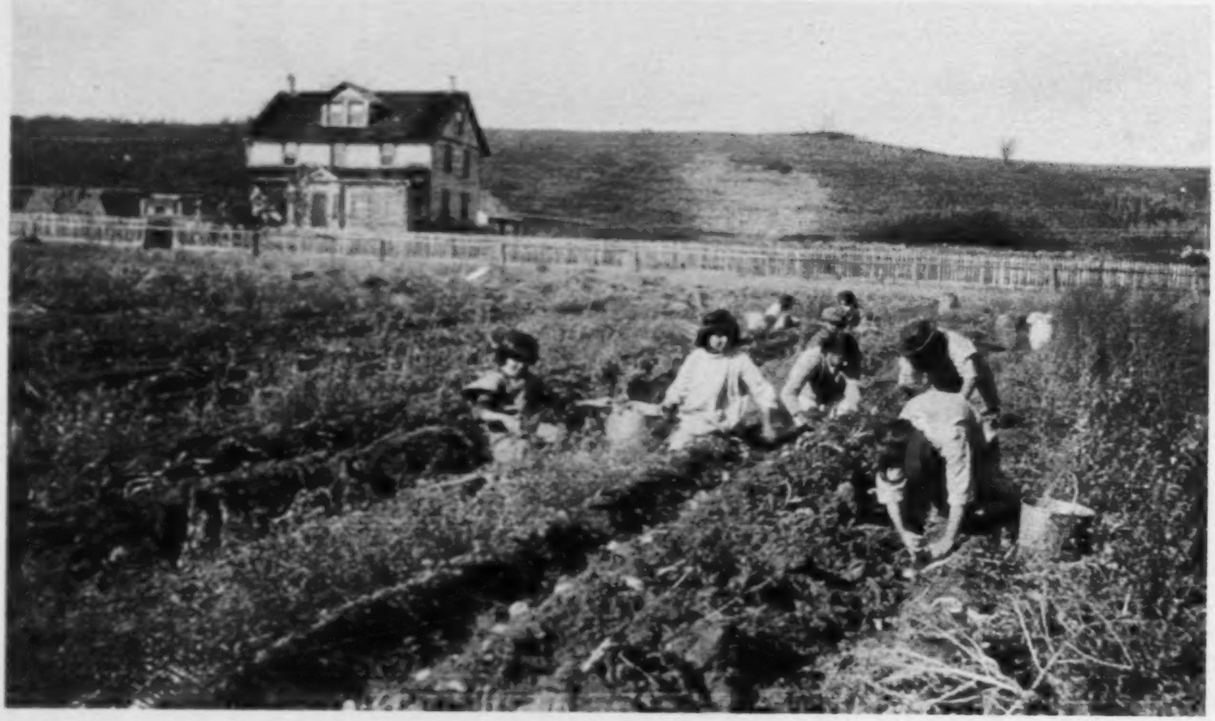
CARPENTER'S SHOP, BATTLEFORD INDIAN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL,
SHOWING INSTRUCTOR AND INDIAN BOYS, 1894

The carpenter's shop at the Battleford, Saskatchewan, school, 1894.
Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B7.



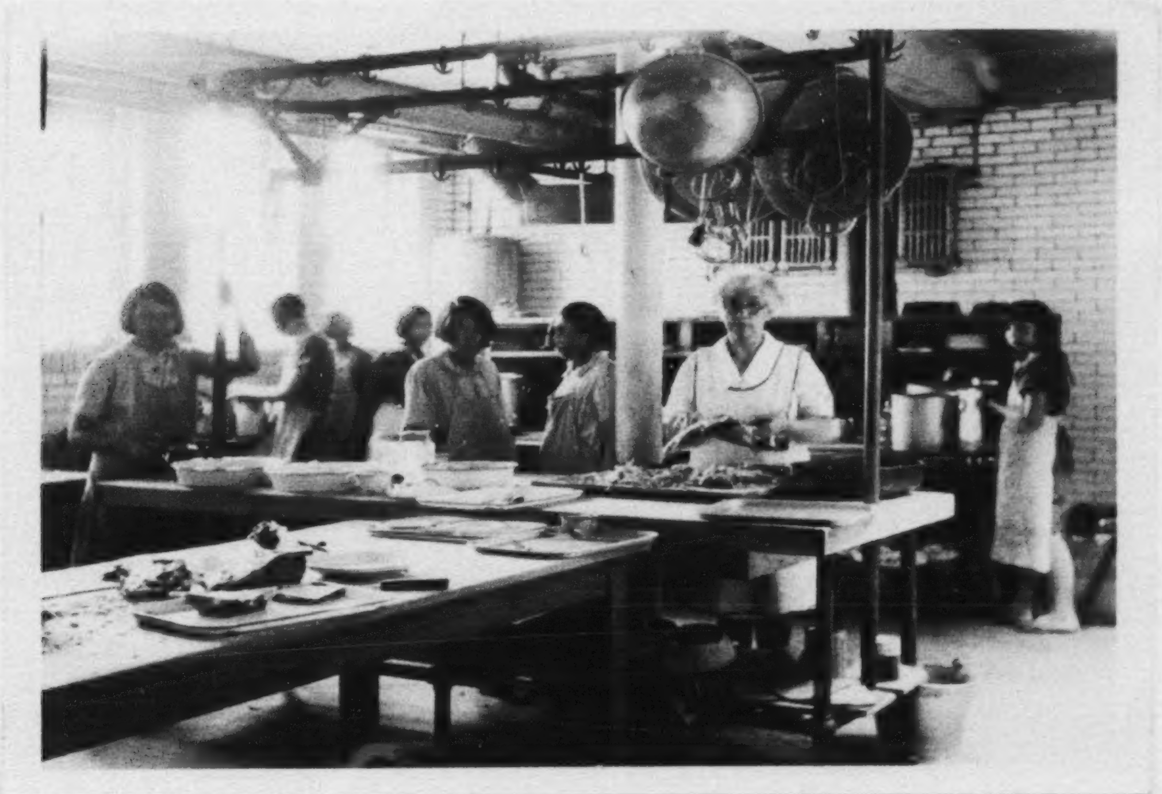
Farming at the Elkhorn, Manitoba, school.

General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P7538-455.

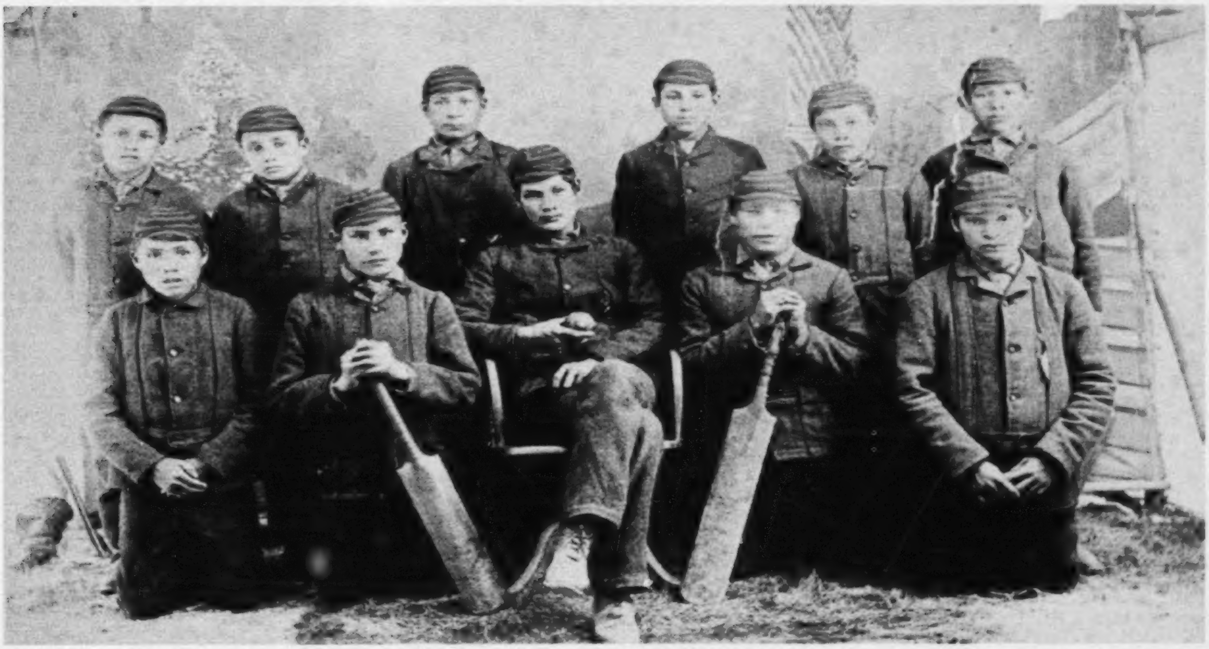


Working in the fields at the school in Lesser Slave Lake, Alberta.

General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P7538-732.



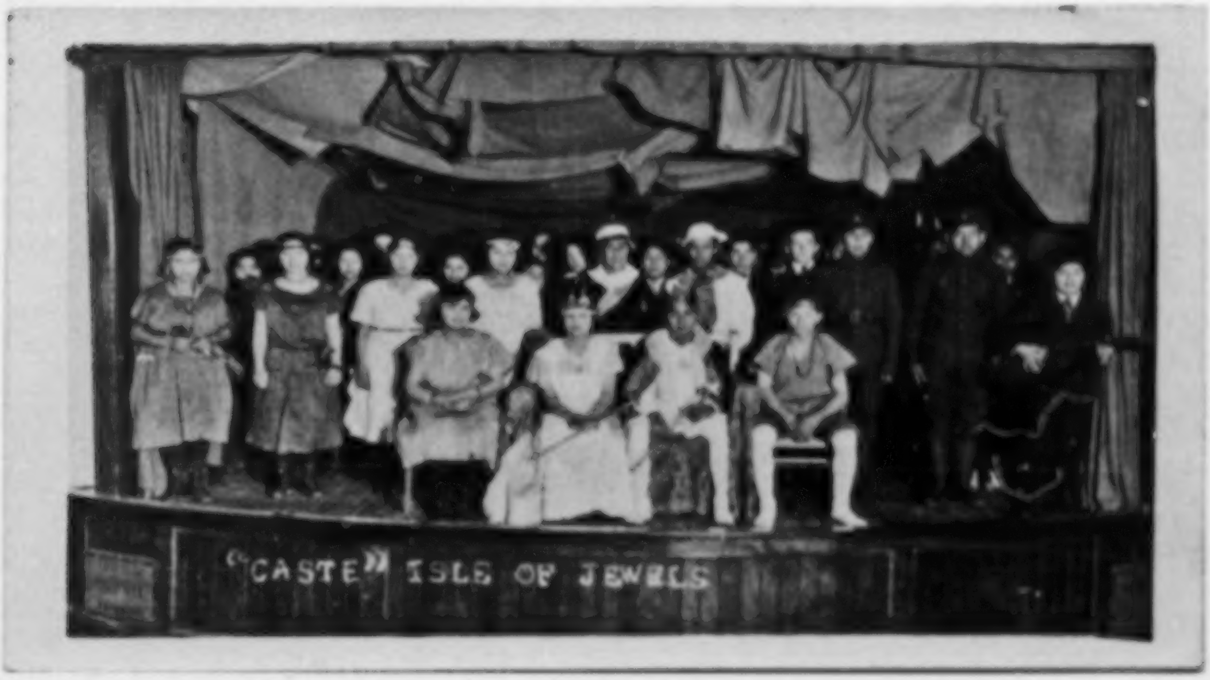
The kitchen of the Edmonton, Alberta, school.
United Church of Canada Archives, 93-049P885N.



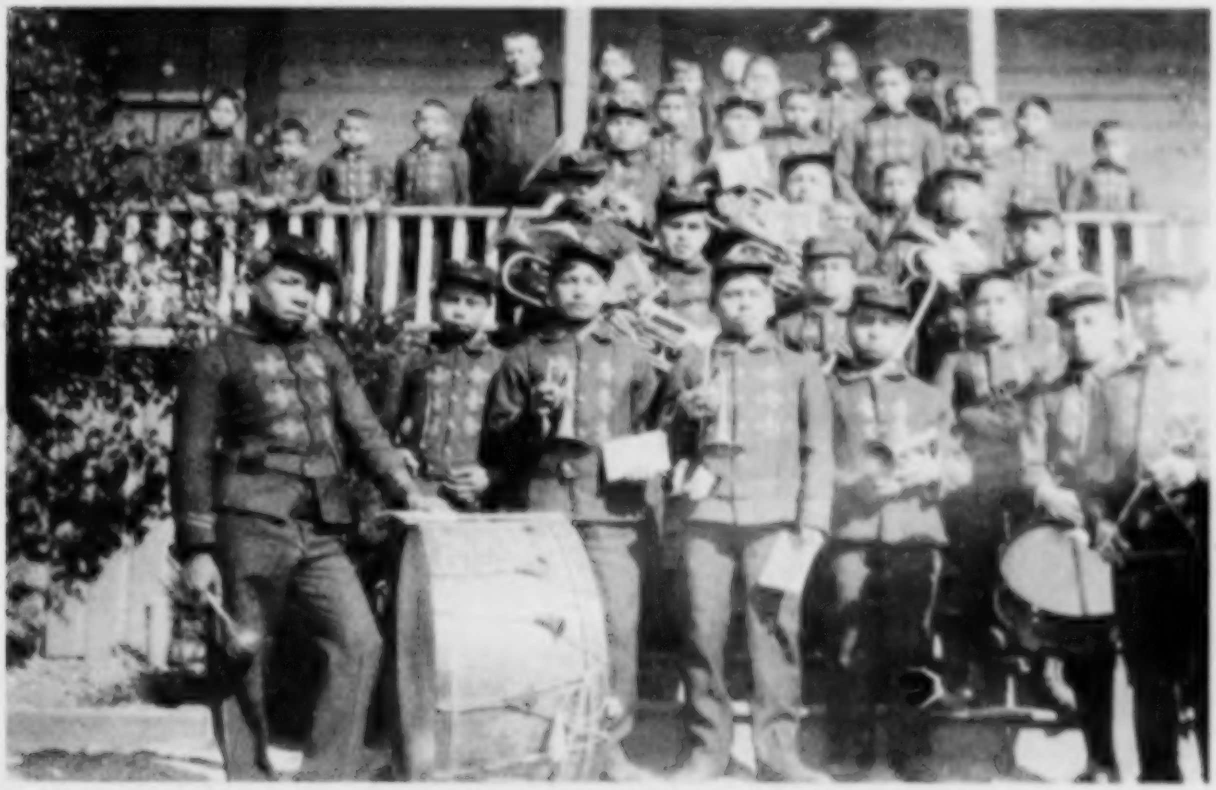
The Battleford, Saskatchewan, school cricket team in 1895.
Canada, Department of Indian Affairs, Library and Archives Canada, PA-182265.

The Red Deer, Alberta, hockey team.
United Church of Canada Archives, 93-049P852N.

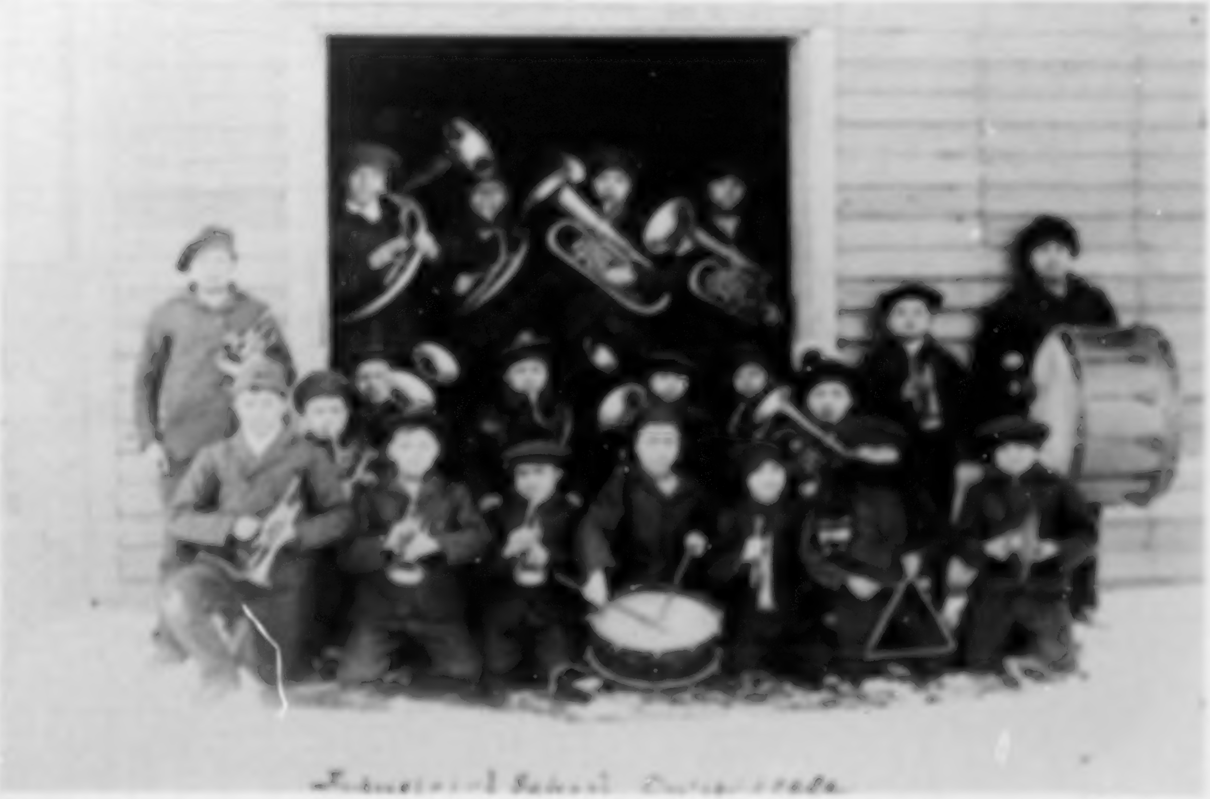
Girls' exercise class at the Hay River, Northwest Territories, school.
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P7501-49.



The cast of the play *Isle of Jewels* at the Coqualeetza Institute, British Columbia.
United Church of Canada Archives, 93-049P424N.



The Kuper Island, British Columbia, school's marching band.
British Columbia Archives, D-05991.


Industrial School, Qu'Appelle

The Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school's brass band.

Canada, Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Library and Archives Canada, [illegible]

Girl Guides at the Dawson City hostel in the Yukon Territories.

General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, [illegible]

Boy Scouts at the File Hills, Saskatchewan, school.
United Church of Canada Archives, 93.049P/1318.

First Nations recruits, 191st Battalion, Canadian Expeditionary Force, Fort Macleod, Alberta. Mike Mountain Horse is at the back row on the right.
Glenbow Museum, NA-2164-1.

Dr. Peter Bryce, Indian Affairs' chief medical officer, recommended that Canada's residential schools be turned into sanatoria and placed under his administration.
Library and Archives Canada, Topley Studio, [illegible]

Blackfoot leader White Pup told Indian agent Magnus Begg in April [illegible], "When children are taken sick in industrial schools, they should be sent home so that their parents could look after them, and not be kept until they are ready to die."
Glenbow Museum, NA-[illegible]

A "sick room" at the Edmonton, Alberta, school.
United Church Archives, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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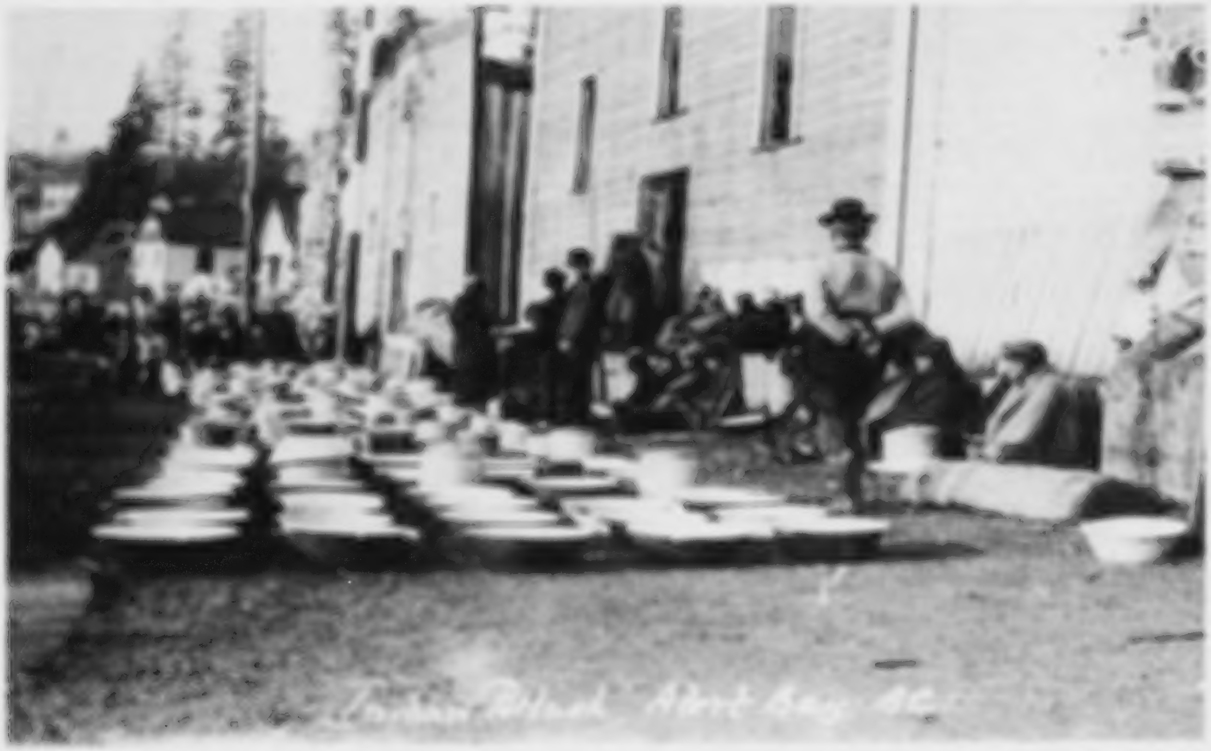
[illegible]

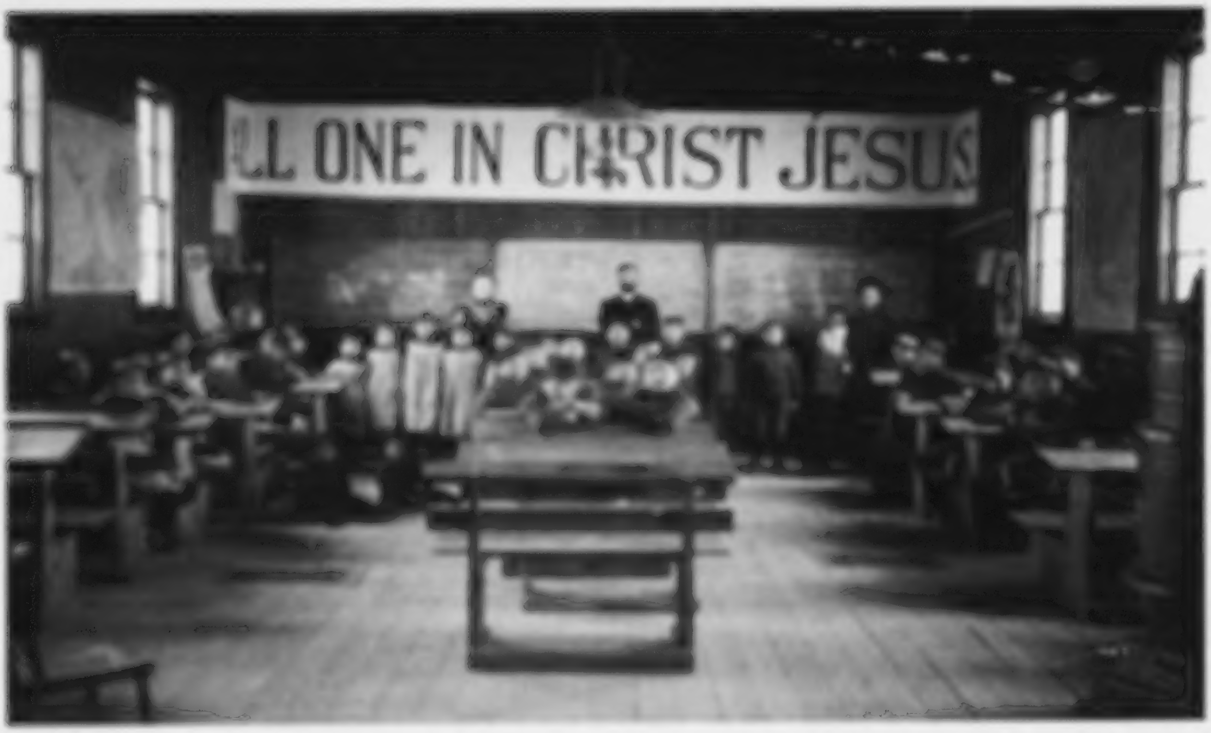
Girls at the Anglican school in Brocket, Alberta. It was common for schools to ensure that students had a good set of clothing to wear when they appeared in public.
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, [illegible].

Students at the Fort Providence, Northwest Territories, school. In 1936, the churches were asking the federal government to take over responsibility for clothing students.
F. H. Kitto, Canada. Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, Library and Archives Canada, [illegible].


Indian Potlach Alert Bay BC

A Potlatch at Alert Bay, British Columbia.

City of Vancouver Archives, [illegible]


LL ONE IN CHRIST JESUS

The Anglican school on the Blackfoot Reserve, Alberta.

Glenbow Museum, [illegible]

Grey Nuns, students, and Father Joseph Hugonnard, principal of the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school, centre.

Library and Archives Canada, C-033312.

Staff and students at the Beauval, Saskatchewan, school.

Deschâtelets Archives.

H. W. Gibbon Stocken served as the principal of a number of Anglican boarding schools in what is now Alberta in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Glenbow Museum, NA-1020-7.

Staff of the Crowstand School in Kamsack, Saskatchewan.

Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B1457.

Miss Cornelius, an Oneida woman, who taught at the Regina industrial school in the early twentieth century.

Saskatchewan Archives Board, R-B992.

CHAPTER 22

Covering up sexual abuse: 1867–1939

From the moment they arrived at residential school, students were taught that discipline and obedience were the two most highly prized virtues they could demonstrate. They were taught that they were to obey the people who held authority over them, not only because those people were older and stronger, but also because they were 'godly.' Students also were introduced to a new set of spiritual and cultural practices and values. This was a highly stressful and difficult experience for most students. The isolated nature of residential schools also left the children particularly vulnerable to sexual predators. Although no staff member was prosecuted or convicted for abusing students at residential schools during this period (from 1867 to 1939), it is clear that such abuse took place.

The term *child sexual abuse* did not come into common use until the 1970s, but it was discussed under a variety of euphemisms in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. "Moral corruption," "immorality," "molestation," and "outrage," for example, could all be terms for sexual abuse.[1] There were provisions in the Canadian *Criminal Code* of 1892 for the prosecution of those who sexually abused children. All sexual relations and attempts to have sexual relations with individuals under fourteen years of age were outlawed. (An exception was made in the case of spouses under the age of fourteen.) It was also a crime to seduce "any girl of previously chaste character" who was under the age of sixteen, or to seduce "or have an illicit relationship" with a ward. The *Criminal Code* also provided for the prosecution of rape and indecent assault (which was undefined in legislation, but generally prosecuted as non-consensual sexual contact). It was not possible to use consent as a defence in the case of charges of indecent assault of individuals under the age of fourteen. The *Criminal Code* also contained provisions outlawing acts of gross indecency between males. Although the *Criminal Code* did not define "acts of gross indecency," the law was used to prosecute cases of same-sex rape and pedophilia, and consensual sexual relations between men.[2]

The federal government, having criminalized these activities, obviously was aware they could occur. It would also have been apparent that children in institutional settings were vulnerable to abuse. Although the churches and charitable orders that operated orphanages and industrial homes often were seen as being above criticism, there were reported incidents of the abuse of children in these institutions. For example, the reformatory in Citeaux, France, which Roman Catholic Bishop Vital Grandin thought could serve as a model for Canadian residential schools, was thrown into crisis in 1888, when a seventeen-year-old runaway accused the staff of brutality and sexual abuse. In total, fifteen members of the religious order responsible for that institution were charged with indecent assault against minors, indecent assault, and aggravated assault.[3] The scandal led to the closing of the institution in 1888.[4]

A review of the records makes it clear that sexual abuse of students occurred during this period. When allegations of abuse were brought forward by students, parents, staff, or former staff, government and church officials often did not report the matter to the police. Frequently, investigations amounted to little more than seeking out and accepting the denials of the accused school official. Even when government and church officials concluded that the allegations were accurate, they were more likely to simply fire the perpetrator than bring in the police. In some cases, individuals whose predatory behaviour was recognized were allowed to remain at the schools, which provided them with continued opportunities to abuse children.

Many of these troubling elements surfaced in the handling of the case of Jean L'Heureux, who, in the 1880s, simultaneously worked as a translator for Indian Affairs and as a recruiter for the Roman Catholic industrial school at High River in what is now Alberta. By then, L'Heureux had a long and complicated history with the Oblate order.[5]

In the 1860s, L'Heureux sought to work for the Oblates at a mission near present-day Edmonton.[6] According to one Oblate report, L'Heureux had been asked to leave the Lac La Biche mission in the 1860s for making sexual overtures to young First Nations boys.[7] After being discovered in a sexual act that outraged the Oblates, L'Heureux was sent away from the mission with a group of Blackfoot people travelling to Montana. He spent much of the following two decades in the West among the Blackfoot, often falsely passing himself off as an Oblate or Jesuit. He served as a translator for the Blackfoot during the negotiation of Treaty 7 and also signed the Treaty as a witness.[8] In his travels, he crossed paths with Oblate priest Albert Lacombe and is credited with having saved Lacombe's life. He also served Lacombe as a translator.[9]

In 1881, he was hired by Indian Affairs to work as a translator.[10] Three years later, he began recruiting students for the High River school. Given his understanding of Aboriginal languages and the length of time he had lived among First Nations people, he was the school's most effective recruiter. He also began to take children into his own home to prepare them for admission to the High River school. In 1891, the Anglican missionary at Blackfoot Crossing, John Tims, accused L'Heureux, who was still a government employee, of "getting Indian boys into his house for the purpose of practising immorality of a most beastly type." Tims said the allegation was based on information provided to him by Blackfoot Chief White Pup. In making this allegation to Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed, Tims wrote, "I daresay you will remember that I mentioned to you in 1886 that I thought something of the kind was going on."[11] Faced with the prospect of dismissal, L'Heureux resigned. Deputy Minister Lawrence Vankoughnet informed Reed that the department was choosing to treat the matter as a resignation, adding, "Possibly it would not be necessary to state the cause which led to the same."[12] The affair brought L'Heureux's career as a school recruiter to an end, and he was forced to seek shelter with Father Lacombe, who let him serve as his cook at his retreat at Pincher Creek.[13] From the records, it does not appear that the police were ever asked to investigate whether laying criminal charges would be appropriate.

Despite their knowledge that L'Heureux had attempted in the past to sexually abuse Aboriginal children in one of their own missions, the Oblates chose to put him in charge of recruiting and transporting students to one of their schools. Their dependence on his skills as a recruiter led them to make decisions that placed children at risk. The government appears not to have taken action on the first complaint, made in 1886. When the second complaint was lodged, the government did not undertake a criminal investigation. Instead, it simply forced L'Heureux's resignation. In both cases, it is clear that church and school officials placed the interests of their own organizations ahead of those of the students L'Heureux victimized.

In 1897, a former staff member made allegations of improper behaviour against the principal of the Middlechurch, Manitoba, school. Ellen Applegarth described Principal J. F. Fairlie's conduct with the older girls at the school as "incredible." She was particularly concerned about four girls whom he "behaves with more like a man void of all propriety." She provided a detailed list of dates on which Fairlie had been observed engaging in inappropriate behaviour with female students between the ages of fifteen and nineteen. In one case, she suggested that two of the girls had spent the morning in Fairlie's office "receiving his caresses." In other cases, the principal had been seen in the school with his arm around the waist of one or another of the girls. To her, this was "a most undignified sight." Fairlie, she said, was also "in the habit of going into the girls dormitories when they were undressing and preparing for bed and on several occasions remained so long that the girls were obliged to make their preparations for bed in his presence."

When she had questioned him about this, his explanation was that he had gone into the dormitory to turn down the heat and had merely stayed to ensure that the room cooled down. On another occasion, he entered the dormitory without knocking at a time when several of the girls were "with out clothing." She also said he was in the habit of kissing some of the girls good night. "It was," she wrote, "the joke amongst the girls that Mary Hall never went to sleep untill [sic] Mr. Fairlie had gone in and kissed her when all the other girls were asleep."[14] Indian Commissioner Amédée Forget did not contact Applegarth to discuss or verify her concerns. Instead, he sent a copy of her allegations to Fairlie, who termed them "tissue of falsehood & untruths," the product of Applegarth's spite at being dismissed from the school two months earlier. He said Applegarth had taken "acts & circumstances which are daily occurrences in every family almost and while making no charge of improper conduct on them she endeavors by innuendo to suggest the idea that the conduct was improper."[15] Forget accepted Fairlie's version of the story, although, in a letter to Indian Affairs Minister Clifford Sifton, he noted that a portion of Fairlie's defence was in fact "a qualified admission of certain of the statements made by Miss Applegarth." However, he concluded that these acts, "however imprudent they might be, had been free of any criminal intention."[16]

Apparently, Fairlie remained imprudent. Two years later, the St. Peter's Band Council submitted a petition complaining about Fairlie's behaviour. A new Indian commissioner, David Laird, held two days of closed hearings at the school, one in the Indian commissioner's office, and one in the town of Selkirk.[17] Several of the girls, including three of the girls Applegarth had named as Fairlie's favourites, testified that the principal had been in the habit of coming into their dormitory at night and kissing them. In his defence, Fairlie stated he did not do this every night. "I have not kissed any one in particular more than twelve times on an average, and when I kissed them it was in a sympathetic way and in order to quiet restless, or sleepless, or surly moods."[18] This time, the defence did him little good, and he was dismissed.[19]

At the Presbyterian school at Shoal Lake in northwestern Ontario, girls complained in 1911 to the assistant matron that the principal had them "put their hands under his clothing and [play] with his breasts." It was also stated that he was in the habit of kissing some of the older female students. The convenor of the Presbyterian Church Foreign Missions Committee, R. P. McKay, conducted an investigation. A former staff member informed him that there were "things even more unpleasant" going on.[20] However, the principal remained in office. The complaints and the investigation do not appear to have been reported to Indian Affairs.

In 1916, former student Mary Sandoval wrote a letter to the editor of the *Ottawa Valley Journal*, outlining the sexual abuse she said she had witnessed and experienced while she was a student at the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, five years earlier. She said the problems arose when, due to the illness of the principal, a staff member was given authority over the school. She said Fuller took to entering the girls' dormitory at night and the kitchen in the early morning.

> I find him with some girls in bad conditiones [sic], so I do my best to keep away, same is other girls that refuse to go.
>
> One day I was in the Bath Room neckiet [sic] when [name redacted] come after me, start to handle my body, but I ran and halloo till make him go away.

When she turned thirteen, she said, the same man had raped her and then abducted her, keeping her as if she were a prisoner. He let her go when her stepmother asked to see her. She wrote that the treatment she received had destroyed her health.[illegible] Rather than publish the allegations, the newspaper forwarded them to Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott. By then, the man in question was principal of the school, and Scott asked him for a response.

He denied the allegations, saying they were motivated by Sandoval's husband, who was angry that the Shingwauk Home had refused to readmit Mary to the school. He said that while she had been a student at the school, she had become pregnant. It was for this reason that she had been originally discharged.[illegible]

Scott informed the principal that he found his response to the charges "quite satisfactory." He said his request for an explanation had been "actuated by a desire to protect you." With that, he pronounced the matter closed.[illegible] As with the initial charges against Fairlie, the investigation went no further than an inquiry to the principal – the very person under suspicion of wrongdoing.

Principal W. McWhinney's handling of the behaviour of the farm instructor at the Presbyterian school in Kamsack, Saskatchewan, precipitated a crisis in 1914. The farmhand, H. Everett, confessed to McWhinney that he had been "having unlawful intercourse with some of the girls in his room." His confession was not sparked by bad conscience, but by the knowledge that a co-worker had discovered this. Everett's behaviour clearly merited a police investigation. However, instead of calling in the police, McWhinney told Everett to leave town on that night's train. The principal chose this course of action because he did not feel up to the strain of an investigation into the affair. He viewed Everett as "a well meaning young man who had fallen in a time of weakness and to prosecute him would only ruin his life and give publicity to a matter that I hoped might otherwise be kept quiet."[illegible] It was not possible to keep the matter quiet, however. Students complained to their parents, who in turn complained to the Indian agent. A warrant was issued for Everett's arrest but, by then, he had fled the area. According to Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham:

> The Indians think that Mr. McWhinney had no right whatever to allow Mr. Everett to escape punishment for the offences with which he is charged. They think Mr. McWhinney should have been the first to see that he was punished, and say that if he had reported the matter to the Agent they believe he would not have been allowed to go unpunished.

Graham could only agree with the parents' assessment of the situation.[illegible] In September 1914, Duncan Campbell Scott recommended to the Presbyterian Church that it send McWhinney "at an early date to some other field of work," since he had lost the confidence of the First Nations people.[illegible] The Kamsack school remained in operation, with McWhinney as principal, until the end of November 1915, when it was closed.[77]

This case underscores the important point that, by 1914, government and church officials were well aware that notifying the police was a key element in an appropriate response to allegations of a staff member sexually abusing a student at a residential school. Despite this, no official policy was issued in relation to this question. In coming years, church and government officials would continue to dismiss staff rather than call in the police.

In 1924 in Saskatchewan, an officer with the Yorkton Mounted Police detachment investigated why three children living on the Muscowequan (sometimes Muskowekwan) Reserve had failed to return to the Lestock school after a vacation. The oldest of the children, a sixteen-year-old girl, told him she was reluctant to return because "improper advances were made to her by Father Poulette." The investigating officer concluded that since the family was "half breed" and not Treaty Indians, he should "report these circumstances before taking any action."[78] Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham wrote to Scott about the matter, complaining that "you have not dealt with the serious part of the Constable's report: i.e.—the charges against Father Poulette."[79] In the documents it has reviewed, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not been able to locate evidence of any further investigation into this matter. Principal J. Poulet (his name was misspelled in both the police report and Graham's letter) continued as school principal until 1935.[80]

In 1930, Birtle, Manitoba, school principal H. B. Currie was reported by officials of the Presbyterian Church to have been "honourably acquitted at his recent trial."[81] It was the opinion of Presbyterian Church official H. B. Hunter that the charges of "immoral conduct" against Currie were "absolutely groundless." Three of the four charges were not sent to the jury. After acquitting Currie, the jury was reported to have recommended "that an investigation should be made to see who was responsible for starting such absolutely groundless charges."[82] Currie's successor, J. F. Lockhart, wrote of the event in 1940, saying that two of Currie's accusers were given prison terms and a third was relieved of her teacher's certificate.[83] In its review of documents, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada could locate no further information on this case.

In some cases, it appears that the Roman Catholic Oblates had internal conflicts over how members of the order who violated its moral codes—and possibly the law—ought to be treated. In at least one case, to the displeasure of some members, one of these individuals was provided with accommodation at a residential school. In 1936, W. Byrne Grant reported to a fellow Oblate that "the police have been after [name redacted] for his doings with the Chinese in Vancouver."[84] Later that month, Grant sent a cable to church officials in Rome that read, "Pro honore Ecclesiae revoca [name redacted]" (For the honour of the church recall [name redacted]). He also informed his colleagues, "If we get an order to send Father [illegible] [illegible] to Europe he will leave by the first train." Rome, however, refused to laicize the priest. As a result, he was given "one more trial at Providence." In [illegible], he was listed as one of the [illegible] "[illegible] Fathers." The Oblate order was prepared to allow him to live out his retirement at a residential school. In [illegible], Father [illegible] [illegible], the principal of the school in Williams Lake, British Columbia, protested the appointment of this individual to his school:

> You know what happened to him in a French hotel, where only a special [illegible] saved him from prison; you know about him in Vancouver; you know why Fr. [illegible] had him sent away from Mission. Perhaps you do not know that during the retreat he indecently approached another Priest. Here you do not place you would not want one who is a "pest among the children, and cause trouble and perhaps scandal."

In addition, [illegible] said the man was a "genius at getting hold" and, as a result, "our money and our wine would not be safe." If he were sent to Williams Lake, [illegible] said he would immediately inform the Indian agent and the police of his character. This was decisive action on [illegible] part, and apparently stopped the appointment to Williams Lake.

In [illegible], this individual was still in British Columbia, and still a concern to [illegible]. In a letter to the Oblate leadership, [illegible] reported he had heard that the man was going to be sent to the school at Mission. This was the same school from which he had been sent away several years earlier. He reminded the Oblates that in the past, Mission principal [illegible] had told the man

> that if he spoke to the children he would kick his person up to his shoulders. He said it with such force that it worked. Father [illegible] [illegible] told me that he had asked the Superior General to allow him to return to France and had been told to wait a while. It would be better if he went. A person in the Indian Dept. told me that if it were brought to the attention that he was in an Indian School, the Dept. would raise such objections that we would have to remove him.

Despite these concerns, the man returned to Mission. At the end of the year, the Mission school principal reported he had had "very little trouble with him so far." He died in [illegible].

[illegible] comments make it clear that he believed the priest should not be allowed to live at a residential school because he presented a threat to children. They also indicate that an Indian Affairs official believed that if his departmental superiors knew that he was living at a school, they would demand that he leave. Despite this information, the Oblate order allowed him to live at the Mission school. In its review of documents, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of [illegible] was unable to locate any

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[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

general of British Columbia forwarded the student statements to the minister of Indian Affairs, saying that the provincial government was giving active consideration to the prosecution of the main suspects.[illegible] By telling the suspects of this inquiry to leave the province, Indian Affairs had effectively foiled a police investigation into abuse at the school.

Bishop J. C. Cody took the position that the scandal had nothing to do with the school, even though he had previously indicated that it had been his intention to remove all the current male staff from the school. He informed Indian Affairs that

> there was one priest, a convert to the church from protestantism, and not a member of the Regular Staff whose conduct to me at any rate does look quite blameworthy. What view, however, a sane jury would take knowing to what lengths the mendacity Indians can go when pushed on by subversive elements, is an entirely different matter.

He continued:

> though quite cognizant of certain lamentable breaches of morality in connection with individual members of certain public institutions in this province, I have always taken the quiet way in quest of amendment because I fail to see any advantage in ruining an institution because of some individual's supposed or even real misdeeds.[illegible]

The reputations of the school and the church were viewed as being more important than the investigation and prosecution of any wrongdoer. Bishop Cody was correct in stating that the man in question was not a member of the school staff, but he certainly was living at the school and had access to the students.

Indian Affairs Director McGill instructed British Columbia Indian Commissioner D. M. MacKay to undertake a new inquiry. In his report, MacKay noted that since 1931, the school had been inspected on an almost annual basis. The inspections were described as "thorough" and had led to a number of improvements, particularly in diet. However, according to MacKay, the school inspector had never received any complaints of any sort at any time from students or staff.

He also reported that it had been common practice for the priest whom the boys who ran away had complained about to take an older boy with him on missionary visits to nearby reserves. Usually, these were only day-long trips. However, in the summer, they were sometimes overnight trips. MacKay endorsed Barry's decision to send Gerarts and the priest away, since their continued presence at the school would hurt its ability to attract and retain students. He wrote:

> My opinion is that most of the information obtained of alleged immoral practices would be of very doubtful value as evidence, should the police decide to prosecute. I am prepared, however, to accept in the main the information involving Rev. Father [name redacted] and Mr. [name redacted] as sufficient

> evidence of their misconduct, although in the case of the acts of the former, no direct corroborative evidence could be obtained.

He also reported that Principal Geurts had "failed to take strong and effective action in December, 1938, following information he received regarding Father [name redacted] alleged immoral activities."[57]

For their part, Indian Affairs officials prejudged the issue. The department refused to recognize that truancy might be sparked by criminal behaviour on the part of the staff. It further refused to recognize that the police had a legitimate role to play in investigating potential criminal activity at residential schools. Once the department had been made aware that a serious situation existed at the school, its major concern was to protect the school's (and, by association, the department's) reputation. Rather than co-operating with an ongoing criminal investigation, the department undermined it. Indian Affairs officials were not qualified to determine whether there was enough evidence to sustain a prosecution, and it was not their role to make such a determination. Although senior Indian Affairs officials later disapproved of these actions once they were made aware of them, it is clear from the broader history, beyond this specific incident, that the long-term Indian Affairs policy generally had been to attempt to suppress and contain information that was potentially damaging to the schools. As for the church, it refused to accept any responsibility for the events that took place at a church-run school. Instead, it preferred "the quiet way." Indian Affairs did not gain any new sensitivity to the views and concerns of Aboriginal parents: even while MacKay was still carrying out his investigation into the school, the department had threatened a father with prosecution under the *Indian Act* if he did not send his daughter to the school.[58]

It is not possible to quantify the extent to which children were sexually abused at residential schools during this period. It is clear, however, that such abuse did take place. The evidence indicates that when they were alerted to the existence of such abuse, church and government officials rarely acted in an appropriate manner. Investigations were limited, complaints by anyone other than school officials were ignored, and people who had been identified as potential risks were not removed from the schools. Knowledge of the extent of abuse is limited, in part, because the officials in charge of the schools did not want to hear about it, talk about it, or do anything about it.

CHAPTER 23

Student victimization of students: 1867–1939

The children who attended the Canadian residential schools during this period were victims of institutionalized neglect. They were subjected to harsh and often abusive discipline and, in some cases, left as prey to sexual predators. They were in school against their will and lived a life largely devoid of emotional support. Children could turn only to each other for support. Many strong friendships and allegiances developed in the schools. It was common, for example, for students from one community or First Nation to support one another. Dorothy Day recalled how, in the late 1920s, the Oneida girls at the Mount Elgin school all stuck together.

> Mrs. Daniels used to say, "These Oneida girls are the instigators of all the trouble in the school." They had to have a reason to take us up and give us the strap but you had to watch it. They caught us eating that bloody rhubarb one time and we thought we were going to get it, but they couldn't prove who went over the fence first—nobody would squeal on the other ones, so they punished us all.[1]

Children could also look for support from family members. Ruth Seneca, a student at the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, from this period, recalled how her sister used to protect her from bullies. "They had to answer to her—she'd beat them up—so they were kinda on the scared side. So if anyone would go after me I'd just run through the schoolrooms, playrooms, hollering for my sister and she'd come out where she was and take over."[2]

Of her time at the File Hills, Saskatchewan, school, Millicent Stonechild stressed the way that the children were sustained by friendships.

> When we are getting discouraged and in need of healing, we must remember those people who helped us. In particular, I think of my friend, Mabel Star. There was much laughter amongst the children, a sustaining factor. We also comforted one another from the loneliness. In September, we took turns crying. In spite of some of the 'bullying' that went on, we established life long friendships.[3]

As her memories suggest, there were also bullies at the schools. The groups the students formed to protect themselves might turn on other smaller students, or on students who did not fit in with them. In 1895, Charles Eagle complained in a letter to Indian Affairs that other boys at the Brandon, Manitoba, residential school were calling him names and threatening him. "I struck one boy last night because he was teasing me down in the closets and tried to lock me in."[4] Principal John Semmens told the boys in question to stop the practice. Semmens noted that one of the reasons why Eagle was unhappy at the school was the fact that he was lonely and did not know how to speak Cree.[5]

Administrators seemed to be unaware of the degree of the bullying. In 1897, a boy who was dying of tuberculosis at the Kuper Island, British Columbia, school was allowed to go home to his parents. Before he died, he told his parents that a boy at the school had "squeezed him" and "bit him." The principal, who said he had not been aware of any problem when the incident took place, discharged the accused boy, whom he viewed as the "cause of much trouble at the school."[6]

Even when they were aware of problems, school officials seem to have had little ability to impose order. The Indian agent on the Blood Reserve said he was reluctant to recruit students for the High River, Alberta, school in 1917 because the school was dominated by a "tough class" of boys. "It appears to me as if the boys from this reserve were receiving their education from these half-breeds rather than from the school authorities." As a result, he said, half the local students from the school in the previous four years had "turned out to be bad men, sneak thieves, horse thieves, etc."[7]

Former student Edward Groat recalled that one bully at the Mohawk Institute used to be referred to as "Satan." "He had a bunch of probably half-a-dozen smaller boys who were his slaves. They had to do what he wanted to do all week, and then come Saturday night he would go to the store and buy a little bit of candy and give them each one candy, and that was their pay for the whole week." Once, when he was beating one of his slaves, another boy stepped in and, according to Groat, "beat up on old Satan, and Satan didn't have his slaves anymore."[8]

Membership in a group often came at a high price. Harrison Burning, who attended the Mohawk Institute in the 1920s, recalled:

> It was a place you could say made you a man before you was—whatever happened in that school you couldn't tell—whatever happened, it was confidential to the boys. If you got in a fight and got all black and blue and everything else, that was as far as it went—it couldn't go any further, because the boys wouldn't let you.[9]

It was a world where toughness was valued above all else. Burning said, "If you want to fight don't fight with an Indian from the Mohawk school, because he's going to get you." Burning felt the experience left him emotionally scarred: "I have no heart. I might look like I got a heart, but I don't."[10]

Hilda Hill's memory of girls' experiences at the Mohawk Institute during this period was not as extreme. Although the older girls ordered the younger girls around, she felt that did not amount to bullying.

> When the younger girls come in, the older girls would have—we called 'em slaves. "Fix my bed for me," "Do this, do that for me," but always gave 'em a cake that night. "I'll give you a cake"—you never worked for nothing. Maybe that's why I got along with them—they'd ask me to do things for them and they'd give me their cake so it wasn't a bully thing.[11]

Melvina McNabb recalled how, in the 1930s, she and friends defended themselves against a group of bullies at the File Hills school.

> They were these ladies who were mean to us. We had to do what they asked of us or we would get punished. For instance, there was this one lady who was the same age as I who set the fire or water hose on us in our beds. We were all soaking wet. We couldn't tell on her because we would get pounded by her bigger sisters. That was abuse in itself. As we got older, we made a plan all of us, fifteen year olds. All right now, who's going to do the fighting? As usual, I was chosen to be the fighter. We made a big circle and we put this lady in the middle of the circle. Boy! Did we ever lambaste her! She's not going to boss us anymore. That's how that part stopped. She quit.[12]

Ivy Koochicum, who attended the File Hills school in the 1920s, said that decades after she left, she still had nightmares about life in the school. "The part I would like to forget about is how cruelly we were treated. We were treated cruelly not only by the staff but by the pupils. There was name calling and fighting. There was one family that was very mean. There was nothing we could do. We just took it."[13]

Young children were particularly vulnerable to bullying and abuse. At the Chapleau school in Ontario, Principal A. J. Vale complained about the trouble caused by one fourteen-year-old girl with a "very violent temper," which made her "capable of doing anything at such times." She and some other girls had been abusing a six-year-old student, striking her with a stick and, on one occasion, suspending her from a rope in the washroom until she nearly lost consciousness.[14]

The residential schools had no resources to accommodate students with disabilities. Such students might find themselves subject to bullying and discriminatory treatment from both staff and students. One such student attempted to kill himself at the File Hills school in 1939. After interviewing him, the director of the Psychopathic Department of the Regina General Hospital, Dr. O. E. Rothwell, reported, "He is undoubtedly deaf and has considerable difficulty in the school classroom, and as a result of this he claims that the teacher would get out of patience with him at times and 'Boxed his ears,' I believe he said. He is quite emotional and cried when telling about it." Rothwell wrote that the boy was teased by the older boys because of his disability, adding that they also would "impose upon him." He recommended that the boy be sent to a different school.[15] Dr. A. B. Simes, the medical superintendent of the Qu'Appelle Indian Health Unit, concluded that the boy was not intent on taking his own life, but rather that "he wished to stir up dissatisfaction against the school and staff, with the hope that he would be discharged."[16] In the end, the boy was returned to the File Hills school.[17]

In at least one case, students were prosecuted for their treatment of a fellow student. In 1939, two girls were charged with assault after they beat a third girl at Mount Elgin so badly that she had to be confined to her bed for a week. They pleaded guilty and each received a two-year suspended sentence.[18]

Student abuse of other students was not limited to bullying and physical beatings. There are reports from the 1890s onwards indicating that older students may have sexually abused younger students. For example, in 1893, Roman Catholic Bishop Paul Durieu, in a letter complaining to Indian Affairs about the quality of construction of the dormitories at the school in Kamloops, British Columbia, wrote:

> I am in duty bound to repeat here what I have told you in [sic] many occasions, that these sleeping rooms have been a school of immorality. Better to have no schools amongst the Indians if we cannot preserve the young ones from receiving the habit of sodomy and of self-abuse from those pupils who are living at the school with them.[19]

A missionary in Saskatchewan, W. S. Moore, told Presbyterian Church officials in 1903 that he had received word that two girls had been "raped or ruined by two boys in the basement of the Regina School." According to Moore, the principal had threatened to punish the girls and their assailants if they spoke to anyone else, including their parents, about the assault.[20]

When Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Frank Pedley instructed Indian Commissioner David Laird to inspect the Battleford school in 1904, he noted that he did not think "it would be well to again take evidence of the questions of immorality at this school, but you should make careful inquiry as to what steps the Principal adopted in the past and is now enforcing for the prevention of such acts." Laird reported that "the ringleader of the boys said to be guilty had been discharged or dismissed, that a new supervisor of experience had been secured, and that effort is being made (hereafter to be redoubled) by the Principal and his supervisor to stamp out the said practices."[21]

In 1924 at Lytton, British Columbia, school principal A. R. Lett wrote that upon questioning a recent runaway, he discovered that "the bigger boys were using him to commit sodomy, hence his getaway." He said the report confirmed his suspicions, but that little could be done to eliminate the problem as long as the school lacked separate dormitories for older and younger students.[22]

The evidence regarding student abuse of other students for this period is limited and fragmentary. It underscores the fact that abuse did occur and that its occurrence was a component of the emotional neglect that was a central element of the residential school system. Small, weak, disabled, or culturally isolated children were vulnerable to abuse. In the poorly staffed and poorly constructed schools, it was not possible for the staff to ensure that students were not bullied or abused by their fellow students. Those students who gained protection through admission into a group often paid for their membership through adherence to a rigid, internal code of behaviour: displays of emotion or vulnerability were not allowed. In later years of the schools, evidence indicates that students who were sexually abused in school were initiated into what became a cycle of abuse in which they then victimized fellow students and family members. At the institutional level, the schools created conditions in which students were vulnerable to abuse; the schools then failed to protect them from such abuse.

CHAPTER 24

Truancy: 1867–1939

The residential schools established by Roman Catholic missionaries in New France in the early seventeenth century failed, in large measure, because the students ran away. As Marie de l'Incarnation lamented, the students "go off by whim or caprice, they climb our palisade like squirrels, which is as high as a stone wall, and go to run in the woods."[1] The same problem confronted the Methodist-run schools of southern Ontario in the 1830s. Alnwick, Ontario, school principal Sylvester Hurlburt reported in 1837 that although his school originally had an enrolment of fifty-one, there were only twenty students left. "Some of them," he wrote, "went home with permission to visit their friends, promising to return in four weeks. Others ran away. Whether they will return or not is uncertain."[2]

Given this background, it is not surprising to discover that truancy was a continuous issue for the Canadian residential schools. As noted in an earlier chapter, First Nations parents refused to enrol their children in industrial schools in the numbers needed to make the schools financially viable. Even after the government adopted laws that compelled parents to send their children to residential schools, many parents resisted. Those parents who did enrol their children often refused to force them to return to school after vacation. The schools themselves also had problems retaining children. Shingwauk Home principal E. F. Wilson, for example, devoted a chapter of his memoirs to the topic of "Runaway Boys." It included the story of three boys who tried to make their way home by boat in the mid-1870s. They were found over ten days later, stranded on an island in the north channel of Lake Huron.[3]

Students ran away for reasons that have been outlined in previous chapters: they were lonely and missed their parents; they found the school strange and alienating; they were poorly fed, housed, and clothed; they were subject to harsh discipline; and, in some cases, they fell prey to abuse from both staff and fellow students.

After 1894, children who had been enrolled in a residential school (or had been placed there by government order because it was felt that they were not being properly cared for by their parents) but were refusing to show up at school were deemed to be "truant." Under the *Indian Act* and its regulations, they could be returned to the school against their will. Children who ran away from residential schools were also considered to be truants. Parents who supported their children in their truancy were liable to prosecution.

Section 11 of the regulations adopted under the 1894 amendments to the Indian Act gave Indian agents and justices of the peace the authority to issue a warrant for the return of truant residential school students. The warrants could be granted to "any policeman or constable, or to any truant officer appointed under these regulations, or to the Principal of any Industrial or boarding school, or to any employee of the Department of Indian Affairs."

In 1920, this authority was incorporated directly into the Indian Act. Amendments gave truant officers the authority to "enter any place" where they believed there to be a truant child. Truant officers were to investigate cases "when requested by the Indian agent, a school teacher or the chief of a band." A truant child could now be arrested without a warrant and returned to school. Parents or guardians who did not comply with the order of a truant officer faced fines of "not more than two dollars and costs, or imprisonment for a period not exceeding ten days or both." In 1927, Duncan Campbell Scott announced that under the authority of the Indian Act, all Royal Canadian Mounted Police officers and constables were appointed truant officers." This was formalized by an amendment to the Indian Act in 1933.

Truancy was an ongoing problem for residential schools throughout their history. Middlechurch, Manitoba, principal W. A. Burman's 1891 report demonstrates that running away could lead to permanent, not temporary, freedom from the school. Burman said that of fifty-two students enrolled at the school, "six pupils who deserted during the year have not yet returned, and two others allowed to go home for urgent family reasons have failed to keep their promise to come back." He said that many of the runaways had been "troublesome, and had a bad influence, and their absence, while in some respects regrettable, has led to a very marked improvement in the tone of the school."

In 1902, at the school at Williams Lake, British Columbia, the principal reported, "The attendance, I am sorry to say, was not very regular, especially last fall. The children ran away too frequently and too easily, they did not seem to find anything reprehensible in this so we were forced to set an example in having a few of them expelled."

Most runaway students headed for their home communities. Basil Johnston, who was enrolled in the Spanish, Ontario, school in the 1930s, wrote, "Our sole aspiration was to be rescued or released (it didn't matter much which) from Spanish, and to be restored to our families and homes." Students knew they were likely to be caught, returned, and punished. Still, they felt a few hours of home and freedom were worth it. In his memoirs, Johnston tells of two boys who tried to make their way by boat from the Spanish school to their home on Manitoulin Island, thirty-two kilometres away. They were apprehended 14.5 kilometres from their goal, thrashed, and assigned to harbour duties. A third boy, who left at the same time but went in a different direction, made it home for "just one glorious night with his parents, where he ate two good meals of potatoes, salt pork, fish and bannock."[illegible]

In some cases, the schools were located quite close to First Nations communities. For some students at Mount Elgin (in Muncey, Ontario) and at the Mohawk Institute (in Brantford, Ontario), their homes were just a short walk away. Kathleen Kennedy, who attended Mount Elgin in the 1930s, recalled how she and her friend slipped out of the school:

> There was three of us got together and we had these [illegible] on our beds—we took the sheets off our bed and tied 'em together and got 'em out the window. When we got to the corner up there—at the railroad crossing—who should be standing there but my Dad. I told those girls, "Oh my gosh!" I said, "There's my father standing there. Come on, let's get going." So we just turned around and went back. They wouldn't have found out about us, but some girl snitched on us.[illegible]

Raymond Hill, who attended the Mohawk Institute in the 1930s, used to run away because older students were bullying him. "I was punished [illegible] times because I ran away. I was locked up in the dormitory after the Mounties brought me back. I climbed down the wall and I was back on the reserve in 1½ hours. I ran away 4 or 5 times because I was fed up, but they must have liked me—they took me back."[illegible]

Some students who ran away were never obliged to return. In 1900, Tom Longboat, perhaps Canada's best-known long-distance runner, ran away from the Mohawk Institute twice. After the second time, he never went back.[illegible] Others completely disappeared. Eleven-year-old Russell Walker ran away from the Brandon, Manitoba, school in April 1936.[illegible] The police received reports of his presence in southern Manitoba and concluded he was heading for a reserve in North Dakota. United States customs officials were notified.[illegible] The school had yet to hear from him by the middle of August 1936. The police concluded he might have succeeded in making his way into the United States, although there was no evidence to that effect. At that point, the police closed the file.[illegible]

Rather than heading home, some runaways looked for employment. When five boys—at least four of whom were from distant reserves in northern Manitoba—ran away from the Brandon school, the principal told the Mounted Police that the boys were unlikely to go to local reserves. Instead, because four of them were eighteen years old, he thought they were "likely to seek work on farms."[illegible] One of the boys, [illegible], was found a month later in [illegible], Ontario, working for a local store-keeper.[illegible] Some boys were able to stay "at large" for a considerable period of time in this way. On October 5, 1938, Leonard [illegible] and [illegible] ran away from the Mount Elgin school. [illegible] was located on the Cape Croker Reserve on October 13 and returned to the school. He said that he and Leonard [illegible] had parted company near Woodstock, Ontario, on October 6.[illegible] [illegible] was not located until early January

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In some cases, the students or their parents were obliged to pay the costs incurred in locating and returning runaways. In 1906, Indian Affairs reimbursed the Mount Elgin school $13.50 in expenses incurred in returning a runaway to the school. However, the local Indian agent was instructed that the interest from the savings account into which the boy's annuity payments were being made should be directed to the department until "the amount of this account has been repaid."[67] Six years later, local Indian superintendent Gordon Smith reported that Isaac Bradley had paid off the balance of the "constable expenses in taking his children back to the Mt. Elgin Institute."[68]

The rest of this chapter examines four themes related to truancy: the prosecution of parents who assisted students in their truancy, the prosecution of students who ran away, the prevalence of truancy throughout the system (often described as "epidemics" of runaways), and the failure to put in place policies to ensure proper searches were conducted for children who ran away.

The prosecution of parents

The 1894 *Indian Act* amendments made parents who did not return truants to school subject to prosecution. According to the 1894 *Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children* that was issued under the authority of the *Indian Act*, parents were given three days to return their child to school after being served with a notice.[69] As noted in earlier chapters, government policy on the enforcement of these provisions wavered. However, from the 1920s onwards, enforcement became increasingly aggressive, particularly after 1927, when all Mounted Police officers were appointed as truant officers.

In 1930, for example, the parents of eight-year-old John Yuzicappi refused to send him to the Qu'Appelle school, arguing that he was too ill to attend. Having obtained a different opinion from a local doctor, Indian agent R. S. Davis had the Mounted Police locate the boy and escort him to school.[70] Four years later, the boy ran away from school. On January 28, 1934, a Mounted Police officer travelled to his home reserve and visited his parents, but could find no trace of him, although he "believed the boy was hiding somewhere in the neighbourhood." He warned John's parents "of the folly of harbouring the lad by keeping him away from school." He was informed on February 2 that the boy had returned to the school.[71]

The Blue Quills, Alberta, school journal entry for May 1, 1932, reads: "The savages having received the order to bring their children to the school unless they want the police to get involved, some parents do obey the order today. But there are still those who turn a deaf ear."[72] In 1935, James Gideon and his wife, of Missanabie, Ontario, refused to return their twelve- and fifteen-year-old daughters to the Chapleau school after the Christmas holidays. Mr. Gideon claimed that "he could give them better care at home than they would receive in school." The local Indian agent dispatched a Mounted Police officer to the Gideons' home and the children were returned to the school.[53] In August of 1939 in Manitoba, Portage la Prairie principal Joseph Jones visited the home of a boy from the Roseau River Reserve who had not returned to school that fall. The boy refused to go back and his father would not send him. Acting in the capacity of a truant officer, a Mounted Police officer served the father with a notice that if he did not send his son back to school in three days, he would be charged under the *Indian Act*. Within two days, the boy had been sent to the school.[54]

Even if the warning had been ignored, the government might not have prosecuted the boy's father. In 1931, a Mounted Police officer who had helped return a truant boy to the Grayson, Saskatchewan, school noted that, "owing to the father's ignorance and poverty, the Indian Agent did not wish me to enter a prosecution."[55]

But, it was just as likely, if parents did resist, that prosecutions would be initiated. In June 1936, Mounted Police constable R. D. Toews tracked Gilbert Beaulieu, a truant from the Sandy Bay school, to the camp of a Métis man north of Langruth, Manitoba. Toews reported that "on seeing the uniform," Beaulieu "took to the bush and although I chased him about a mile and a half east thru the bush I was unable to apprehend him." Toews then went to the camp of the boy's father, who said "he would not assist the police in getting his boy." After discussing the matter with the local Indian agent, it was decided not to look further for the boy until school reopened at the end of summer.[56] On September 24, Toews discovered that young Beaulieu was being sheltered by Sandy Bay Chief Louis Prince. By the time he got to the chief's house, Gilbert had fled once more. Beaulieu's father was there, however. This time, he told the constable, "You can go to hell. I'm boss here." When Toews later tried to serve the boy's mother with a notification under the school attendance provisions of the *Indian Act*, she refused to accept it, on the advice of Chief Prince. Officer Toews placed it on the ground in front of Beaulieu's mother, only to have Chief Prince pick it up and throw it in the police car. The chief then told the constable he had no business on the reserve.[57] On Toews's recommendation, Chief Prince was charged with obstructing a police officer. Gilbert's father was charged with failing to return a truant child to school. Gilbert was finally taken into custody at his father's camp on October 20. From there, he was sent to the distant Lestock, Saskatchewan, school.[58] His father was fined $2, plus $5.75 in court costs. Either unable or unwilling to pay the fine, he spent ten days in jail.[59]

Epidemics of runaways

Problems with runaways often appeared to come in waves, which were often referred to by Indian agents as "epidemics." The agents viewed such epidemics as a sign of underlying problems at a school. In 1928, Indian agent J. Waddy wrote that at the Anglican school in The Pas, "hardly a day goes bye [sic] that one or more do not take leave on their own account. The fault is hard to spot, but I think it is mostly from a lot of those nearing the age of eighteen trying to get away before their time expires."[60] In 1928, the legal age of discharge was not eighteen, but fifteen, suggesting that there was no legal authority to keep the boy in school after that age. That same year, the Gordon's Reserve school in Saskatchewan also had an ongoing problem with older boys running away. The boys generally left by taking off a screen window and dropping about three metres to the fire-escape platform. Those who had been returned to the school explained that they left to work in the harvest fields. They argued that if they were going to be forced to work—as they were at the residential schools at that time—they preferred to be paid.[61]

In 1935, ten pupils ran away from the Birtle, Manitoba, school. At the time, the Indian agent put the problem down to homesickness, since he felt the children were well treated and well fed.[62] The runaway problem continued into the next year. Then, the school inspector, A. G. Hamilton, believed the problem was attributable to the "spirit that pervades the school," adding that he always thought it was a mistake to have the principal's wife act as school matron.[63] (It was a common practice in Protestant schools for the principal's wife to serve as matron.) In 1937, five girls tied sheets together and slid out the dormitory window. In reporting on the escape, Indian agent A. G. Smith wrote, "To be candid I cannot blame the girls as the life they have been leading is enough to breed discontent."[64]

The following four examples outline ongoing problems at schools in Alberta, Manitoba, and the Maritimes. They demonstrate the level of parental opposition to schooling in some locations, the school's dependence on coercion in maintaining enrolment, the significant distances that the young truants were able to cover, the administrative disdain and hostility towards students, and the government's inability to make the schools anything other than quasi-penal institutions.

The Blood Reserve: 1927–28

Both the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches maintained schools on the Blood Reserve in southern Alberta, near the town of Cardston. In 1927, the Indian agent on the Blood Reserve, M. Christianson, reported that there were seventy-five school-aged children on the reserve who had not either returned to school or enrolled in school. When he visited their parents, he discovered that many of them had no intention of sending their children to school. It took a letter from the police, plus a follow-up visit from the agent, to fill the Anglican and Catholic schools on the reserve. The same year, there was an ongoing runaway problem at the Roman Catholic school on the reserve. Christianson wrote:

> The man in charge of the boys at the R.C. School certainly could do a lot more than he is doing to keep the boys from getting away. My own opinion is that he is lazy and would rather read a book than be around where the boys are playing. The school authorities seem to be under the impression that if the children run away, it is up to the police to bring them back. The Department can well understand that the police soon get fed up when they are called upon to bring the same boys back time after time.[65]

Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott suggested that the principal of the Catholic school should consider taking away certain privileges from those students who ran away, going so far as to suggest the principal might want to consider punishing the entire student body. That, he said, would minimize "any chance that the culprit is made the object of hero worship or of sympathy."[66]

In 1928, a school inspector wrote that academic progress at the Anglican school near Cardston on the Blood Reserve "has been hampered by the irregular attendance. This is particularly true among the older boys where long absences have occurred." Of the Catholic school, he wrote, "The majority of the pupils who showed no progress over the last year on the tests given have been out of school for a considerable time."[67] Indian agent J. E. Pugh acknowledged that truancy "has been bad. In fact, at times one could almost designate it a continual in and out." Pugh thought the problems stemmed from the half-day system, the lack of recreation, and the lack of "an environment of making the children in the schools feel happy and content as a whole."[68]

Brandon: 1936

A seventeen-year-old boy from the Fisher River First Nation in Manitoba ran away from the Brandon school in early March 1936. Principal J. A. Doyle believed that his return was "essential for the sake of the boys and the discipline of the school."[69] The boy had jumped a freight train and travelled to Winnipeg, where he was arrested and charged with "breaking and trespass." The juvenile court judge hearing the case imposed no sentence other than a return to the school. Principal Doyle agreed to keep him there until the end of the holidays. However, it was agreed that if he did not "give good conduct," his discharge would be delayed.[70] On March 25, Chief Moses McKay sent a letter to Indian Affairs about the boy's case. His letter indicates he had previously requested that he be returned to his home. According to McKay's letter, it was believed that the boy had run away after being punished for an undisclosed transgression.

> He was disappear from school [sic]. He done something wrong and they got after him and they found him alright. The understanding I got from the parents that these children at Brandon are not treat it [sic] right. And this boy Stanley his time soon be up. The parents says this boy was not sent to do wrong or to get hungry,

> and if that's the case it is no use to keep that boy any longer. Also that School Brandon should be investgate [sic] according to the complaints I heard. Its no use for them children to get hungry when the Dept. Supilys [sic] it or look after it.[71]

Fifteen-year-old Harry Royal ran away from the Brandon school twice in 1936, making it to his home reserve in Saskatchewan on his second attempt. There, he and another boy he had run away with said that their main complaint with the school was "they did not get enough food and it wasn't properly cooked."[72] Shortly after Royal was returned to the school, three other boys ran away. The three of them, Wallace Hahawahi, Kenneth Thompson, and Peter Ryder, were located at the Sintaluta Reserve in Saskatchewan.[73] Hahawahi's father was reported as being "very indignant about allowing his son to return to the school stating that he was over 16 years of age and that he needed him at home." While he agreed to let the boy return, he asked the farm instructor to contact the Indian agent and attempt to seek his discharge. The attempt was successful and the boy was allowed to remain on the reserve with his family.[74] Another of the runaways, Kenneth Thompson, gave the police the following statement: "I am a Treaty Indian of Assiniboine Indian Reserve, I am 17 year of Age. I wish to state the reason I ran away from school was because I have to work too hard in fact I do not study at all. I am working around the school all the time. I consider if I have to work I may as well work at home for my father."[75]

Ryder's father told the police that "this boy was 17 years of age, that he was through school, and he wished to keep him home." Despite this protest, both Thompson and Ryder were returned to the school.[76]

Shubenacadie: 1937–1939

In the closing years of the 1930s, the Shubenacadie school in Nova Scotia experienced continual truancy problems. It was not uncommon for some students to make numerous attempts to leave the school. When a boy ran away from the Shubenacadie school infirmary in the spring of 1937, Principal J. P. Mackey immediately informed Indian Affairs of his departure. According to Mackey, "This is the first boy to leave for at least from four to five years, so no matter how far he may roam, I want him brought back here."[77] Mackey did not know it, but it was the beginning of an ongoing problem with runaways at the school.

The boy, Steven Paul, proved to be quite elusive. He was questioned by an Indian agent in Kentville, Nova Scotia, but released after he gave his name as Leo Francis.[78] When he was eventually picked up on May 21, 1937, in Hantsport, Nova Scotia, he was "very sick and hardly able to walk." The Mounted Police transported him to Kentville, where he was left in the custody of Indian agent Clarence Spinney. Eight days later, he ran away from the Cambridge Reserve, where Spinney had placed him. On June 1, he was found working on a farm near Grafton, Nova Scotia. This time, the police placed him in the custody of the county jailer before returning him to the Shubenacadie school.[79] Even though Paul was supposed to be discharged on July 1 of that year, Mackey decided that, as a punishment, he would be required to remain at the school two days for every day that he had been truant.[80] By doing this, Mackey revealed the degree to which school administrators had come to acknowledge that the schools were penal institutions.

Another boy also ran away that term from Shubenacadie. On the morning of July 7, 1937, Andrew Julian decided not to join the other boys assigned to milk the school's dairy herd. Instead, he headed for Truro, where he was reported as being sighted in the rail yard. He was not located until the end of the month. By then, he had made it to Nyanza in Cape Breton, which was, according to Mackey, a distance of 260 miles (418.4 kilometres).[81]

In the following school year, there were only three cases of truancy. Noel Julian ran away on January 5, 1938. He was found in the town of Stewiacke, Nova Scotia, later that day.[82] The following May, two boys ran away and were returned within a day.[83]

However, the 1938–39 school year was one of ongoing problems. Within two weeks of his arrival at the school in the fall of 1938, Steven Labobe (also spelled LaBobe in some documents), originally from Prince Edward Island, ran away with another boy.[84] Two weeks later, news reached the school that the fifteen-year-old Labobe had succeeded in getting back to his home reserve on the island. Rather than have him returned, Mackey recommended that he remain on the reserve "under the guardianship" of the local Indian agent. The fact that he would have been discharged within the year due to his age, coupled with the overcrowded condition of the Shubenacadie school, worked in Labobe's favour.[85]

Gregory Denny had left the school with Labobe in September 1938.[86] He made it back to his family's reserve at Pictou Landing, Nova Scotia. Whenever the police searched the reserve, his parents hid him "in the woods." Eventually, the local Indian agent, a church minister, apprehended the boy and returned him to the school.[87] The day after his return, he ran away again, managing to catch a ride on a train to Truro, Nova Scotia. The Indian agent located him on the Pictou Reserve and again returned him to school. Three days later, he ran away for a third time, this time accompanied by fourteen-year-old Noel Julian.[88] It would be another two weeks before the boys were located and returned to the school.[89]

It appears that Julian's head was shaved as punishment, since, according to a Mounted Police description issued after his escape again from the school on November 10, 1938, "JULIAN's head had been shaved." This time, Julian had run away with a fellow student, fifteen-year-old Richard Poulette.[90] The two boys hopped a train, jumping off before it reached the Truro station. Poulette was apprehended in the Truro rail yard the next day and held in the local jail until he could be returned to school.[91] Julian was found in Mulgrave, Nova Scotia, on November 16 and taken back to the school.[92] He ran away the following month, ending up in hospital in Antigonish, suffering from what was reported as "flat feet."[93]

In mid-March 1939, Sam Augustine, originally from New Brunswick, ran away, along with Noel Julian's older brother Joe. Noel Julian, whom Principal Mackey described to an Indian agent as "an old offender," and Peter Labobe, who was Steven Labobe's brother, also ran away.[94] It was the fifth time Noel Julian had run away. In a letter to the Indian agent in Antigonish, Mackey, who had caught a cold while out looking for the runaways, wrote, "I feel that Saint Patrick's Home is the only place for that imbecile."[95] The St. Patrick's Home was a Catholic-run reformatory in Halifax to which boys could be sentenced under the *Juvenile Delinquents Act*.[96]

Peter Labobe was located living in a trackman's shanty along the Canadian National Railway line. He was "without food and with feet in bad condition."[97] Joe and Noel Julian were picked up on April 12, 1939, at Antigonish. Mackey then arranged to have the two boys placed in the St. Patrick's Home.[98]

While the Julian boys were on the run, two other students, Wallace LeBillois and Leo Toney, also ran away. In searching for them, the police brought in a tracking dog, a Doberman pinscher. Both boys were located and returned to the school before nightfall.[99]

Chapleau: 1937–1939

Six children ran away from the Chapleau, Ontario, school in a three-day period in 1937. The Mounted Police brought back four of the boys, and two others were found and returned by a group of older students. Since two of the boys had slipped out the fire-escape window, the principal arranged to have the window sealed (there was still access to the escape through a door). He informed the local Indian agent that all six boys would be given "a sound whipping."[100]

In coming years, problems at the school mounted. By May 1939, Principal A. J. Vale sought to discharge four fourteen-year-old girls he thought were too difficult to discipline. According to Vale, "They are spoiling the other girls. They are very rude and obstrepourous [sic] to the ladies of the staff and very hard to control."[101] The superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, R. A. Hoey, suggested that instead of discharging them, the principal organize them into "a vocational group," undertaking crochet work and weaving, with the understanding that the girls would be allowed to keep some of the money made from the sale of their work. Hoey could not, as the principal suggested, commit the girls to a correctional home, since they were not "guilty of an offence that would justify such an action."[102]

The situation only deteriorated. Vale identified one fourteen-year-old girl as a particular problem. He said she had a bad temper, and, at one point, had threatened a female staff member with a knife. She was "severely whipped" for this offence. On another occasion, she encouraged ten other girls to attempt to run away with her, and "tried to get the girls to agree to fight if they were to be punished."[illegible] In the late spring of 1928, a group of girls who were not allowed to go home for the summer ran away, and had to be brought back to school by the police. As punishment, Vale clipped their hair short.[illegible]

The failure to establish a truancy policy

It was well understood that students who ran away, particularly in winter, were at considerable risk. Earlier chapters, for example, described the death of Duncan Sticks, a boy who froze to death after running away from the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school in 1902, and the death of an unnamed boy who ran away from the Anglican school in The Pas in late 1926. These were far from the only examples of truancy ending in tragedy. Emile William ran away from the Kuper Island school shortly after school resumed in 1907. He could not be located and, the following spring, was reported to have drowned.[illegible] In 1918, William Cardinal, who had come down with influenza at the Red Deer, Alberta, school, died after running away from the school.[illegible] Three boys tried to escape from the Fort Alexander, Manitoba, school by boat in 1928. According to the principal's report, "Three of our boys—two who had recently arrived from Bloodvein and one who had been here for a while—deserted; they stole a boat and took off on the lake so quickly that it was impossible to catch them, and they likely drowned the next day."[illegible] That same year, Joseph Brachet, the principal of another Manitoba school, Pine Creek, reported:

> Eight boys left. We caught five of them. One returned home half dead. The other two have not been found for four days now, despite calling all around for help from the police. Four girls ran away last night. They are being pursued, but their whereabouts are unknown. These desertions are bothering me a lot, almost to the point of making me sick. In my opinion, I would not keep the students on such a tight leash; the bow that is always bent will break. It is hard for children to stay silent for long or to sit still for a certain amount of time. However, I am not saying anything because I do not think that my advice will be taken.[illegible]

In the documents it has reviewed, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not located any copies of reports from either the Fort Alexander school or the Pine Creek school to Indian Affairs on these apparently fatal events. Neither has it located an Indian Affairs response to these events.

Fifteen-year-old Agnes Bone left the Birtle school on March 11, 1936.[illegible] According to news reports:

> Scores of Indians from the reserve and pupils from the Indian school have combed the snow covered countryside for many miles around under the leadership of officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. The search has continued unbroken, both day and night, the Indians scouring the prairies after darkness fell with the aid of lanterns.[illegible]

The girl's body was not located for six weeks, when it was discovered in a hollow by a farmer looking for his stray horses. It was believed she had been trying to make her way home to the Birdtail Reserve, but became lost in a blizzard and froze to death four kilometres from the reserve.[illegible] According to the Presbyterian Church records, "All possible search [sic] was made, the Indian Agent was notified shortly after 10 p.m., the same night [that she had disappeared] and no blame attached to the superintendent."[illegible] In 1931, the principal of the Mackay School in The Pas waited until Monday evening to inform Indian agent W. G. Tweddell that a boy had run away the previous Saturday morning. Eventually, the Mounted Police was alerted and the boy was found, alive, nine days after he had run away. Tweddell complained, "This caused unnecessary trouble and expense, and the school to my knowledge took no steps to find the boy."[illegible]

Tweddell's comments underline a serious policy failure. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not located specific, system-wide instructions as to what measures Indian Affairs expected principals to take when students ran away. In many cases, principals organized searches, informed local Indian Affairs officials, and sought the assistance of the Mounted Police. But they did not do this in all cases. This lack of policy direction contributed to the deaths of at least six students at three schools in the late 1930s: Round Lake, Fraser Lake, and Gordon's Reserve. These cases highlight the lack of federal policy on this issue, the failure to introduce policy, and the failure to hold churches and principals accountable for unacceptable behaviour.

Round Lake: 1935

Sometime between 1:30 p.m. and 2:00 p.m. on January 13, 1935, three boys, Percy Ochapowace, Glen Gaddie, and Alec Wasacase, ran away from the Round Lake school in Saskatchewan. It was -32 degrees Celsius and, shortly after the boys left the school, a blizzard blew up. After walking a distance, they made a fire to warm themselves. They then separated, with Wasacase and Gaddie heading west, while fifteen-year-old Ochapowace went south, towards his home. According to Wasacase, he and Gaddie

> travelled about one and one half miles and were cold and tired again, and built another fire. We lay down for awhile [sic] and went to sleep. I woke up and could not see Glen Gaddie. I found him covered up in snow. I got him on his feet and we noticed a light. We walked towards the light and reached the house of Mrs. Belanger. We found Mrs. Belanger home alone. We had something to eat and went to sleep. We stayed there over night and the next morning went home.

According to Mrs. Belanger, it was about 8:00 p.m. when the boys arrived at her house.

On the night of January 16, three days after the boys had run away, Alex Belanger encountered Percy Ochapowace's brother Daniel, and asked if Percy had got home safely. Daniel, under the impression that Percy was still in school, was taken by surprise. When he realized that his brother had run away and had not returned home, he went from house to house, looking for him. At 10:00 p.m., he ran into the Ochapowace Reserve farm instructor, Leander Carlson, and told him that Percy was missing.

Early the following morning (January 17), Carlson alerted the local Royal Canadian Mounted Police detachment that three boys had run away from the Round Lake school on January 13, and that one was still missing. The police informed the local Indian agent, J. P. B. Ostrander, who was unaware that any boys had run away. Ostrander then contacted the school principal, R. J. Ross, who could provide no additional information. The investigating officer, H. S. Casswell, and Ostrander then went to the reserve, where they interviewed Wasacase and Belanger and organized a search party of thirty-five First Nations men.

With the search party underway, Casswell and Ostrander went to the Round Lake school, where they interviewed Ross. He stated he had not realized the boys were missing until 5:00 p.m. on January 13, several hours after they had left:

> I did not think it worth while sending after them, as they would have nearly reached home by that time. It is not customary to follow boys, 12, 13, or 14 years of age after they get a 2 or 3 hour start on us, from the school. I did not get in touch with anyone outside of the school to let them know the boys had left, but I wrote a letter to Mr. Ostrander, on 16th Jan. /35, informing him that these three boys had run away from the school. The letter was posted in Stockholm on Jan. 17th, 1935. I did not know that the boy had not arrived home safely until I received the telephone call from Mr. Ostrander this morning.

Casswell and Ostrander then rejoined the search party. Percy Ochapowace's frozen body was discovered at 4:30 p.m., about two and a half kilometres from where he had parted company with Gaddie and Wasacase. Wearing only a sweater, overalls, socks, and rubber boots, he had crawled into a willow stand in search of shelter. The following day, Dr. Allingham examined Percy's body at the Ochapowace Reserve, and interviewed the principal and Percy's father, Walter Ochapowace. He concluded that death was due to exposure and stated "no inquest was necessary."[illegible]

In his report to Indian Affairs on the death, Dillingham wrote:

> In view of the extremely cold weather and high winds the School Principal would have been well advised to have an immediate search made as the boys [illegible] tracks could have been followed in the snow but apparently as the boys ranged from 13 to 15 years of age he thought they would reach their homes in safety.
>
> … It would be expected the father of the deceased as well as other Indians who have children in this school are considerably upset and are inclined to place the blame on the School Principal for failing to have the boys immediately followed when it was found that they were missing and also for not taking steps to inform them and myself more promptly. When I asked the School Principal why he had not acted more promptly he informed me that he did not anticipate any serious consequences owing to the age of the boys as he thought they would have no difficulty in reaching their homes.[illegible]

Indian Affairs departmental secretary [illegible] informed [illegible] that

> the Principal should have instituted an immediate search when it was discovered that the boys had left the school, more especially as to [illegible] of weather conditions. He should have informed the parents and yourself and instituted a search at once. The death of the boy, under the circumstances, is much regretted and I would suggest that you convey to the parents the Department's sympathy for their loss.[illegible]

There was no suggestion that any policies had been violated or that there was a need to establish policies for searches for runaways. There was no suggestion that the United Church, which ran the school, be contacted regarding the lapse in judgment on the part of the principal. There was no suggestion that a circular be sent to other schools regarding the need to undertake searches in the case of runaways. There were to be no consequences, no assigning of responsibility, no remedial action, for a decision that Indian Affairs clearly believed to be inappropriate.

Garnet Neff, a lawyer hired by the deceased boy's father, Walter [illegible], asked Dr. Dillingham to reconsider his recommendation not to hold an inquest. Dr. Dillingham had been doing work for Indian Affairs in the region since [illegible]. He refused to reconsider. Neff then called upon Indian Affairs Minister T. G. Murphy to hold "a full investigation into all the facts surrounding the death of the boy and to clear up definitely whether there be any culpable or criminal negligence involved."[illegible] In a letter, Murphy stated that the death had been "thoroughly investigated by the Coroner" and, as a result, "no further action is considered necessary."[illegible]

In his frustrated response to Murphy, Neff pointed out, "The mere fact that it would appear that the officials of the Round Lake school knew nothing about the death of this boy until the Thursday following would indicate a laxity and culpability for which they should be held responsible." He also announced his intention of writing

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

parents had always brought them back. As a result, although he had notified the police and the Indian agent when children from more distant reserves had run away, it had not been policy to do so in the cases of children from Gordon's Reserve.[133]

In his report on the death, Indian agent J. Waddy wrote:

> My opinion is that in case a pupil runs away the first duty of the principal is to see the parents are notified, especially in winter.
>
> There have been so many desertions here it appears that the staff have lost control of that part.
>
> I recommend that the bishop be asked if he is satisfied that his staff did everything possible to help in this case.[134]

According to Thomas Robertson, the inspector of Indian agencies, a coroner's jury ruled that death was due to exposure, "with no charges of negligence on the part of anyone." Robertson concluded, however, that "there has been negligence with regard to this case, and that the death should never have occurred." He thought the supervisor should have kept a closer check on the boys and that once Andrew was discovered to be missing, a search should have been mounted. He was stunned that no serious attempt was made to determine if the boy had reached home. "It is hard to understand that a boy of his age, under those weather conditions, should be lost without any search being made." Having reached these damning conclusions, he noted that he thought of the school as being well run and that the principal would ensure that nothing of this matter would ever happen again. "Unless the Indians or the people of the district start any agitation, any action on our part would not be in the best interests of anyone."[135] A few months later, Waddy, the Indian agent, informed Robertson that Frayling had lost the confidence of the First Nations people, and recommended that the principal be transferred. Anglican Archdeacon Irwin suggested he be given a reprimand and left in place, and Inspector Robertson suggested waiting.[136]

In the end, R. A. Hoey, the superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, chose to keep Frayling on as principal. However, he did send him a letter outlining his instructions for what was to be done when students escaped from the school:

> 1) The information should be conveyed to the agent and to any police officials that may be available in the community;
>
> 2) A search should be instituted at once.[137]

In dealing with the issue, Indian Affairs had not been able to produce any documents indicating that principals had been instructed to follow such a course of action in the past. By sending these simple direct instructions to only one principal, Hoey passed up an opportunity to deliver a system-wide instruction on an issue that had plagued that system in the past, and would continue to do so into the future. Frayling remained on the job for another five years, until the end of 1944.[138]

Beyond the lack of policy, there was also disregard for the policy that did exist. The department did not follow its own internal policy for the review of student deaths. In the event of a death, the Indian agent had specific responsibilities. He was supposed to convene a board consisting of himself, the school principal, and the attending physician. Parents were to be asked to attend and make a statement or send a representative who could make a statement on their behalf.[139] Instead, in this instance, Indian agent Waddy mailed Frayling a copy of the forms to be filled out once the board had completed its work, instructing him to complete it and return it to him.[140] There is no evidence that the parents were ever contacted or given the opportunity to make a report. As Waddy admitted in his own report, "There was no board really as the principal made a written report."[141]

The deaths of these children highlight many of the system's failings. The poor living and working conditions that arose from the low level of funding, the harsh discipline used to maintain order under those conditions, and a determination to sever the bonds between parent and child all combined to give students strong reason to run away. High student-to-staff ratios made it possible for students to slip away without being noticed. The government had developed regulations that compelled attendance at residential schools, but it didn't exercise its right in this, as in other areas, to stipulate how children were to be cared for once they were in those schools. Instead, the school system went from tragedy to tragedy.

CHAPTER 25

Separating children from parents: 1867–1939

Residential schools were intended to reshape Aboriginal children and detach them from the influence of their parents. One of the most visible and memorable steps in this process took place at the time of their arrival at the school. The process was outlined in the 1889 instructions that Deputy Minister Lawrence Vankoughnet issued to British Columbia Bishop Paul Durieu prior to the opening of the Roman Catholic school in Cranbrook, British Columbia. New pupils were to be bathed immediately. Their clothing, "if from its condition it is considered advisable," was to be taken from them and replaced with school clothing. The heads of new students were to be examined for vermin and, if necessary, "effectual means should at once be taken to destroy them."[1]

For many students, this process was shocking and distressful. Not only were students stripped of their home clothing, but their long hair, part of their cultural identity, was usually cut off. Many children knew from their own beliefs that the cutting of hair was part of a mourning tradition. When Daniel Kennedy had his braids clipped at the Qu'Appelle school in the 1880s, he wondered if his mother had died, since his hair had been cut so close to his scalp.[2] Mike Mountain Horse was left in tears when his hair was cut off at the Anglican school on the Blood Reserve in what is now Alberta.[3] Charlie Bigknife recalled his first day at the File Hills, Saskatchewan, school:

> First thing I knew, I was ushered into a room, which they called the playroom, I didn't know at the time. The farm instructor whose name was Mr. Redgrave and who was an old sergeant from the First World War came in with a sheep's shear and cut my 4 braids off and threw them on the floor. After a while along came a young boy rolling a horse clippers into the room and that horse clippers bounced over my head and gave me a bald head. After he got through, he said, "Now you are no longer an Indian" and he gave me a slap on the head.[4]

Often, on their arrival, students were also given new names. At Alert Bay, Tlalis became Charles Nowell.[5] At Qu'Appelle, Ochankugahe became Daniel Kennedy.[6] At the Anglican school on the Blackfoot Reserve, Medicine Pipe Rider (itself a translation of a Siksika word) became Ben Calf Robe.[7] In baptizing children, missionaries commonly assigned them British or French names. In one case, a child on Herschel Island in the Arctic Ocean was named David Copperfield, and in La Pierre's House in the Yukon, there was a Henry Venn, named for a leading figure in the British Church Missionary Society.[8] Newly arrived students were also assigned numbers. Margaret Butcher, a member of the staff at the Kitamaat, British Columbia, school, recalled the difficulty in getting newly arrived students who spoke no English "to understand each her own number. First, pinning it on, then having it sewed on the clothes she was wearing."[9] Butcher wrote, "I think it is very silly that all the Indians have English names. It was Mr. Crosby's plan to baptize with two names so we have English surnames as well. It spoils the individuality of the people in my opinion."[10]

The first day of school was, in effect, an initiation into a continuing process of separation and loss. Aboriginal children were to be separated from their parents, their family members, their language, and their culture and spiritual beliefs. This chapter examines the ways that the schools sought to reduce and control contact between parents and their children by severing the students' links to their families and cultural traditions. The next two chapters examine school policy towards Aboriginal languages and spiritual beliefs. They are followed by a chapter that examines the ways in which the schools were involved in a government campaign to control and restructure Aboriginal families through a process of arranged marriages.

Separating children from parents

One of the central goals of residential schooling was to break the bond between child and parent. Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney made this perfectly clear in 1883 when, on the advent of the opening of the first three industrial schools, he wrote, using language borrowed from Nicholas Davin's 1879 report:

> Experience has taught that little can be done which will have a permanent effect with the adult Indian, consequently, to create a lasting impression and elevate him above his brethren, we must take charge of the youth and keep him constantly within the circle of civilization. I am confident that the Industrial School now about to be established will be a principal feature in the civilization of the Indian mind. The utility of Industrial Schools has long been acknowledged by our neighbours across the line who have had much to do with the Indian.
>
> In that country, as in this, it is found difficult to make day schools or [sic] reserves a success, because the influence of home associations is stronger than that of the school, and so long as such a state of things exists I fear that the inherited aversion to labour can never be successfully met. By the children being separated from their parents and property and regularly instructed not only in the rudiments of English language, but also in trades and agriculture, so that

> what is taught may not be readily forgotten, I can but assure myself that a great end will be attained for the permanent and lasting benefit of the Indian.[11]

In a 1908 letter asking for an increase in the permitted enrolment at the Fort Frances school in northwestern Ontario, Principal G. A. Poitras wrote that residential schools were necessary to provide Aboriginal children with the sort of training they needed to survive economically. Day schools, he wrote, had been tried and failed. "On account of the roaming habits of the Indians, it is impossible to get a large and regular attendance; besides, to civilize the Indian children you have to take them away from their surroundings."[12] In a 1913 article in the *Christian Guardian*, S. R. McVitty, the principal of the Mount Elgin school in Muncey, Ontario, spoke of the pleasure the staff experienced "as we watch evil tendencies fade away, and the nobler and better instincts spring forth and blossom, giving much promise of splendid fruit in the after days."[13] Two years later, Kuper Island, British Columbia, principal W. Lemmens wrote to the local Indian agent that the "only way of educating them is to bring them to an Industrial School, where they are completely under the control of their teachers and separated from the evil influences of most of their homes."[14] The view that home influences were essentially "evil" was to shape government and church policy towards parental visits, letter writing, and vacations during this period (from 1867 to 1939).

Not surprisingly, parents took every opportunity to visit their children. When schools were close by, they regularly tried to see them. This was one of the reasons why Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed preferred the establishment of industrial schools "at a greater distance from their Reserves, than would be the case were they at the Boarding Schools."[15] Despite the distance, parents still visited the industrial schools. At the High River school in what is now Alberta, Principal Albert Lacombe opposed parents camping outside the school grounds, since "their intercourse and bad influence demoralize the pupils very much. Of course this difficulty could very easily be removed, by building a good high fence around the play-ground, so that the pupils would be entirely separated from any obnoxious visitors."[16]

At the Battleford and Qu'Appelle schools, principals Thomas Clarke and Joseph Hugonnard were more welcoming than Lacombe was at High River. They believed that, after visiting the schools, the parents would come away reassured that their children were being well treated. Many of the industrial schools had an "Indian reception room" set aside for such visits.[17] Clarke wrote in 1888, "The Indians are beginning to realize the advantages to be derived from the school. The parents of the children are allowed to visit them as frequently as they can get passes from their agents."[18]

The passes he referred to were issued under the pass system that Hayter Reed had instituted, without legislative authority, after the North-West Rebellion of 1885. The system required First Nations people to obtain a pass from their Indian agent before leaving the reserve. In 1889, Indian Affairs school inspector Alex McGibbon recommended, based on the large number of parents visiting the Qu'Appelle school, that it would be advisable "for the Principal to give no meals to any who have not passes from the agents; and agents should be told not to give passes to any but those who have children at the school and not oftener than once a month, or certainly not more than twice a month."[19]

Two years later, Reed discovered, to his displeasure, that Hugonnard had "thought proper to fit up a place for the entertainment of Indian visitors, of whom I found a number breakfasting the first morning I was at the school. A long table is provided for them to take their meals at, and I found that a quantity of provisions were being given to them."[20]

That year, Dewdney, who was by then minister of Indian Affairs, warned Hugonnard that "relations of the pupils are allowed to visit the school, to an extent which can only be regarded as quite unnecessary and no doubt feeding such visitors accounts to no small extent for the large consumption of supplies." Dewdney said that at other schools, "children can be obtained and kept" without allowing what Dewdney believed to be excessive parental visiting. If Hugonnard could not limit visits, Dewdney said he would be obliged to ask the "police to keep visitors off the precincts of the school." Also, children were not to be allowed to return home for visits, since "taking children in for short terms and letting them go again is regarded as perhaps worse than useless."[21]

In his defence, Hugonnard claimed that the regulations given to him when the school opened stated that parents should not visit their children more than once every two weeks. He said most parents visited only once a month, and he had "done all that I reasonably could to lessen their visits." This was counterproductive, he felt, since "several times pupils were furtively taken away by their parents."[22]

Reed was not convinced by Hugonnard's arguments. He instructed Indian agents on the Prairies

> to put into force regulations already issued, but so far disregarded. By these it is forbidden to allow Indians to visit the schools without a Pass; and when for good reason, an occasional Pass may be issued, rations are to be given, and a note of this made on the Pass, so that the Principal can have no excuse for receiving Indians unprovided with Permits for their visits, or for giving licensed visitors provisions.[23]

Parents were not always pleased by what they saw at the schools. An 1891 visit to the Battleford school convinced parents from the Carlton and Duck Lake reserves that the children were not being given enough to eat. In response, Indian agent P. J. Williams wrote that he believed it was a

> great mistake for to give [sic] Indians a pass for any extended period to visit the school or to give passes to large Bands to go at once to visit children at the school as those Carlton and Duck Lake Indians made more discontent amongst the

> children at the school than anything that has come amongst them, as will be seen that some seven or eight deserted shortly after they left.

In conclusion, Williams proposed that rations not be issued to anyone who made "a nuisance out of their visits that these Carlton Indians did."[24]

Many schools strictly controlled parental contact. In 1906, a woman from the Sarnia Reserve was concerned about the lack of medical attention her foster son was receiving at the Mount Elgin school in Muncey, Ontario. When she went to visit the school, she said, the principal not only refused to let her speak to her foster son, but also she was not allowed to "come near the building."[25] The principal, T. T. George, explained that the woman, whom he described as the boy's grandmother, had made attempts to visit the boy in the school playground and when he was working.

> This I refused to allow and informed her that any visitation would require to be made in the office in the presence of an officer and all conversation carried out in English. It is a rule of the Institute that persons other than parents or guardians are allowed to visit pupils only when accompanied by an officer and the conversation is carried out in English.

The rule also was applied to parents and guardians where there was "reason to believe that influence is being brought to bear upon the pupil to create discontent and unrest leading to truancy or removal."[26] Visits, in short, were carried out under the sorts of conditions normally associated with a penal institute.

The belief that parents stirred up discontent continued into the twentieth century. In 1917, Inspector Semmens noted that parents of children at the Cecilia Jeffrey school in northwestern Ontario

> visit the school frequently and remain for meals and talk a great deal with the childre [sic]. More than this it is feared that they encourage their children in disobedience and they resent every form of punishment. Complaints of the pupils are too readily believed by their guardians and the Principal finds that their interference makes his work doubly hard.[27]

Sometimes, parents were denied access to their children. An E. Elliott wrote to Indian Affairs in 1919 that when a father went to visit his son at the Kuper Island school in British Columbia, he was not allowed to see him. According to the father, "The priest who was the principal would have nothing to do with me." When the principal said the letter writer did not have a son enrolled at the school, Elliott explained he was writing on behalf of a parent.[28]

In July 1928, Indian Affairs officials met with chiefs from the northwestern Ontario region. Chief Gardner asked if there could be some land set aside so that parents could stay in Kenora when visiting their children at the Cecilia Jeffrey school.[29]

When a mother in Manitoba complained, through a lawyer, about the lack of accommodations for parents visiting their children at the Birtle school in 1935, Indian

Affairs departmental secretary A. F. MacKenzie wrote that "the matter of visiting hours and accommodation at Indian residential schools is left in the hands of the Principal and staff of the schools." This answer was far from accurate: from the outset of the residential school system, the government had instructed the principals to limit parental visits. MacKenzie added, "Indian parents have the habit of visiting schools, indiscriminately, at any time and remaining for indefinite periods. While they have the right to see their children, it must be at the time stated by the principal of the school."[illegible] In a letter to the principal, MacKenzie advised, "Indians who come from a distance might be permitted to remain over night but not for a longer period. The Indian parents from the nearby reserves should not be given meals and not be allowed to remain on the premises over night."[illegible]

Conflicts between parents and principals continued to the end of the 1930s. Ruben Kesepapamotao filed a complaint in 1937 about the treatment he had received when he attempted to visit his children at the St. Andrew's school at Whitefish Lake, Alberta. According to his statement:

> I was talking to my children. I saw Mr. Cathcart come out of the school home, and he gave me a push off the platform. I went on the platform again and Mr. Cathcart gave me another push for no apparent reason that I know of. Mr. Reynolds the farm instructor, came and pushed me to the Indian room which is about 50 yards again for no apparent reason. They acted as if they were angry. Mr. Cathcart said: "See that fence, if I do not want anyone inside there, they do not have to come in." My wife and I waited in the Indian room till the children were let out of the school. I have not gone back to the C. of E. [Church of England or Anglican] Mission. I do not want my children to go there again.[illegible]

Letter writing between parents and children also was strictly controlled. Deputy Minister Lawrence Vankoughnet's 1889 instructions for the new industrial school in Cranbrook, British Columbia, specified that the principal was to require students to write to their parents twice a year. He was also instructed to read "all letters sent and received." Pupils were not to be allowed to post letters on their own, or to receive letters from the local post office.[illegible] In 1901, parents of children attending the Mount Elgin school complained that their children were not responding to letters they had written to them.[illegible] The students were allowed to write their parents once every two weeks. The principal, W. W. Shepherd, opened and read the letters the children sent and the ones they received, and placed them under "close sensorship [sic]." At times, he intercepted letters and found it necessary "to prevent letters written in Indian from going out."[illegible]

Vacations presented an even greater challenge to the schools than parental visits or letter writing. In addition to concerns that students on vacations would be exposed to the "evil" influences of reserve life that residential schools were intended to eradicate, vacations were feared because they amounted to a form of authorized truancy. Once the children were out of the schools and back at home, it was often very difficult to get them to return.

Initially, industrial schools and boarding schools had different vacation policies. The boarding schools allowed students approximately forty-five days of holidays. It was not uncommon for them to allow children to go home on the weekends, depending on their location and proximity to the reserves. The industrial school vacation policy was a function of the per capita funding formula. For industrial schools to qualify for their full per capita grant, students were required to be in school for at least 340 days a year. In theory, this allowed for twenty-five days of vacation a year. But the process was complicated by the Indian Affairs policy of dividing the year into four quarters, and refusing to pay the full per capita rate if a student was not in attendance for eighty-five days of each ninety-one-day quarter. Schools could give students two sets of ten- to twelve-day vacations, if the vacations were provided at the end and beginning of consecutive quarters. But they could not give students twenty-five days off in a row without a significant loss in revenue.

The fact that industrial schools provided far fewer holidays (twenty-five) than the boarding schools (forty-five plus the weekends when some children returned home) was one of the government rationales for the significant difference in funding between the two types of schools. It was also one of the reasons why parents preferred boarding schools to industrial schools in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Many of the early boarding schools had developed their own vacation system. In the 1880s at the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, two-thirds of the students were given a summer holiday each year. Those who remained behind were required to do chores around the school, for which they received pocket money. Parents were to pay to transport their children home for the holidays. When parents enrolled their child at the school, they left a deposit of $10. The fee was to be forfeited if the child was withdrawn from the school early or did not return from holiday (without a reasonable cause). Widows were obliged to pay only a $5 deposit.

Many students attending industrial schools came from locations several days' travel away from the school. As the Anglican Committee on Indian Missions in Rupert's Land observed in 1893, given the short period allowed for holidays at industrial schools, it was "impossible to give holidays to those coming from distant points." The Anglicans were in agreement with the government view that "holidays should be given as seldom as possible," but felt that the existing policy was "tantamount to saying that no holidays whatever are to be given." Once parents became aware of this, it was difficult to recruit students. The policy also put a considerable strain on staff members who had to supervise students on a year-round basis. If the government were to continue with the policy, the Anglicans thought, it should fully explain the policy to "leading Indians on reserves." The Anglican preference, however, was for the government to allow a vacation of three weeks a year for students who lived close to the schools, and six weeks for those who lived at a distance.[illegible]

Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed opposed the Anglican proposal for a longer holiday, saying he was against "anything having a tendency to encourage the admission of a greater number of pupils for shorter periods to such Institutions." Neither was he keen on making "known the existing regulations to leading Indians on reserves." As noted in an earlier chapter, he said he would make all school regulations known to "Agents, Church authorities, and Teachers, but so far as Indians are concerned, I think it will be best to deal with them, in so far as matters, such as the one now under consideration, are concerned, individually, as each case presents itself." First Nations communities were not to be consulted about school policies.[illegible]

It appears that the school vacation policy actually tightened in the 1890s. In 1886, both the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, and the Mount Elgin school allowed regular vacations for the students, who, at that time, were all there voluntarily.[illegible] Eight years later, the Indian commissioner for the Prairies expressed his concern over the fact that students at the Duck Lake school, in what is now Saskatchewan, were being granted annual holidays. "There is nothing on file here," he wrote, "to show that any boarding or Industrial school has been authorized to observe annual holidays."[illegible] In 1894, Indian Affairs official Martin Benson attempted to explain the vacation practice at the Mohawk Institute—or the lack thereof—to his deputy minister:

> Class work is discontinued for six weeks during the months of July and August and very few of the pupils are allowed out of the school during this period. The Principal assumes the responsibility of granting holidays in special cases. It is not the practice to allow all the pupils to go from any of the Industrial schools.[illegible]

In [illegible], R. H. Cairns, the principal of the Coqualeetza Institute in Chilliwack, British Columbia, wrote, "One source of annoyance and friction is the question of holidays. You never can be sure that they will come back voluntarily." Cairns blamed the parents: "The pupils would come back if the parents would leave them alone."[illegible] In the case of students who returned from vacation after the official start of the school year, Indian Affairs refused to pay any per capita grant for the days they had missed. In [illegible], the principal of the Wikwemikong school on Manitoulin Island, Ontario, Th. Couture, protested this policy. He pointed out that the school had to pay all its fixed costs even if the student was not present. Instead of punishing the school by denying it a portion of the per capita grant, he suggested the government withhold the parents' Treaty annuity.

> Whilst as things are now, the parents, selfish and thoughtless as they are, set off [into the country] on the eve, nay sometimes on the very day of the opening of the school, and bring their children with them. Some do it through

> [illegible]

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best interest to stay at school for the summer, since they would be "taken on picnics and that other entertainment is provided for them."[75] In some cases, children were allowed to go home if the Indian agent had either collected the return fare from the parents in advance, or required the parents to forward the funds to the Shubenacadie school principal. In the case of Mr. Paul, Indian Affairs official Philip Phelan recommended that his children be sent home for vacation if he forwarded the transportation money to the school in advance.[76]

In 1936, Mary Hammond, a Shubenacadie student, wrote to her sister in Chester Basin, Nova Scotia, asking for her assistance in coming home for the summer.

> I was glad to know that you want me this summer. I know you always want me. Its [sic] too bad to tell you that you shouldn't be expecting me home this summer. Why don't you write and tell him you want me this summer. Try hard and I'll pray that Government will let me go home. Because gee if you were me you wont [sic] like to stay. If you knew how much I want to go home you would jump over this roof. Every day I except [sic] some telegram or letter that you got a letter from Government and saying that I'm to go home. Write a letter to Government and tell him you want me home. If you only get me home I'll be so grateful to you when I get home.[77]

Her sister, Mrs. Charles Toney, wrote a letter to the local Indian agent, asking if her sister could spend the summer with her and her husband.[78] Without giving any reasons, the agent recommended that the request be turned down.[79] Indian Affairs official J. D. Sutherland responded that pupils would not be allowed to go home if they lived far from the school or if their home conditions were "reported unsatisfactory." He added, "As it is understood from your letter that the home conditions of the Toney children are unsatisfactory, the Principal of the Shubenacadie School will be instructed to keep these children during the holiday period."[80]

Shubenacadie principal J. P. Mackey was more than willing to provide guidance as to whether children should be allowed to go home. In responding to a letter from Indian agent John Langley, in Barra Head, Nova Scotia, on behalf of a First Nations father, Mackey wrote that when the children of one family were allowed to return home a few years earlier, "the father went to the Agent for extra relief rations because the children were home. If the home conditions are such that the parents cannot care for the children without extra relief, we understand it to be the wish of the Dept., that the children should not go home." He added that it was his understanding that in the case that the Indian agent was proposing, "the father was having a woman of low reputation come to the house, and would be up half the night drinking."[81]

Every fall, Mackey, like other principals, had to pursue students who had not returned from their summer vacation. When, at the end of the summer of 1937, twelve-year-old Louis Thomas did not return, Mackey informed the boy's father that he must either return him to the school or arrange to have an Indian agent discharge the boy from the school. A discharge could be arranged if the boy was going to attend a local day school. Otherwise, Mackey said, he would report the matter to Indian Affairs. If that happened, he warned, "the R.C.M.P. will take Louis back to the school and he will remain until sixteen years of age and have no further vacations."[82] Dr. H. S. Everett, a physician from the New Brunswick community where the Thomas family lived, intervened in the case. He wrote to Indian Affairs, saying that neither the boy nor his father wanted him to return to the school, since Louis said "he gets beatings at Shubenacadie." Everett noted that it would be possible for Louis to attend a rural school that was across the road from his father's house.[83] Mackey dismissed the allegation of beatings as "the usual line of the Indian." It was, he wrote,

> the old story over again. The Indian does not want to do what he is told or follow regulations but must have his own way. Personally it is a matter of indifference to me whether the boy comes back or not, but I think it should be impressed upon the Indian that he cannot have his own way in matters concerning which the Department has set regulations.[84]

In the end, Louis's discharge was approved, but Indian Affairs refused to provide any grant "for him at a white school," thus casting him into an educational limbo. Without such a grant, public schools would not accept a First Nations student, since the cost of their education was viewed as a federal responsibility.[85]

Mackey's frustration with Aboriginal people was never far below the surface. When passing on the receipts for the 1937 vacation expenses, he wrote, "We do not know why, but the Indians had the idea that because it was Coronation year, that all children were to go home for vacation. This is the first time that any number from New Brunswick went home for vacation." He said the majority of those who had gone home had been at the school for between four and six years. He also noted that the only way he expected to be able to pay for needed dental and tonsil work at the school was with money intended for vacation expenses.[86] That seems to have been what happened. In the following year, Indian Affairs official Philip Phelan concluded that five children from one family should stay at the Shubenacadie school because "the Department's funds are not sufficient to permit us to allow all children from Residential schools to go home for the summer holidays."[87]

When Nova Scotia Indian agent C. A. Spinney asked him about the Christmas holiday policy, Phelan wrote that

> no valid reason has yet been given to us why holidays should be allowed at that period of the year. There is no question that the children attending the Shubenacadie Residential School receive every possible care and attention, and in addition at Christmas time there are always special festivities which the children enjoy.[88]

Parents obviously felt differently. When the parents from the Cambridge Reserve in Nova Scotia had asked Spinney to arrange to have their children returned home for Christmas, he told them that this was "against the rules of the Dept." To Spinney's disgust, this did not stop the parents. "These people went so far as [sic] have a man go to the school for their children. They did not get the children. Father Mackey would not let them take the children." Referring to a woman who had written to Indian Affairs in Ottawa about the holiday issue, Spinney complained:

> This Mrs. Nibley who you had the letter from thought by writing she would be able to get her children home for Xmas.
>
> These people think they can have their own way and would like to do so and when they find out they cannot they get mad.[89]

Parents' desire to see their children at Christmas, or at any other time, was apparently viewed as being selfish and unreasonable. These official attitudes were not limited to the Maritimes. The mother of a child at the Kuper Island, British Columbia, school was told in 1937 that her daughter could come home for the summer holidays only if she gave "a written guarantee that she will be returned to the school by the opening date, after the holidays."[90] That year, two children from the same school were kept there for the summer because their parents were not legally married.[91] The following year, the Indian agent on the Blood Reserve in Alberta noted that "some restlessness appears among the parents in regard to the weekly holiday problem, and many appeals are made to me for this privilege, which is of course denied." When five parents showed up at his home to seek permission to take their children to the sports events being held in Cardston on the Victoria Day long weekend, he was able to report that "all were denied."[92] A failure to enforce the rules was taken as a sign of weakness—one that First Nations families would "exploit." When, at the end of the 1939 summer holiday, 115 students at the St. Paul's school on the Blood Reserve refused to return to the school, Indian agent J. E. Pugh attributed the problem to "lax parents" who chose to "take advantage" of the fact that the truancy section of the *Indian Act* had not been enforced in that region since 1932.[93]

Principals such as Mackey, and Indian agents such as Spinney and Pugh, may have entered into their work with well-meant intentions. But the broader colonial project and mentality in which the residential schools were embedded served only to generate resistance on the part of parents and children who were not prepared to have every aspect of their lives controlled and changed. This resistance left principals and agents feeling angry, embittered, and unappreciated, and locked them into a cycle of conflict.

The effort to separate children from their parents was, of course, one part of the larger campaign to remake Aboriginal people. Physical separation from their community was coupled with separation from both their language and their culture.

CHAPTER 26

Suppressing Aboriginal languages: 1867–1939

One of the few issues on which federal residential school policy was crystal clear was that of language. First, students were to be taught to speak English (or, in certain, limited cases, French). Second, to ensure the rapid adoption of English, Aboriginal languages were to be suppressed. Although the use of Aboriginal languages was not completely banned at all times and in all places, it is clear that it was seen as a sign of progress if a principal could report that Aboriginal languages were not spoken in the school, or, even better, that children had forgotten how to speak them. Students often were punished for speaking their native language.

The school language policies created painful divisions within families, making it difficult, if not impossible, for children to communicate with their parents, grandparents, and other family members. They also struck at Aboriginal societies' ability to transmit their cultural beliefs and practices—both intimately connected to language—from one generation to the next.

The policy: "Rigorously exclude the use of Indian dialects"

The government's hostile approach to Aboriginal languages was reiterated in government directive after government directive. In his 1883 letter to Battleford school principal Thomas Clarke, outlining his expectations for the country's first government-funded industrial school, Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney wrote that in the classroom, great attention was to be given "towards imparting a knowledge of the art of reading, writing and speaking the English language rather than that of Cree."[1] In 1889, Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs Lawrence Vankoughnet informed Bishop Paul Durieu that in the new Cranbrook, British Columbia, school, mealtime conversations were to be "conducted exclusively in the English language." The principal was also to set a fixed time during which "Indian" could be spoken.[2] After their visits to the Carlisle school in Pennsylvania, both Indian Affairs school inspector A. J. Macrae and Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed stressed the importance of banning the use of Aboriginal languages. Reed was impressed by the fact that at Carlisle, "so much importance is attached to the use of the English tongue alone, that all orders and explanations from the very first are given in English repeated again and again, if necessary, with patience. No books in the Indian tongue explanatory of the subject matter of the school books are allowed." Although it was not yet Canadian policy to do so, he believed "that it will in the long run, be found best to rigorously exclude the use of Indian dialects."[3] After his visit to Carlisle, Macrae recommended that English should be "the only allowed means of communication."[4] In 1890, when Reed was instructed to develop a draft set of school regulations, he proposed, "The vernacular is not to be taught in any schools. At the most the native language is only to be used as a vehicle of teaching and should be discontinued as such as soon as practicable." English was to be the primary language of instruction, "even where French is taught."[5]

Reed's recommendations were never incorporated into a formal regulation. However, he was promoted to the position of deputy minister of Indian Affairs in 1893, and the following year, the department published its "Programme of Studies for Indian Schools." As noted in an earlier chapter, this document maintained, "Every effort must be made to induce pupils to speak English, and to teach them to understand it; unless they do the whole work of the teacher is likely to be wasted."[6]

In 1895, Reed argued that a First Nations child "must be taught the English language. So long as he keeps his native tongue, so long will he remain a community apart." Without English, a student was, Reed wrote,

> permanently disabled, and from what Indians have said to me and from requests made by them, it is evident that they are beginning to recognize the force of this themselves. With this end in view the children in all the industrial and boarding schools are taught in the English language exclusively.[7]

In keeping with this policy approach, the 1910 contract between the federal government and the churches required that schools were

> not to employ, except for a period not exceeding six months, any teacher or instructor until evidence satisfactory to the Superintendent General has been submitted to him that such teacher or instructor is able to converse with the pupils under his charge in English and is able to speak and write the English language fluently and correctly and possess such other qualifications as in the opinion of the Superintendent General may be necessary.[8]

The policy remained unchanged into the 1930s, when the "Programme of Studies for Indian Schools" advised teachers, "Every effort must be made to induce pupils to speak English and to teach them to understand it. Insist on English even during the supervised play. Failure in this means wasted efforts." The only leeway granted was for some schools in Québec, where classes could be conducted in French.[9]

Even before the federal policies were developed, some school principals had linked the teaching of English with the suppression of Aboriginal languages. Principal E. F.

Wilson of the Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, wrote in 1884 that "it was of course a great object to make the children talk English. Twice a week I had an English class, and taught them to repeat English words and sentences, to point to their eyes, nose, ears, &c., and to bring me things I specified." The speaking of Aboriginal languages was limited to one hour every day. Each Saturday, he gave students buttons, each marked with a specific pattern. "If any of them heard a companion speak Indian he was to demand a button, and on the following Saturday, the buttons were exchanged for nuts."[10] Those who spoke Aboriginal languages were denied treats; those who informed on students who spoke their own language were rewarded. Wilson reported, "Not a word of Indian is heard from our Indian boys after six months in the institution. All their talk among themselves while at play, is in English. Even those who knew not a word of the English tongue when they came to us last fall, now talk nothing else among themselves." It appears that Wilson also moved on to a more punitive approach than simply denying students nuts for speaking their own language. As he described it, "We bring this about principally by great strictness—sometimes punishing heavily any old pupil, who presumes to break the rule. The boys feel the benefit of it, and do not rebel."[11]

In 1887, Principal E. Claude boasted that his thirty students at the High River school, in what is now Alberta, "all understand English passably well and few are unable to express themselves in English. They talk English in recreation. I scarcely need any coercive means to oblige them to do so."[12]

At the Battleford school, Principal Thomas Clarke reported far less success. He wrote in 1887 that

> we have experienced a great difficulty in inducing the boys and girls to speak English among themselves in every day life. For some time indeed, the apparent results were discouraging. A change for the better, as I am gratified to say, is fast coming about, as a result of every day teaching being carried on in English.

He also thought that the use of English was encouraged by the fact that there were both Cree and Assiniboine students at the school. In such cases, it was thought that in order to communicate with one another, these students would have to learn English.[13]

The continued use of Aboriginal languages at the school made Clarke a target of federal criticism. In 1888, Indian Affairs inspector A. J. Macrae complained that at the Battleford school:

> Teachers do not seem, in all cases, to understand the paramount importance of instruction in English, and in the ideas of the citizen. Without a knowledge of our language, when the children now being introduced grow up, they will be unable to mix with their white neighbors and cannot possibly become assimilated with them.[14]

Hayter Reed echoed this criticism in 1889. He said that on a recent visit to the Battleford school, there was not a proper regard "to making the children speak English. During the whole time of my visit there appeared to be a marked lack of endeavor upon the part of the officials to see that they used English in preference to the vernacular, and I did not observe that degree of tidiness which should exist in such an institution."[illegible]

In that year's annual report, Battleford principal Clarke wrote:

> Strenuous efforts are made to prevent the use of any Indian dialect in the institution. This is, of course, no easy task, especially with the boys received newly from the reserves, who are very obstinate in adhering to the use of their own tongue; but it will, with patience, not prove impossible to accomplish.[illegible]

In October 1884, Principal Joseph Hugonnard asked to be allowed to admit five English-speaking boys to the Qu'Appelle school in what is now Saskatchewan. He said that if this were done, the First Nations students would begin to speak English during their recreation period: "I am sure that they will learn more English during recreation hours than otherwise."[illegible] In 1886, Hugonnard once more sought to have an English-speaking boy admitted to the school, saying "it would be of the greatest service to our efforts to induce the boys to practice speaking English."[illegible] These proposals met with initial opposition from Indian Affairs. Assistant Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed said he believed that instead of teaching English to the First Nations children, "the white boys would learn Indian and converse with the pupils in that language."[illegible] Indian Commissioner Dewdney opposed the measure because he thought the students would learn "at the best, imperfect English" from the Métis boys Hugonnard wished to admit.[illegible] He changed his mind when Hugonnard sought admittance for a larger group of boys. Dewdney concluded that the "white boys will cultivate amongst themselves that spirit of perseverance and independence that characterizes the Anglo-Saxon race and in which the Indians are so lacking." Ongoing exposure to the "white boys" would supply the First Nations children "with a moral educational influence which may prove to be of much service."[illegible] Hugonnard rejoiced in 1886 that he had been granted permission "to take in a few English-speaking boys, although the condition of $60 per annum for each pupil is heavy and even impossible for most of the farmers to pay."[illegible]

The missionary practice

The insistence that the students learn English and that all lessons be in English was not in keeping with the approach in which many of the early missionaries had been trained. Catholic and Protestant missionaries were expected to learn the languages of the people they were going to convert, and to carry out their work in those languages. Father Hugonnard, for example, had been born and raised in France, and came to St. Boniface in 1874. Once in the Canadian West, he learned Cree, Saulteaux, and English.[illegible] At the Qu'Appelle school, he taught a daily catechism class in Cree. He encouraged the Sisters of Charity (the Grey Nuns), some of whom had learned Cree, to teach the students in Cree first, then in English.[illegible] He also prepared a Cree-English primer, and arranged to have the federal government pay for the printing of 2,000 copies.[illegible] The English-born John Horden, the founder of the Anglican school at Moose Factory, was fluent in Cree and could speak Ojibway, Inuktitut, and Chipewyan. He also translated many Christian writings into Cree syllabics.[illegible] In 1911, eighteen years after Horden's death, his influence was still clearly apparent at the school. Acting Principal D. D. Renison noted that although the children coming to the school did not know how to speak English, "many can read and write in the Indian syllabic character."[illegible] One of the two religious services the students were required to attend each Sunday was conducted in Cree.[illegible]

Measures taken by provincial and federal governments to suppress the French language in the Canadian West and in the residential schools may have given the Catholic teachers and principals, many of whose first language was French, a greater sensitivity to the issue of language loss. In Alberta, the Blue Quill school's *Moccasin Telegraph*, a student publication, had articles by students written in syllabics in the 1930s.[illegible]

Although the early missionaries learned Aboriginal languages, in later years, many school staff members were discouraged from developing an understanding of the languages the children grew up speaking. On her arrival at the Methodist boarding school at Kitamaat, British Columbia, in 1916, teacher Margaret Butcher was told that the local First Nations people spoke "a language of their own which is understood nowhere else." Consequently, it was not seen as being "worth learning." The students, she wrote, "are forbidden to speak it in the Home so I shall not learn it a must."[illegible]

The degree to which the government policy came to override the missionary practice is perhaps best expressed in the report of Oblate Superior General Théodore Labouré. After an extensive inspection of Oblate missions and schools in 1935, Labouré expressed concern over the number of Oblates who could not speak Aboriginal languages, and the strictness with which prohibitions against speaking Aboriginal languages were enforced. He wrote:

> The ban on children speaking Indian, even during recreation, was so strict in some of our schools that any failure would be severely punished—to the point that children were led to consider the speaking of their native tongue to be a serious offense, and when they returned home they were ashamed to speak it with their parents.[illegible]

In what may have been a response to Labouré's criticism, in 1939, the Oblate Fathers' Committee on Indian Missions adopted a resolution that First Nations people be taught "to read in their own language and in syllabic characters or Roman characters," and that male and religious teachers "learn to read and understand the languages of those who are in their charge."[illegible]

The government policy in practice: "Many of them never make use of the Cree"

Three themes emerge from the reports of principals and inspectors in relation to language instruction in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first is the great difficulty that schools and students faced when the children came to school not speaking the language in which all instruction was to be given. The second is that inspectors criticized principals if they heard children speaking Aboriginal languages, and praised them if it appeared that English was the only language being used at the school. The third is that it was seen as a great accomplishment if it could be reported that children had forgotten how to speak their native tongue. The loss of Aboriginal languages was used as an informal measure of the success of government policy.

The fact that few students spoke the language in which the schools were supposed to be conducted presented an almost insuperable problem. In 1890, Metlakatla, British Columbia, principal John Scott noted, "The principal hindrance to progress arises from so very few of the children understanding, I may say, any English; and from an unwillingness on the part of the few to make use of the little they know."[illegible]

When the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school opened in 1891, none of the students spoke English. As a result, Principal E. M. J. Lejacq felt he "could not proscribe the use of the native language always and everywhere. This taken into consideration, we may say that the progress made by most of the boys in the English language is very creditable."[illegible] In 1894, Lejacq reported,

> Amongst the boys, the Indian language is a thing of the past. English is the order of the day, but I must confess that their pronunciation is not yet perfect, although improving slowly all the time. Amongst the girls the English language does not take as well as amongst the boys. The girls take no pride in being able to speak English.[illegible]

In 1896, he was still voicing the same complaint, reporting that while the boys were speaking English, "the girls do not show so much willingness to comply with the rule prohibiting the use of the Indian Language."[illegible]

Kuper Island, British Columbia, principal George Donckele wrote in 1891, "Our greatest difficulty at present consists in making the children speak English. Although they understand a good deal of it, they are always inclined to speak the Indian dialect amongst themselves."[illegible]

When the Red Deer school opened in 1893, Principal John Nelson noted that

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The student perspective: 'I lost it all'

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Teaching in French

Language policy in the residential schools was further complicated by the fact that in many of the Roman Catholic schools, staff spoke French, not English, as their first language. The early Catholic missionaries in the Canadian West had hoped not only to convert Aboriginal people to Catholicism, but also to support the development of a large, French-speaking, non-Aboriginal and Aboriginal community in the West. To this end, they were involved in campaigns to establish separate religious schools and to defend the right to education in French.[illegible] In keeping with this approach, French could be the initial language of instruction in Roman Catholic boarding schools in the Canadian West.[illegible] The emphasis the Catholic missionaries placed on the importance of the use and spread of French among Catholics on the Canadian Prairies—and the efforts that various governments took to limit the use of French—underscores the fact that both church and government officials were of the view that there was a close link among language, culture, and spiritual belief.

Representatives of the Roman Catholic Church opposed the provision in the 1910 contract between the government and the churches that required teachers and instructors to be able to speak and write fluent English. This, they said, was a "hard and fast provision, compliance with which is practically impossible." They took the position that since the contract called for the teaching of gardening, farming, care of livestock, cooking, laundry, needlework, housekeeping, and dairying, it would also require that the individuals who taught those disciplines had to be able to speak and write English fluently and correctly. If such a provision were enforced, many Catholic schools might have had to replace those members of religious orders whose English was rudimentary. The Catholics unsuccessfully proposed that the contract be amended to simply require that schools "provide for the pupils being taught to speak, read and write the English language to the same extent that pupils are so taught in the ordinary schools of the country."[illegible]

It was not just the trades instructors who did not necessarily speak fluent English in Catholic schools. Cornelius Kelleher, a half-Irish, half-Nooksack boy who attended the Mission, British Columbia, school in the nineteenth century, recalled, "We had mostly French teachers trying to teach us English."[illegible] There were recurring reports that classes were being taught in French. In 1898 at the St. Albert school in what is now Alberta, some subjects were taught in English and others were taught in French.[illegible] The government had concerns that the teacher at the Roman Catholic school on the Peigan Reserve in what is now Alberta "was not sufficiently qualified to teach English and especially to give the true and exact pronunciation." In response, Bishop Emile Legal—who felt the criticisms were not well founded—agreed to secure "the services of an English lady teacher" in 1898.[illegible] In her memoirs of attending the Qu'Appelle school in the early twentieth century, Louise Moine recalled "a little French nun who couldn't speak a work [sic] of English. As she was very kind and patient with us, we all liked her."[75]

In 1912, Bishop Charlebois, Vicar Apostolic of Keewatin, sought permission from Indian Affairs to have classes conducted in French at the Beauval school in northern Saskatchewan. He stated that at the Île-à-la-Crosse school, which was the predecessor to the Beauval school, classes had been taught in French only and, as a result, he said, "many of the Indians of the district understand and speak French, while very few have a knowledge of English." Charlebois said the parents had indicated they would withdraw their children from the school if classes were not taught in French. After reviewing the matter, Indian Affairs official Martin Benson concluded that the school was already being conducted in French, since "all the staff with the exception of one Sister have no knowledge of the English language and she is not proficient." Benson argued that the school should be required to live up to its commitments under the 1910 contract. Although French might be "more generally spoken in the school than English," he thought the students needed to learn English, which would require that the school staff be able to speak and teach in the language.[76]

In this debate, a First Nations leader, described as the Montagnais of Île-à-la-Crosse, wrote a letter in Cree to "the Great Master in charge of schools" asking, "Why should it be desired to teach the children English, that would not help them with the people surrounding us." If the government persisted in banning education in French, he said that "it will be very difficult for us to send our children to the school."[77] In 1915, Indian Affairs complained to the school principal that, according to a recent report by an Indian Affairs official, "little or no English is taught in the [Beauval] school and practically all the education the children receive is given in French."[78]

Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott had reservations about the Roman Catholic Church's proposed nominee for the position of Qu'Appelle principal in 1917, on the grounds that he did not "speak English well enough for this special position."[79] Five years later, a report on the Qu'Appelle school noted that the teacher in charge of the intermediate girls' classroom "has very poor English."[80]

In 1921, Russell T. Ferrier, the superintendent of Indian Education, instructed Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham to investigate an allegation that French was being taught at the Clany, Alberta, school. Ferrier pointed out that "the agreement with the schools in the Prairie Provinces calls for English as the sole language of instruction."[81] Graham reported that although the students were not being taught French, "all the members of the staff are French and some of them do not speak English very well, which in my opinion is not as it should be." He said that "on several occasions we have objected to teachers in our schools who cannot speak English properly and have a decided accent."[82] On the same topic, Indian agent G. H. Gooderham reported in December 1921 that the Clany principal had promised "an English speaking teacher for the boys some months ago, but to date no change has been made." Instead, he reported that "the more I visit this place, the more I am impressed with the French atmosphere which exudes from every corner."[93]

The Oblates, who depended on the female religious orders such as the Sisters of Charity for much of their staff, appear to have had considerable control over who actually taught in the schools. When J. L. Levern, the principal of the Catholic school at Brocket, Alberta, was taken to task by Indian Affairs for the unsatisfactory classroom methods of one of his teachers in 1923, he asked if the department would put some pressure on the Sisters of Charity to send him better-qualified teachers. Levern asked if Duncan Campbell Scott would write to Bishop J. Brunault, who was the ecclesiastical superior of the Sisters of Charity, to complain about the poor quality of teachers the order was providing to the schools. Levern felt that Brunault did "not seem to realize the urgent necessity of preparing better teachers for our schools."[94]

Later that year, Ferrier drew Levern's attention to an inspector's report on a different teacher at the Catholic school at Brocket, whom the inspector described as being "handicapped by the fact that she has had no professional training and also by speaking the English language with a decidedly French accent." Ferrier stated that "a properly qualified teacher is required for this school."[95] On the same day, he wrote to the principal of the Roman Catholic school on the Blood Reserve to register the same complaint about a teacher at that school.[96]

Complaints persisted into the 1930s. In 1938, Qu'Appelle principal de Bretagne wrote to the St. Boniface mother provincial of the Sisters of Charity, expressing his surprise and disappointment to discover that the two sisters recently assigned to his school

> do not speak English. You certainly know how much the thorough knowledge of that language is necessary to perform any duty amongst our Children and the Department is becoming more exacting about that. We already have some Sisters who know very little English in our Community and it is very disagreeable to hear justified remarks concerning that lack.[97]

Residential schools undermined Aboriginal languages by separating children from their parents, by ridiculing and suppressing the use of Aboriginal languages, and by giving English and, to a lesser degree, French a preferred status in the school system. Government officials believed the Aboriginal languages had no future and no cultural value. Missionaries, particularly in the nineteenth century, had a more tolerant attitude toward Aboriginal languages, and, well into the twentieth century, many missionaries conducted religious training in Aboriginal languages. This missionary tolerance for Aboriginal languages did not extend to the subject of the following chapter: Aboriginal culture. Government and missionary organizations made common cause to suppress Aboriginal cultural practices.

CHAPTER 27

Separating children from their traditions: 1867–1939

The observance and transmission of cultural and spiritual practice are intrinsic to a people's identity. The federal government's assimilationist policy deliberately stressed the suppression of traditional practices and sought to prevent children from being raised within those traditions. Conversion to Christianity was a specific element of that policy. Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney argued in 1884 that the "importance of denominational Schools for the Indians is obvious." Dewdney recognized that the government's goal of assimilation involved the destruction of Aboriginal spirituality. Since "Indians certainly have their own ideas of right and wrong," he thought it would be a mistake "to deprive them of their own mythology without providing a better one in which there exists no question (so far as the Indian is concerned) as to its perfect correctness...." This task could, he believed, be carried out only by the churches. He also believed that allowing more than one Christian denomination to provide religious training in any particular school would lead to "indifference to both."[1] By turning day-to-day operation of the residential schools over to competing Christian denominations, the federal government created circumstances that ensured that Aboriginal people would be ensnared in an ongoing and highly divisive religious conflict between and among Catholic and Protestant churches.

Active support for church efforts to convert children at residential schools was only one element of the government's assault on Aboriginal culture and spirituality. On a parallel track, from the 1880s onwards, the government also actively sought to suppress and criminalize Aboriginal peoples' own spiritual ceremonies. Residential school officials demonstrated by their own actions that they were strong supporters of these government measures to suppress Aboriginal culture.

The race to baptize

The government also wanted the churches to run the schools for reasons of economy, since they believed missionaries would willingly work for less money. These savings came at a price—among them, the ongoing conflict between denominations for students. To limit conflict, Dewdney sought to implement a policy under which "no child is taken into the School except with the consent of parents and guardians and not until matters have been thoroughly explained to them—and they are perfectly free in the choice of faith."[2]

Dewdney was not really offering parents a full choice. There was never any thought of establishing schools that respected and passed on their own Aboriginal spiritual practices and beliefs. Meaningful choice was available only to those parents who had already converted or had their children baptized. Also, Dewdney was well aware that missionaries were not above rebaptizing children who had already been baptized by another, competing, denomination. Assistant Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed, writing at the same time, reported, "In many instances Priests of the Roman Catholic faith are prone to claim children as belonging to their faith merely on baptism taking place even after the same rite has been performed by representatives of another faith."[3] To an Indian Affairs official, the prospect of allowing children to switch schools because they had been baptized a second time conjured up a future of endless wrangles. The contemplation of such a future led Dewdney to ask, if baptism were to be "considered by any denomination sufficient to lay claim to any child as belonging to their faith where would the end be found?"[4]

During this period, there was, indeed, no end to the problem. In an effort to forestall conflict, Indian Affairs issued the following policy guidelines in 1891.

> 1) That where the parents of children whom it is desirable to have entered at a boarding or industrial school are pagans, the children may be taken to those schools, provided always that the parents consent thereto.
>
> 2) In cases where parents are not baptized, altho' claimed as adherents of a Church, before children are taken the parents should be required to state whether they are or are not adherents, as claimed, to the Church: and the children should be dealt with accordingly.
>
> 3) Where parents have been baptized but do not attend Church or their children are not attending a school, if the parents have not relinquished their adherence to the Church in which they were baptized, their children should be treated as belonging to that Church; but the parents should be required to make a statement in writing that they have not relinquished their adherence to the Church.
>
> 4) Where parents have been baptized but are desirous of sending their children to a school of a denomination other than that to which the Missionary belongs (it is assumed the Missionary referred to or some other of the same denomination baptized the parents) the parents' wish in writing to the children being taken to the Industrial or Boarding School, as the case may be, should be obtained, and it should be complied with; but great care should be

> taken that the parents understand thoroughly in any case the written document before they sign it, and that the same is signed by them in the presence of at least one reliable witness as having been fully explained to and understood by them.[5]

The policy spoke the language of parental choice. However, in 1891, the majority of Aboriginal parents in western Canada were not Christian. The only avenue open to them involved sending their child to a school that openly opposed their spiritual values.

The education regulations adopted under 1894 amendments to the *Indian Act* simply ignored the existence of non-Christian parents. The regulations stated that "no Protestant child shall be placed in a Roman Catholic school, or in a school conducted under Roman Catholic auspices; and no Roman Catholic child shall be placed in a Protestant school, or in a school conducted under Protestant auspices." The language of supposed parental choice had given way to a policy under which children were, or were to become, either Protestant or Catholic. Left unresolved was the question of who would determine a child's denomination—and who could alter that denomination.[6] This policy was incorporated directly into the *Indian Act* in 1920.[7]

By the 1920s, Indian Affairs had called on the federal Department of Justice officials to provide a definition for Protestant and Catholic children. According to the officials, a Protestant child was "one born of Protestant parents or one whose father or widowed mother has decided to have him or her educated in a Protestant school or a school conducted under Protestant auspices." Catholic parents were similarly defined. From 1922 onwards, the Indian Affairs policy was that it would not place the child of a Catholic father in a Protestant school without an affidavit from the father, and neither would it place the child of a Protestant father in a Catholic school.[8]

No matter what the definition, conflict was continual. In 1896, for example, a Catholic missionary complained that Thomas Clarke, the principal of the Anglican school in Battleford, Saskatchewan, had, along with others from the school, "gone, several times, among our catholics [sic] for the purpose of inducing them to give up their children for the Industrial School, Battleford, and they have yielded to their importunities." For this reason, the Catholics were seeking a Roman Catholic boarding school for the Battleford Reserve.[9] Red Deer, Alberta, principal Arthur Barner said that the Methodist and Roman Catholic missionaries were engaged in a "race for baptism." Because of competition from the Catholics, the Methodists, "in order to save a new born babe to the Methodist Church ... had to make a special drive to the home of the confinement days before etiquette would permit a visit to a White home under such circumstances, for fear that the priest would be there ahead of them." Barner also claimed that the Catholics operated an "inter-marriage system," under which matches were arranged between Protestant boys and Catholics girls.[10] The principal of the Regina industrial school, R. B. Heron, acknowledged the existence of the race for baptism when, in 1905, he recommended an increase in the number of Presbyterian missionaries on the reserves from which the school hoped to recruit students. "As the Catholic School is much nearer, the priest sees the people oftener than it is possible for us to see them and it is very often the case of the first come gets the children."[11]

Indian Affairs officials grew frustrated with the churches. In 1912, the chief inspector of Indian agencies in Winnipeg, Glen Campbell, called for the end of denominational schooling on reserves, which he termed "a curse to the Department and the Indians."[12]

In some cases, church officials did not bother asking for Indian Affairs assistance in resolving conflicts. In her memoirs of growing up as the child of the principal of the Anglican school in Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, in the early twentieth century, Ruth Buck recounted an instance when her father, John Matheson, went directly to the Catholic mission in search of a young girl. Once there, he forced the newly appointed priest to surrender the girl into his custody.[13]

It was also common for denominations to claim that Indian Affairs officials were favouring either the Catholic or the Protestant schools. In a 1922 letter defending his decision to admit two students, the principal of the Roman Catholic school in Grayson, Saskatchewan, wrote that it seemed "very easy for our Protestant Schools to obtain [sic] from the Department to have our Catholic Children from Catholic Parents discharged from our Schools and transferred to Protestant Schools."[14] In 1931, Roman Catholic Bishop Guy of Grouard complained that the Anglicans "have practically no children in their schools which rightly belong to them. If you were investigating you would find the majority to be Catholic or of Catholic origin."[15]

For their part, the Anglicans believed that the Catholics used church-run hospitals as recruiting grounds. The principal of the Anglican school on the Blood Reserve, S. H. Middleton, reported in 1931 that Helen Chief Mountain, a student from the Anglican school, had been accepted into the Roman Catholic Church "whilst lying on a bed of sickness" at the Roman Catholic hospital. After her death, she was buried in the Roman Catholic school cemetery. He named several other Anglicans who had been converted at the hospital, all "without my knowledge."[16] When the Indian and Eskimo Commission of the Missionary Society of the Church in Canada met with the Indian Affairs minister in 1938, two of the issues they wanted resolved were the presence of twenty-nine Anglican children in the Roman Catholic school at Fort George, Québec, and that of eleven Anglican children at the Roman Catholic school at Grouard, Alberta.[17]

For parents, a more serious consideration was not the religious affiliation of a school, but its location. In 1931, Billie Whitehat, with the assistance of a Melville, Saskatchewan, lawyer, sought permission from Indian Affairs to have his ten-year-old son attend the Roman Catholic Cowessess school at Grayson, which was eight kilometres from his residence. The local Indian agent, J. P. B. Ostrander, opposed the move. He believed the boy should go to the United Church school at Round Lake. According to Ostrander, the Whitehats, whom he described as "pagans," had given him considerable trouble over this issue in the past, when he had insisted their daughter go to the Round Lake school rather than the Cowessess school. While he acknowledged that the Round Lake school was twenty-four kilometres from the Whitehans' home, he said he did "not consider the difference in the distances is of any account when the schools are residential." The parents, he concluded, were stubborn and troublesome, and their request should be denied.[illegible] Understandably, distance was of considerable account to parents. Eight years later, a father wrote to Indian Affairs, "begging the favour from the Indian Department to have my two daughters Rosa and Alice of 11 and 9 years old respectively to be transferred from Round Lake to Cowessess School, and I wish at the same time to have my son Clifford 7 years to be admitted with them. I am a pagan and my wife catholic." the letter was signed by David Poniki and Maggie Smoker.[illegible] According to the Cowessess principal, the chief reason for the request was the distance between the parents' home and the Round Lake school.[illegible] In denying the request, Philip Phelan noted there was no room in the school.[illegible]

Parents were not allowed to transfer their children in hopes of getting them into what they viewed as a better school. In 1934, the Belangers, former Catholics who said they had joined the United Church, sought to have their children attend the Round Lake school, which was then being operated by the United Church. Indian agent Ostrander wrote of the case, saying that to allow the children to be shifted from the Cowessess school would

> establish a dangerous precedent as there will be other Indians with the same view as Alec Belanger who may come to the conclusion that if they join the United Church and engage the services of a lawyer they will be able to place their children in Round Lake School which at the present time is a more popular school than the Cowessess Roman Catholic School.[illegible]

The decision to send children to denominational schools had, in short, made parents pawns in the ongoing conflict between Christian denominations. They were subject to regular lobbying from missionaries to switch from one denomination to another. By 1935, Harold McGill, the deputy minister of Indian Affairs, was ready to throw up his hands. The number of conflicts between the churches over children was increasing and it was "at times impossible to decide, from the evidence produced by both parties as to the religion of either the parents or their children." In many cases, he said, parents signed an affidavit transferring their children to one school, only to transfer them to a different school a few years later. A frustrated McGill suggested that in cases when the evidence did not allow the department to form a judgment, it should simply refuse to authorize admission to either school until the churches settled the matter among themselves.[illegible] The government's response to the ongoing conflicts in which Aboriginal parents found themselves entangled—and to parents' efforts to exercise the small amount of choice they were granted under the *Indian Act*—was to abdicate its responsibility.

The suppression of Aboriginal culture

Converting people to Christianity was coupled with a direct attack on Aboriginal spiritual practices. Residential school principals played a leadership role in early campaigns to suppress those practices and sought to have them outlawed. Once bans were adopted, they reported violations to officials and they criticized the government for not enforcing the bans more vigorously. Since some principals were also justices of the peace, they also passed judgment on individuals accused of participating in ceremonies. On at least one occasion, people convicted of participating in spiritual ceremonies were held in a residential school while awaiting transportation to jail.

Little effort was made to understand Aboriginal cultural practices. For example, in 1903, Charles Angus Cooke recommended the establishment of an Indian national library. Cooke was one of the first Aboriginal people hired to work for Indian Affairs. As late as the First World War, he was the only Aboriginal man working in the department's head office in Ottawa. It was his vision that Indian Affairs staff from across the country would be able to draw on the library, which would collect documents published by Aboriginal people. Duncan Campbell Scott, then the departmental accountant, cut the library's budget, recommended against collecting documents produced by Aboriginal people, and proposed that it be a reference rather than a circulating library. Most of the works it collected were government studies from the United States. As late as 1930, it remained a disorganized collection of books that was largely unavailable to most staff members.[illegible]

Like religious conversion, the suppression of Aboriginal spiritual practices was government policy. The 1889 Indian Affairs annual report observed:

> In the first stage, before instruction or education can be commenced, a great deal has to be done in the way of eradication of superstition and prejudice, and in overcoming fear not unnaturally entertained by the parents that education will not only destroy sympathy between them and their offspring in this life, but through the inculcation of religion separate them in a future state of existence.[illegible]

Nine years later, the department reported:

> The attitude of Indian parents towards education or perhaps more properly speaking, instruction for their children, continues to be very much regulated by the advantage they can perceive as being likely to accrue to them in contact with the dominant race, and those superstitious objections, based upon the fear of separation hereafter, as a consequence of education in different creeds, are fast disappearing.[illegible]

The government attempted to keep track of how quickly these rituals were disappearing. Indian agents gave regular reports on the various missionaries' bid to converting Aboriginal people to Christianity. Such conversion was seen as a sign of progress. In 1898, an Alberta Indian agent wrote:

> With a single dubious exception, these Indians are pagan and bid fair to remain so for at least another generation. They are, or until lately were, intensely religious in their own way and seem to have failed to perceive any attraction in Christianity, in spite of the fact that it has been expounded to them incessantly for about twenty years.[illegible]

In the same year, it was observed that on Piapot's Reserve, "These Indians take very little interest in religion, and with a few exceptions are pagans" and, at the Muscowpetung Reserve, "The majority of these Indians are pagans; very little interest is taken in religion by the members of the band."[illegible] There were other reports, such as the assessment that the James Roberts's Band was thoroughly Christianized,[illegible] that the Kitwangah Band "have now adopted the Christian faith, there being one hundred and thirty-four Anglicans, and seventeen pagans,"[illegible] or that almost the entire Kitkatla Band "has been converted by the Methodist Church."[illegible] The accuracy of these assessments, which were made by Indian agents often on the basis of limited evidence, is open to question. However, they made it clear that the government viewed conversion to Christianity as a sign that its Indian policy was effective.

The campaign against the Potlatch and the Sun Dance

In 1884, the federal drive to suppress Aboriginal spirituality took an aggressive turn when the Potlatch ceremonies of the First Nations of the Pacific coast were banned. These ceremonies served to redistribute surplus, demonstrate status, cement and renew alliances, mark important events such as marriages or the assumption of position, and strengthen the relationship with spiritual forces.[illegible]

Thomas Crosby, a Methodist missionary who eventually established a boarding school in Port Simpson, was a strong opponent of the Potlatch ceremony, as was the Anglican missionary William Duncan in nearby Metlakatla.[illegible] Like other missionaries, they recruited the converts they had made among Aboriginal people to the missionary war against Aboriginal culture. In 1883, Christian First Nations people from British Columbia's north coast submitted a petition calling on the federal government to ban the Potlatch. The petition had been drafted with the assistance of Crosby and another Methodist missionary, A. E. Green, a future Indian Affairs official. The following year, Roman Catholic missionary and future Kuper Island school principal George Donckele and Methodist missionary Cornelius Bryant both supported Cowichan-area Indian agent William Lomas's recommendation that the Potlatch be suppressed.

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unmerciful aboriginal custom."[illegible] In October 1913, Scott instructed Indian agents to "in every way possible discourage gatherings which tend to destroy the civilizing influence of the education imparted to Indian children at schools, and which work against the proper influence of agents and farming instructors." He also reminded them that dances involving "the giving away features and the wounding or mutilation of bodies" were illegal.[illegible] Much of the impetus to renew the enforcement of the anti-Potlatch legislation came from A. E. Green, a former Methodist missionary, who was the Indian Affairs schools inspector in British Columbia. In 1913, British Columbia Indian agent W. M. Halliday laid charges against Alert Bay men for their participation in a Potlatch. Their initial hearing of the case was presided over by A. W. Corker, who was not only the local justice of the peace, but also principal of the Alert Bay industrial school. Two men convicted of violating the anti-Potlatch law were given suspended sentences.[illegible] Prosecutions in 1915 also resulted in suspended sentences and acquittals. The light sentences led to an increase in Potlatch activity in the Alert Bay area.[illegible]

School principals continued to play a role in the suppression of Potlatches and Sun Dances. In 1916, Billy August complained about the role that the Ahousaht principal and missionary John Ross had played in the jailing of four people, including August's wife, for their participation in a Potlatch. According to the letter, "Mr. Ross to do so, put them into Jail, those four Ahousat Indians. Mr. Ross is not good teaching for the Children he is a Policeman all over the west coast Indians they know he is a Policeman." August requested that Ross be replaced, noting that he felt the local Catholic missionary was superior to the Presbyterian missionary.[illegible] In responding to the criticisms, Ross said:

> For some time I have taken an active part in the suppression of uncivilized potlatching. I was the first on the West Coast to lay information before the authorities of a breach of the Indian Act in regard to the customs. In spite of warning from the Indian Agent Cox and myself, the Ahousaht Tribe gave a potlatch to the Kelsemaht Tribe Nov. 20th. As it was the first offense four Indians paid the cost, $7.25 and were let out with a warning that if they were found guilty on a second offense they would be sent to jail.[illegible]

Indian agent Charles Cox came to Ross's defence, saying that while four people had been arrested and taken to Clayoquot for trial, they were never jailed. The complaints from August were, in his words, "foolish and meaningless." Cox added that he was "somewhat in sympathy with the Indians," but when it came to the prohibition of the Potlatch, he intended to continue to enforce the law. He concluded, "The more one does for these people, the more abuse one gets from them."[illegible] The inspector of Indian agencies, W. E. Ditchburn, also examined the case for the department and reached conclusions similar to Cox's, noting that another cause of complaint was Ross's refusal to allow local boys to play baseball on the school field on Sunday, since it would "desecrate the Sabbath," a refusal that, in Ditchburn's view, was "perfectly justified."[illegible]

The government school officials also believed that the cultural practices interfered in the effectiveness of the schools. In 1917, school inspector Markle was concerned that students at the Roman Catholic school on the Blood Reserve in Alberta were "too much engrossed in the society doings on the reserve to give attention to their studies."[68] The problem was common, he said, at schools located on reserves and "where Indians have inherited the dance craze. The Superior of the Cluny, Alberta, school made a like complaint to me last Monday. She stated that the big boys apparently though [sic] of little else and were constantly running away from the school to attend these dances, of which there has been two or three weekly."[69]

Indian Affairs officials believed the courts had been too lenient in the way they had handled these cases. In response, in 1918, the federal government amended the *Indian Act*: breaking the law by participating in banned ceremonies became a summary, rather than an indictable, offence. Now, instead of the cases being tried by local magistrates, who tended to take a broader approach to the interpretation of the Act, the charges would be laid by Indian agents, who would then, acting in their capacity as justices of the peace, pass judgment on them.[70] In the following year, Indian agent Halliday, acting as a justice of the peace, sentenced two men to two months in jail, the minimum jail term allowed under the Act. The case against four other men that year was adjourned when they, and over seventy other Kwakiutl people, promised not to participate in future Potlatches.[71] The practice continued, however, and in 1920, eight men were sentenced to two months in prison.[72] Charles Nowell was prosecuted, convicted, and imprisoned for his involvement in a Potlatch in 1921.[73] The following year, twenty-two people were sentenced to between two and six months in jail for their participation in a Potlatch. While they awaited transportation to Oakalla prison near Vancouver, they were held in the Alert Bay residential school.[74]

In the schools, students attempted to recreate their traditions, but they had few resources upon which to draw. When Eleanor Brass attended the File Hills school in the early part of the twentieth century, students held their own improvised powwows in secret. Brass said that Gracie Squatepew, the group's leader, often struggled to impose the proper sense of decorum at these events.

> One time Gracie said to us, "Remember now, this is a sacred dance and we must not giggle or laugh." Fanny Walker, our comic, started to beat the drum while Gracie started singing in a real high note. Fannie and I looked at each other and quietly started to giggle, getting louder and louder till Gracie said, "All right girls, I'm not going to sing anymore if you don't stop laughing. I told you we must be quiet for this song."[75]

By the 1930s, many Aboriginal people were growing up without access or exposure to spiritual practices. For example, Bernard Pinay, who attended the File Hills school in the 1930s, said, "I never had a culture before I went to school. I didn't have any for them to take away."[76] At the school, there was no tolerance for attempts to discover or revive cultural practices. "When we were in boarding school we never tried to do any of the Old Indian Ways because the staff and the school were really dead against it. There was nothing we could do about it; some tried but they always got hell. So I can't really name what the ceremonies were because we really never had any."[77] It was only after he left the school that he was exposed to, and participated in, Aboriginal spiritual practices.[78]

Dances were not the only Aboriginal practice that school principals sought government support in suppressing. In 1898, the principal of the Alberni Girls' Home urged the federal government to support local efforts "to have the Indian doctors done away with."[79] Indian Affairs officials took a dim view of traditional healers. However, it was not illegal to practise medicine without a licence in Canada, providing the patient was not harmed and the service was provided for free. A reciprocal exchange of goods was part of the healing ceremony, but these ceremonies were generally held in private, making prosecution nearly impossible.[80] As part of their schooling, residential school students were told to spurn traditional healers. The fact that members of her family had sought the help of a traditional Carrier First Nation healer in the summer of 1927 filled Fraser Lake, British Columbia, student Mary John with dread: "I could imagine Sister Superior with the willow switch, standing me up in front of the whole school and thrashing me because my relatives believed they could be healed in the Carrier way."[81] It was not until after she left the Fraser Lake school that she attended her first Potlatch ceremony, one held to commemorate the placing of a tombstone over a family member's grave.[82]

Time did little to soften church opposition to Aboriginal culture. In 1924, a conference of Roman Catholic residential school principals noted that although several people had urged that the ban be lifted on First Nations dances, "their habits, being the result of a free and easy mode of living, cannot conform to the intense struggle for life which our social conditions require." Taking aim at those in the Euro-Canadian community who might be critical of missionary work, the Oblates stated that "pagan superstitions could not,— what-soever certain philanthropists might think,—suffice to make the Indians practice the virtues of our civilization and avoid its attendant vices." The principals actually wished to ensure that the work that had been done in suppressing Aboriginal culture "might be better known."

> With this in view, we beg to suggest the establishment of a MUSEUM or HISTORICAL AND SCIENTIFIC EXPOSITION where, close to articles pertaining to morals, religion, industries, works of primitive tribes—the memory of which is soon lost—could also be seen the work accomplished by civilization, and the results obtained both on the reserves from Agents' activities and in the schools of any denomination. It would appear that this would encourage and perpetuate one of the best works in the Dominion of Canada.[83]

The purpose of such a museum, in their minds, would not be to commemorate that culture, but to demonstrate its "primitiveness," and to celebrate the work of the missionaries and government in suppressing that culture.

By the 1930s, there was a growing, if very limited, recognition of the importance of Aboriginal culture in the lives of the students. In this view, culture, however, was restricted largely to arts and crafts. In 1935, a United Church report on First Nations schooling in Canada included a separate section on "Indian Arts and Handicrafts," which lamented "the almost entire lack of wholesome interests" on reserves. The authors thought "a revival of handicrafts or home industries would provide daily interests outside the normal routines of living." They also noted that "the younger Indians are not as expert as their grandfathers and grandmothers" in basket weaving, beadwork, silver work, or carving. They recognized that the work of the Elders was of high quality and amounted to "a purely Canadian contribution to the world of art." They also acknowledged that it was a contribution "likely to disappear except as a historic record," unless something was done. This was particularly unfortunate because, it was thought, Aboriginal arts and crafts could generate "considerable revenue for individual families and communities." But, they reported, teachers found it difficult "to get Indian children even mildly interested in their own art and craftsmanship." They recommended the establishment of a Canadian Indian Handicrafts Guild, which would coordinate training at residential schools, development and patenting of designs, and inspection and marketing of craftwork. The work that Principal George Raley had undertaken at the Coqualeetza Institute in British Columbia was seen as a model.[84] There was no acknowledgement of the role that the churches or residential schools might have played in the development of what was described as an "inferiority complex" in terms of students' attitudes towards Aboriginal art, or in breaking the transmission of cultural skills from one generation to the next. There was no recognition that many Aboriginal cultural artifacts had been produced either for direct personal use or for use in spiritual ceremonies, and not as commodities to be sold in an impersonal market.[85]

By 1938, the Anglican position on First Nations culture had shifted. The secretary of the Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission, T. B. R. Westgate, was prepared to acknowledge that

> nothing in indigenous culture should be destroyed or condemned, unless it can be proved that it does in fact obstruct the progress of culture. In so far as the preservation, or even the revival of Indian culture and customs contribute to a wholesome coordination of their life with the national life of which they must become a part, such preservation and revival should be promoted.

At the same time, Westgate cautioned that "to encourage the Indians to believe that the old way of Indian life is adequate to their needs in these modern times is neither honest nor helpful."[86]

CHAPTER 28

Separating the sexes, arranging marriages, establishing colonies: 1867–1939

Through residential schools, the Canadian government and the churches sought to control and transform Aboriginal people and their families. The three previous chapters have described the assaults the schools launched on Aboriginal families, language, and cultural and spiritual practices. This chapter looks at the ways in which the schools were also instruments in a broader campaign to control Aboriginal families.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Canadian government and the Canadian churches attempted to regulate, with the goal of eventually eliminating, traditional Aboriginal marriage practices.[1] These practices, through which Aboriginal family structures were established and maintained, varied among cultures and changed over time.[2] The conventions under which men and women joined together—and had the opportunity to separate—were part of a larger, complex set of kinship relationships. These relationships established both rights and obligations, ensuring social stability.[3] Marriages often were arranged by family and community leaders, but, in many societies, individuals could reject a proposed marriage, and the option of separation without stigma was also commonly available.[4] In some cases, a husband might have more than one wife. However, these plural marriages, which missionaries found particularly scandalous, were not the general practice.[5] To take an additional wife, a man usually would need the approval of both his existing wife or wives and the new bride's family. He also would be required to have the resources to support the enlarged family.[6]

Missionaries were strong opponents of Aboriginal marriage practices and sought to have the government ban them.[7] The federal government chose not to do that. Sir John A. Macdonald, writing as minister of Indian Affairs, concluded that the solution lay in the gradual civilization of the First Nations. Until then, the government would recognize Aboriginal marriage, but not Aboriginal divorce.[8] As part of the civilization process, it was expected that the schools would produce young people who would reject Aboriginal marriage and would choose instead to be married by the church according to Canadian marriage laws. As noted previously, the whole purpose of admitting girls to the schools was to train them to be Christian wives and mothers. To ensure this goal was achieved, school principals and Indian Affairs officials took it upon themselves to both prohibit and arrange marriages. In one case, the government went so far as to establish a colony for former students, to make sure that they did not return to their reserves and fall back under the influence of their parents.

While it was the intention that residential school students should marry one another, schools put considerable effort into keeping male and female students separate while they were enrolled. This separation of the sexes reflected both the general social attitudes of the day and the stereotype of Aboriginal people as being sexually promiscuous. The schools had removed children from their families and home communities—the traditional agents of social control. By seeking to impose a rule of complete gender segregation, the schools were all but inviting student disobedience. And they got it. Throughout this period, male and female students attempted, and succeeded, in seeking out each other's company. Parents were displeased by this turn of events and often complained about it to the schools and the government. School responses were harsh and dangerous. Enhanced measures intended to limit contact between male and female students, for example, often reduced the effectiveness of school emergency exits, which were sometimes locked to prevent students from visiting each other. In addition, the courts were used in an effort to police the sexual activity of students—even in cases of what appear to have been consensual relationships.

This chapter begins by examining the growth of female enrolment. It then describes school efforts to separate male from female students, outlines the measures the government took to arrange marriages, and concludes with an examination of government measures to influence the lives of students once they had left the schools.

Enrolling girls: "To civilize the intended wives"

From the outset, the Protestant-run boarding schools established prior to the early nineteenth century were co-educational. As early as 1834, the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, recruited both boys and girls.[9] The Alnwick and Mount Elgin schools operated by the Methodists in southern Ontario also enrolled female and male students.[10] At Wikwemikong on Manitoulin Island in the 1870s, the Jesuits established two boarding schools, one for girls and one for boys.[11] At Sault Ste. Marie, Anglican missionary E. F. Wilson opened the Shingwauk Home for boys in 1873 and the Wawanosh Home for girls in 1879.[12] A similar approach was taken in the West, where Oblate missionaries opened a boys' school in 1863 and a girls' school in 1868 at Mission, British Columbia.[13] At the Catholic school in St. Albert, in what is now Alberta, girls were educated in a convent and boys in what was termed an "industrial school."[14]

Despite this practice, the first three industrial schools the government built in the North-West Territories in 1883 and 1884 were intended solely for male students. Liberal opposition leader Edward Blake, using language that reflected commonly held assumptions, questioned the policy in 1883, asking Conservative Public Works Minister Hector Langevin:

> If the hon. gentleman is going to leave the young Indian girl who is to mature into a squaw to have the uncivilized habits of the tribe, the Indian, when he marries such a squaw, will likely be pulled into Indian savagery by her. If this scheme is going to succeed at all, you will, unless those Indian bucks are to be veritable bachelors all their lives, have to civilize the intended wives as well as husbands.

Langevin responded, "No doubt the Government will have to provide for the education of the girls as well as the boys."[15] In January 1884, Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Lawrence Vankoughnet informed Qu'Appelle principal Joseph Hugonnard that if the school employed members of the Sisters of Charity (the Grey Nuns), "a few female students should be taken into the institution."[16] However, Vankoughnet neglected to provide Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney with a copy of his instructions to Hugonnard. As a result, Dewdney ordered Hugonnard to send the first female recruits back to their homes.[17] Hugonnard persisted in his quest to have girls admitted, and, by the end of 1885, the school had nine female students. He lobbied to be allowed to increase their numbers, arguing that their presence was

> absolutely necessary to effect the civilization of the next generation of Indians. If the women were educated it would almost be a guarantee that their children would be educated also and brought up christians, with no danger of their following the awful existence that many of them ignorantly live now. It will be nearly futile to educate the boys and leave the girls uneducated.[18]

By 1887, the Qu'Appelle school's enrolment was made up of fifty-five boys and thirty-nine girls. Since no provision had been made for them in the original building design, the girls were living, working, and studying in the school attic.[19] That same year, the Battleford school began to enrol female students. Principal Thomas Clarke reported that they were "much quicker in apprehension than the boys, and too great importance cannot be attached to their training. Those already in the school have made such wonderful progress, as to warrant increased accommodation at an early date."[20]

Qu'Appelle principal Hugonnard initially claimed that the girls could not be counted upon to work without supervision. He observed, "The inconsistency of the Indian character is remarkable in them, especially in the elder ones."[21] By the 1890s, however, the girls had become essential to the operation of the school, having become responsible for making almost all student clothing. According to Hugonnard, the girls did "not have as much school as the boys owing to the large amount of housework, sewing, knitting, mending, washing, etc., that has to be done."[32]

This sort of discrimination—which was consistent with discriminatory practices in broader Canadian society—was also to be found at the Sault Ste. Marie school where, in 1884, girls had the option of doing "laundry work, sewing, knitting, &c., in the place of history and grammar."[33] Similarly, in 1899, girls at the Wikwemikong school attended classes full time, except for those "detained by turn to help in the general housework."[34]

Many schools found it difficult to recruit girls. In 1894, Regina school principal A. J. McLeod reported that there were twice as many boys as girls at the school.[35] The High River school in what is now Alberta had sixty boys and twenty-five girls in 1894.[36] The principal of the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school wrote in 1898, "We still find it almost impossible to persuade heathen parents to leave their daughters in our home. Those we have are orphans or the children of Christian parents. There is no difficulty in getting the boys, but the heathen value their girls at a high figure and they are early given away in marriage."[37]

In 1895, Mohawk Institute principal Robert Ashton wanted to increase the number of girls in attendance at the school because, he believed, "the man may be the bread-winner but the woman is the civilizer." He thought that a male student who married a woman who had not attended the school would revert "to the Indian language, habits and customs and his children are Indians pure and simple."[38] To the degree to which these policies were reflective of broader Euro-Canadian attitudes towards the roles of men and women, they are also evidence of the way in which assimilation was central to the work of the schools.

As shown in Table 28.1, the number of male students exceeded the number of females until the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. However, from then on, there was a slight majority of girls in the schools. One of the reasons for this slightly larger female enrolment was that girls tended to stay in school longer; the government and churches preferred to keep female students until they were engaged to be married.

In the ways that the schools attempted to handle relations between female and male students and to control Aboriginal family structures, residential schools both reflected and intensified broader patterns in Canadian society. During this period (1867 to 1939), most Canadian women gained the right to vote and saw their educational opportunities expand. These reforms did not challenge—and, in some cases, were based upon—the idea that men and women operated in different social spheres with differing responsibilities. Granting women the vote, for example, was seen as an opportunity to improve the moral tone of society, since women were believed to be a natural force for purity and stability.[39] But, it was feared that if Aboriginal women were not subjected to a process of 'civilization,' they would present a threat to social norms: at times, they were viewed as temptresses who would lead men astray; at other times,

Table 38.1. Comparison of male to female enrolment in Canadian residential schools, 1894 to 1939. (Percentages may not add up to 100, due to rounding.)

Year	Boys		Girls		Total enrolment
	Enrolment	% of enrolment	Enrolment	% of enrolment	
1894	1,102	52.0	1,017	48.0	2,119
1899	1,633	52.8	1,458	47.2	3,091
1904	1,835	53.2	1,651	46.8	3,506
1909	1,494	48.7	1,574	51.3	3,068
1914	2,003	49.4	2,048	50.6	4,051
1919	2,237	48.2	2,403	51.8	4,640
1924	2,299	47.8	2,518	52.2	4,817
1929	3,370	47.1	3,785	52.9	7,155
1934	4,302	47.7	4,698	52.3	9,000
1939	4,154	47.4	4,605	52.6	8,759

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1894, 250–276. Calculation based on the following schools: Mohawk Institute, Mount Elgin Industrial Institute, Shingwauk Home, Wawanosh Home, Wikwemikong Industrial, Alert Industrial, Coqualeetza Institute, Kamloops Industrial, Kootenay Industrial, Kuper Island Industrial, Metlakatla Industrial, Port Simpson Girls' Home, St. Mary's Mission Industrial, St. Joseph's (Williams Lake) Industrial, Yale (All Hallows), Portage la Prairie Boarding (Sioux Mission), St. Boniface Industrial, St. Paul's Industrial (Rupert's Land), Washakada Home (Elkhorn Industrial), Birtle? Boarding, Battleford Industrial, Birtle Boarding, Blackfoot Boarding, Blackfoot (Old Sun's), Blood Boarding (St. Paul's), Crowstand Boarding, Emmanuel College, File Hills Boarding, Gordon Boarding, Lac La Biche Boarding, Lake's End Boarding, Muscowequan's Lean Boarding, McDougall Orphanage, Onion Lake, Piegan Boarding, Qu'Appelle Industrial, Regina Industrial, Red Deer Industrial, Round Lake Boarding, Sarcee Boarding, Stony Plains Boarding, St. Albert Industrial, St. Joseph Industrial, Vermillion (Irene Training School), Fort Chipewyan, Fort Resolution, Île à la Crosse, Lesser Slave Lake, Moose Fort. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1899, 444–449; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1904, 2:50–55; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1909, 2:18–29; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1914, 152–159; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1919, 92–99; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1924, 99; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1929, 109; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1934, 33; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 1939, 268.

they were viewed as being too weak-willed to resist temptation. No attempt was made to discover, let alone accommodate, the actual roles that Aboriginal women played in their communities—roles that varied over time and from location to location.

As described more fully in other parts of this report, the boys and girls received very different training. The girls were to be Christian homemakers and mothers; the boys, trades workers and farmers. While the early industrial schools differed from the boarding schools in that they offered—or attempted to offer—a wide range of trades training to boys, there was very little difference in the training offered to girls at either the boarding schools or the industrial schools. Boys were also provided with greater recreational opportunities and more liberty than were the girls.

Keeping the students separate: "A note easily changes hands"

While they might be attending the same schools, male and female students were strictly separated from one another. The separation of the sexes divided brothers from sisters and was a cause of significant distress to many residential school students. It was a central element in church and government efforts to control the social lives of Aboriginal people, while they were students and even after they left the schools. The practice of separating female and male students was not out of keeping with educational practice of the day, where separate school entrances, hallways, playgrounds, and classrooms for girls were common. However, maintaining such strict separation was considered especially important in the case of Aboriginal children, since they were seen as being particularly vulnerable to temptation. In 1906, Mission, British Columbia, principal E. C. Chirouse wrote, "After many years of labour amongst our Indians I am convinced that the system of keeping the boys and girls apart is by far the best as far as morals are concerned, and this is likewise the opinion of my brother missionaries, some of whom have spent over forty years with these people."

Louise Moine recalled that at the Qu'Appelle school, "the teachers were very strict about segregation. So the boys kept to their side and we to ours. I can't speak for the teenagers but, we, the younger members, were quite satisfied with these regulations."

The Catholics were not the only ones to educate the sexes separately. At the Anglican Metlakatla school in British Columbia, the boys' and girls' classrooms were in separate buildings. An inspector noted that at the Middlechurch school in Manitoba in 1893, "there is the greatest circumspection exercised regarding the association of the boys and girls." It was common for each school to have a separate girls' and boys' playground. At the Coqualeetza Institute in Chilliwack, British Columbia, there were "play rooms for boys and girls in their respective quarters and recreation grounds for each side."

Margaret Butcher, a teacher at the Kitamaat, British Columbia, school, took a somewhat philosophical view of the difficulties involved in keeping the boys from the girls. "Sometimes notes are passed when we are out. It is as easy as pie. The pathway is narrow. The boys brush by the line of girls & a note easily changes hands. Yes, it is all natural to their years. One sympathizes with them & would like to laugh but 'Discipline must be maintained.'"

Government and missionaries remained hostile to Aboriginal marriage traditions. They sought to control the sexuality of young Aboriginal people while they were in the schools, and to arrange Christian, as opposed to traditional, marriages after they graduated.

Closely related to the issue of marriage was the control of the sexual activity of older students in the schools. In Aboriginal communities, such activity fit into the broader set of long-standing relations. However, the schools disrupted the traditional norms and controls. At the same time, the understaffed schools created the conditions for sexual relations that offended the morals of the churches and were beyond the oversight of the broader Aboriginal community. The schools also served as a setting for the sexual abuse of students by both staff and other students. Kamsack, Saskatchewan, Presbyterian school principal W. McWhinney's 1907 comment to a church official is representative of church attitudes: "The Indian boy or girl [illegible] yields easily to any impulse or desire and from twelve upwards, their passions are peculiarly strong."[illegible]

Not only were sexual relations regarded by the churches as sinful, but also almost anything to do with sex was seen as shameful.[illegible] As a result, there was little in the way of sex education in the schools. There was, of course, little sex education in Canadian public schools at this time, either. However, the residential schools severed the students' links with their traditional source of knowledge and guidance on sexual information and practices: their families and their community. Hilda [illegible] recalled with affection one teacher at the Mohawk Institute and her [illegible] efforts at sex education. She told the senior girls that when they left the school, "I want your [illegible] to be able to be your husband's, to be your first kiss, let it be your husband's." I think she meant more than kissing. I think she meant sex, but just wasn't mentioned then."[illegible] One nun at the Qu'Appelle school noticed that Louise [illegible] often stared at a young male student and asked her if she liked the boy. When Louise said that she did, "Sister Chauvin, in her understanding way, proceeded to give me a few pointers on the facts of life. I felt affection for the first time in that school. I shall always remember her."[illegible]

Parents often blamed the schools if children became sexually active at a young age. When it was discovered in 1891 that male students, along with men from the local reserve, had been visiting the girls' dormitory of the Presbyterian school at Kamsack at night, Indian Affairs school inspector A. J. McRae wrote:

> It is not to be wondered that the Indians regard the school with the greatest disfavor when it is remembered that the pupils concerned in these immoral occurrences were committed to the guardianship of the school authorities when of most tender years, and as one of them said to me, "We have been allowed to grow up in wickedness which their mothers might have protected them from."[illegible]

The principal of the Ermineskin school at Hobbema, Alberta, sought Indian Affairs' permission in 1938 to keep two eighteen-year-old female students at the school until they were married. According to Principal Frank, the parents of one of the students insisted "that the girl comes back and be here until she gets married. One of their daughters had an accident and they want to avoid this with Lena."[illegible]

School officials could be reluctant to provide their superiors with reports on problems with sexual activity. It was only after the matter had already come to the

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the case. According to Fowler, "The magistrate is of the opinion that the charge should be for house breaking." (Although the rationale is not given, presumably the boy would be prosecuted for breaking into the dormitory, rather than for attempting to have sexual relations with a student.) If the Manitoba government's Industrial School for Boys in Portage la Prairie would accept the boy, the magistrate said, he would send the boy to that institute (a provincial government-run correctional facility and not a federal residential school). Otherwise, he would be sentenced to two years in Stony Mountain federal penitentiary in Manitoba. Fowler wrote, "If it were only a case of this boy, I would discharge him and send him home." But he feared if he did that, other boys who wished to be dismissed would follow his example. The seventeen-year-old boy pleaded guilty to housebreaking and was committed to the Industrial School for Boys for a period of one year, "with the understanding that if his behavior was good he be allowed out on parole."

In 1921, the principal of the Hobbema school complained that "several young men were coming around the school, trying to have relations with our girl pupils." When three students ran away with three men, the men were arrested, convicted of an unspecified crime, and given a one-year suspended sentence. Despite this, one of the men continued to come around the school, and one of them had written at least one letter to a female student. The principal sought to have him prosecuted, but the local judge informed him that there was not "matter enough for a conviction."

The prospect of students becoming pregnant was an ongoing concern for school staff. At the Kitamaat school, Margaret Butcher kept a record of every girl's menstrual period, monitoring their laundry to check her records. Sometimes, students who became pregnant were discharged. When, in 1915, a female student at the Alert Bay school became pregnant, the principal sought to place her "in some home here until the child is born." The principal expressed a concern that the student had been pregnant when she was admitted to the school. Indian Affairs inspector W. E. Ditchburn thought that if that were the case, her condition should have been detected by the medical examination. The issue of whether she was pregnant at the time of admission was of concern to both the principal and Indian Affairs, since it would determine which organization was to pay for her transportation away from the school. In writing about the issue, Ditchburn noted to an Indian Affairs colleague, "It is hardly necessary for me to point out to you the desirability of this matter being kept as quiet as possible in order that the Department's educational policy may not be affected." In December 1928, the Indian Affairs medical superintendent recommended that a pregnant student at the Mount Elgin school be "discharged in care of her father."

That same year, Indian Affairs conducted an investigation into the charges of immorality, largely involving students over sixteen years of age, at the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario. The boys had used a five-cent skeleton key to gain access to one of the girls' dormitories; in another case, they had gained access to the girls' dormitory by climbing a rope the girls had dropped from a window to the fire escape below. Much of the activity took place while the principal, E. W. Byers, and his wife were on holiday. Inspector A. G. Hamilton concluded that the principal did not spend enough time at the school to ensure it was well managed, and recommended that the students involved be discharged from the school.[69] Under prodding from Indian Affairs, the Presbyterian Church dismissed Byers.[70]

Arranging marriages: "They sever themselves from their tribes"

Indian Affairs officials believed that because the department had spent money educating students, it had gained the right to determine whom they married. Government officials feared that if students married someone who had not also been educated at a residential school, they would revert to traditional "uncivilized" ways. In 1880, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald told the Parliament of Canada, "The young men when trained can get their homesteads, and if they can get white women or educated Indian women as wives, they sever themselves from their tribes."[71] Clearly, the control of marriage was part of the ongoing policy of forced assimilation.

In 1890, Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed took Qu'Appelle principal Joseph Hugonnard to task for marrying female students from the Qu'Appelle school to boys who had not gone to school, without first getting Indian Affairs approval. In his letter to Hugonnard, Reed made it clear how little concern or respect the government had for parental wishes.

> The contention that the parents have the sole right to decide such matters cannot for one moment be admitted. The parents themselves are to a certain extent wards of the Government who interfere in many directions to prevent actions which the ignorance of these people blinds them to the detrimental consequences of.

The regulation of marriage was in keeping with the Indian Affairs belief that Aboriginal parents were not able to instill in children the appropriate social values. According to Reed, Indian Affairs "has most assuredly acquired still further right in return for the expenditure involved in educating them in Industrial Institutions."[72]

Principals regularly reported and celebrated student marriages. In 1894, the principal of the Middlechurch school reported, "One boy and girl who were among the first to enter this institution, and since married, have applied to be employed here."[73] That same year, Hugonnard at Qu'Appelle reported that five school pupils were recently married. In one case, a female student married a male student, and in the others, three young women married young men from the local reserves. The former male student was described as "an excellent carpenter." On the occasion of his marriage, he was supplied with "a set of tools." His wife was described as a first-class housekeeper who had "been in service for some time and bears an excellent character."[77]

In 1896, Martha Thompson married Peter Smith, a former student of the Coqualeetza Institute. According to Coqualeetza principal Joseph Hall, Thompson "was one of a few pupils received eight years ago into the mission house for purposes of training, and out of which our present institute has grown." Hall described the married couple's home as "a model of neatness and taste, and furnishes in itself and its occupants a striking illustration of the good work which is being done for those in the school; such a work as can only be accomplished after years of faithful training and instruction."[78]

Six years later, Hall reported, "Our most competent pupil, Agnes Murphy, was married from the institute to our most advanced ex-pupil, George Matheson, on February 12, in the presence of the advisory board of the institute."[79]

In 1905, Port Simpson, British Columbia, principal Hannah M. Paul wrote:

> This year we have had the highest average attendance in the history of the institution. Three girls were discharged last summer and fall. Two of them are now married and the third expects to be married in August, to one of the best young Indians in the village. All have behaved themselves well and we have heard good accounts of them.
>
> On May 1 another girl was discharged who seems to be doing well, and another was married from the school on June 9. She keeps her house neat and clean and we think she will put in practice the lessons learned in the school. Nearly all these girls have comfortable homes, and many of them will be in more danger from the vices introduced by bad white people than from the old Indian customs.[80]

The Reverend P. Claessen, principal of the Kuper Island school, reported in 1909 that he had succeeded in "engaging one of our leaving girls with one of our best old boys."[81] In 1909, Kamloops principal A. M. Carion reported, "It is gratifying to note again that since my last report, two more couples of ex-pupils have been united in the bonds of holy wedlock. The ex-pupils who marry other ex-pupils are better able to retain the habits of civilized life, which they acquired at the school."[82] The following year, he reported:

> Most of the boys prefer to marry girls trained in the same institution; quite a number of marriages have taken place between ex-pupils, to the satisfaction of all concerned. The circumstances of the Indians in this district are such that it is next to impossible to form the ex-pupils into separate colonies, or settlements.[83]

Efforts were also made to block marriages deemed to be unsuitable. In 1894, J. W. Tims of the Anglican mission on the Blackfoot Reserve in what is now Alberta said there "is extreme difficulty in obtaining girls from the fact that they are allowed to marry from 10 years of age upwards and to become the second or third wife of grown up and middle aged Indians, a custom which I think it is time the Department should take steps to discourage."[84] Indian agent Magnus Begg supported Tims. In August of that year, Begg reported that "one large girl who had left the boarding school for the holidays wished to be married." Instead of allowing her to proceed with the marriage, Begg had her returned to the school. He also wrote, "Everything is done to prevent girls under sixteen years of age getting married."[85] The following year, Begg told members of the Blackfoot Reserve that they could have only one wife, that they could not marry anyone under the age of eighteen, and that "no young man could marry a girl from an Industrial or board [sic] School without having prepared a house with two rooms, and owning cows, with the necessary stabling, &c." The Blackfoot at the meeting told him that if the government attempted to prohibit the marriage of girls under the age of eighteen, he "might expect blood."[86]

In 1895, Indian Affairs instructed principals and Indian agents to seek the permission of Indian Affairs officials in Ottawa prior to allowing students to marry. Later that year, Indian Commissioner Amédée Forget was disturbed to discover that a student who was discharged from the Lestock, Saskatchewan, school, ostensibly to care for her sick mother, had recently married. He said the Indian agent should not have allowed the marriage without government approval. Even though the marriage had already taken place, Forget demanded to be supplied with information on the "prospects generally of the newly married couple being able to maintain themselves and the probability of their carrying out in their home the lessons they have learned at school."[87]

The government not only encouraged marriage between students, but it also began to make marriage part of the process of getting out of residential school. In his annual report for 1896, Deputy Minister Hayter Reed wrote, "It is considered advisable, where pupils are advanced in years and considered capable of providing for themselves, to bring about a matrimonial alliance, either at the time of being discharged from the school or as soon after as possible."[88]

The degree to which the Methodist school at Port Simpson had managed to take control over the lives of its residents was demonstrated in 1898 when a father asked that his daughter, Nellie Atanasse, be returned to him. School officials opposed the measure, describing the father, who was not Aboriginal, as "a Catholic and a worthless man." In court, the judge asked the girl, who was over the age of sixteen, to choose her own guardian. She chose to return to the school; her marriage was arranged for November of that year.[89]

School administrators remained involved in the lives of the students long after they left the school and married. In 1898, Betsy, a former student of the Qu'Appelle school, sought to remarry after the death of her first husband. Since her new husband was already married, Qu'Appelle principal Hugonnard and Indian agent W. M. Graham travelled to her reserve in an effort "to stop this illegal marriage." They arrived only to discover that the couple had left for the husband's reserve.[90] The Mounted Police tracked the couple down and forced the man to send Betsy back to her home reserve. Hugonnard announced he had arranged for her to "be married to a Pasquah Indian, a widower of one of our girls."[91]

In 1900, the Indian agent at Muscowpetung, in what is now Saskatchewan, sought permission to block recognition of the traditional marriages of two young men from the reserve. Both of them were former residential school students but, according to the Indian agent, their "conduct during the past has not been at all satisfactory." He had tried to get one of them to take up farming and marry "a respectable girl from the Regina school." Instead, the two men had visited a nearby reserve and returned with young women with whom they intended to live. The agent believed the women were "very undesirable companions for young men who have received a good common education and a Christian training and of whom we have a right to expect better things." The agent stated his intention to refuse to recognize these relationships as legitimate marriages "in keeping with hereditory [sic] customs of the tribe."[92] His superiors informed him that, according to band records, one of the men was already married, but, in the other case, it was still department policy to accept "the Indian form of marriage."[93]

In 1902, Indian agent A. J. McNeill informed Sarcee Reserve school principal J. W. Tims that a student who had planned to be married "next Wednesday or Thursday" would have to delay her wedding until the government could process the principal's application for her discharge.[94] Seven years later, Indian Affairs was still seeking to exercise influence over whom students married. In a circular issued that year, Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs Frank Pedley instructed Indian agents and principals:

> Most careful thought should be given to the future of female pupils; the special difficulties of their position should be recognized and they should be protected as far as possible from temptations to which they are often exposed. They will be assisted in any effort to become self-supporting, or helpful to their parents, or at the time of their marriage.

Marriage between pupils should be encouraged, and when a marriage takes place, the Department will give assistance to the young wife in some form to be afterwards decided upon.[95]

At the Kitamaat school in the early twentieth century, the staff members did not always attempt to block marriages of which they did not approve. In explaining why she was not opposing the marriage of a girl she believed to be too young, Margaret Butcher said, "The Indians are a primitive people and their moral caliber very different from ours. It is better that they should be married as they wished lest their desires got beyond control."[96]

The churches sought to have the government strengthen its control over Aboriginal marriage. In 1922, the head of the Presbyterian Church's Winnipeg Committee on Indian Work urged the government to make it "unlawfull [sic] for a pupil or ex-pupil of the School to marry or be married without the permission of the Indian Agent." The Presbyterians proposed that the children of such marriages be denied Treaty annuities until they reached the age of twenty-one and be prohibited from attending school.[97] Indian Affairs officials viewed the proposals as being overly restrictive and punitive, and did not implement them.[98]

Indian Affairs did, however, continue to use its control over discharge from school to control student marriage. In 1927, three girls aged fifteen, sixteen, and seventeen ran away from the Blue Quills school in Alberta to spend the night with three young Aboriginal men. Indian agent W. E. Gullion opposed a recommendation that the oldest girl be discharged so that she could marry the boy with whom she had spent the night. Gullion feared that if she were discharged, "some of the older girls would be inclined to follow her example."[99] Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham supported this position.[100] Two years later, it was reported that two students at the Sacred Heart school on the Peigan Reserve, who were "over 17 years of age," were to be married to two former students as soon as their discharge was granted.[101]

Principals continued to arrange marriages into the 1930s. In 1936, the principal of the Roman Catholic school at Onion Lake prepared a list of students who had turned sixteen who, he believed, should not be discharged. He insisted on keeping the students, since he would "always try to marry them as soon as they leave the school." Of one eighteen-year-old girl, he wrote, "She will be exposed if she is turned loose." He wanted to keep her until the fall threshing was complete. Then, she would be married to a former pupil. He wanted to keep another eighteen-year-old until "she gets married during the year." Several of the girls he hoped to keep in the school until he had arranged their marriages were orphans.[102]

The churches continued to urge government to further extend its control over the personal lives of First Nations people. In June 1936, the United Church's Conference of Indian Workers adopted—as part of its Indian residential school policy—a resolution calling on the federal government to make it an offence "for any person to have carnal knowledge of an unenfranchised Indian woman outside the legal relationship." It also asked that the *Indian Act* be amended to make it an offence "for any person or Indian to have carnal knowledge of an unenfranchised Indian woman not legally his wife." Similarly, they asked that the Act be amended to make it an offence for "an unenfranchised woman to have carnal knowledge of any person or Indian not legally her husband."[103] Even though it was clear to the church that the policies of the past had failed, it could see no alternative other than to urge the government to adopt even more coercive and paternalistic approaches.

The File Hills colony

In response to reports that students were being 'unfitted' for life in their home communities, Indian Affairs sought to continue its control over students' lives after they left the schools. In 1909, Deputy Minister Frank Pedley instructed Indian agents "wherever possible to give some assistance to discharged pupils to enable them to immediately put to practical use the instructions which they have received. You should therefore give special attention to pupils whose term of residence is nearly completed and consider each individual case according to its needs." The agents were supposed to work with the principals to plan each student's discharge from the schools. Agents were to "select the most favourable location for ex-pupils, and should also consider the advisability of forming them into separate colonies or settlements removed to some extent from the older Indians."

Agents were to provide male pupils who intended to take up farming with "some degree of assistance outright, or where any assurance can be given that a loan will be repaid, a certain advance will be made to purchase stock, building material, implements and tools."[104] Female students might be provided with a sewing machine and kitchen supplies. A student had to agree to return the machine "if at any time my behavior or personal conduct is not satisfactory to the officers of the Indian Department."[105]

Pedley's 1909 directive referred to the possibility of establishing colonies for former students. One such colony had already been established in southeastern Saskatchewan in 1902. The File Hills Colony was an initiative of the local inspector of Indian agencies (and future Indian commissioner), W. M. Graham. The colony was situated on land on the Peepeekisis Reserve in the File Hills. But the colony residents did not come from the Peepeekisis Reserve: most of them came from the nearby File Hills and Qu'Appelle residential schools. Those who moved to the colony were provided with stock, equipment, seed, building supplies, and credit. No couple could live together unless they were married according to provincial law, as opposed to Aboriginal custom.[106]

The first student to move to the colony was Fred Dieter. In 1907, Graham boasted of the success the young man had achieved, describing him as

> an independent, self-respecting citizen. This man has a large house of five rooms and a basement cellar, a large barn and two frame granaries (at the time of my visit, a few days ago, these were full of grain). The grounds surrounding the house are set out with trees three or four years old. The cellar is well stocked with vegetables. They have three cows milking this season, a dozen pigs and a lot of hens in the yard.

Dieter had a full line of farm machinery that was all paid for, and employed a "white man" as a farm labourer. Graham was at pains to stress the distance he felt Dieter had come.

> What makes this case the more interesting is the fact that this boy was taken to school from a home which is today one of the worst hovels on the reserve and where his people are purely Indian in all their habits and do no farming, and if this boy had returned to his home, he would have fallen into line with them, without doubt. These people have nothing to do with this young man, and their influence over him amounts to nothing.[107]

Graham boasted:

> Although this colony has only been in existence six years, the results obtained have been phenomenal, to my mind. I shall instance cases of young men leaving school seven years ago, at the age of 18, who are to-day settled in comfortable homes, married and have children, who are brought up as white children are, not even knowing the Indian tongue.[108]

Fred Dieter's daughter, Eleanor Brass, was one of those children brought up speaking only English. Her parents, one of whom was Cree and the other Saulteaux, spoke only English at home, in part because they were fearful their children would be held back in school if they did not have a good command of English. Brass wrote in her memoirs that by government order at the colony, "fiddle dances, pow-wows, and tribal ceremonies were forbidden. Mr. Graham considered them a hindrance to progress. But I can remember as a child accompanying my parents to some secret fiddle dances held in private homes."[109]

By 1915, thirty-one families were living in the File Hills Colony. It was divided into Catholic and Protestant sections, each with its own church. In addition, there was a small hospital with a resident nurse. Colony members had also proven themselves to be patriotic, donating $540 to the war effort within weeks of the outbreak of the First World War.[110] Although the colonists were selected because they had done well at residential school, they did not wish to see their own children attend residential school. They managed to win government support for the establishment of a non-religious day school on the colony, but objection from Qu'Appelle principal Joseph Hugonnard led to the federal government's abandoning the initiative.[111]

The students who came to the colony did receive far more financial support than other First Nations people who were attempting to farm in the Canadian West. As a result, they were more successful than many other former students. The federal government could not abandon its paternalistic approach. According to Brass, one of the Indian agents responsible for the File Hills Colony "handled all the finances of the reserve and we couldn't sell a bushel of grain, a cow or a horse without getting a permit first."[112] At one point, the Indian agent threatened to put Brass's husband in jail for trading a horse without his permission.[113] Brass believed that the residential schools undermined the colony's development: "As soon as their children became of school age, they were taken away and the parents were deprived of their rightful responsibility for their upbringing. Along with the Indian agent administrating their affairs, the graduates had little opportunity to exercise initiative and ability." Given these restrictions, she and her husband eventually left the colony.[114]

Edward Ahenakew described the File Hills Colony as a tribute to W. M. Graham, but also as a continuance of the residential school model of telling First Nations people what to do.[115] While the government often pointed with pride to the achievement of the students at the File Hills Colony, no attempts were made to replicate it in other locations.[116] By the 1930s, the government had ceased to refer to the colony in its publications. In 1936, Oblate missionary Guy de Bretagne wrote federal officials to alert them to the colony's decline. He said only six of eighteen Catholic colonists were still farming.[117]

Although the File Hills Colony was the government's showcase, overall support to former students was minimal. In 1914, Indian Affairs provided a total of $6,934.23 to forty-three male and twenty-three female ex-students (an average of $105 a recipient). In reporting on Indian Affairs' program of support for former students, Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott wrote that "although in some cases the results have not been all that could be desired, it must be considered that these graduates have many difficulties to contend with owing to the environment of the reserve life and the prejudices of the older Indians."[118] Seven years later, the number of former students receiving support had declined to thirty-five (eleven males and twenty-four females). That year, they received a total of $2,933.84 (an average of $84 a recipient).[119] In 1925, in referring to what he called the "graduate problem," Scott wrote, "Many older Indian pupils of promise are being given an academic or vocational training in public schools and business colleges in competition with white children." He did not, however, indicate how many were receiving support.[120] The levels of support remained low into the 1930s. In 1936, the government provided $4,000 in assistance, which was 57% of what it had provided two decades earlier, in 1914.[121] Not all former students received support. In 1931, a former student of the St. Albert school was denied funds to purchase a sewing machine at the time of her marriage because she was defined as "non-Treaty" and had married a non-Treaty man.[122]

In 1932, Russell Ferrier, the Indian Affairs superintendent of education, announced a new follow-up program of support. Under this program, when a student approached the age at which she or he would be eligible for discharge, the principal was expected to contact the Indian agent from the student's home reserve. The agent was to provide a report on home conditions, and the principal was to give the agent an assessment of the student's capabilities. Once the student returned home, it was the agent's role to "guide the graduate into worthwhile activity." The principals were to encourage local missionaries to assist in providing this guidance. The program's work was very poorly defined, there were no resources provided, and expectations were minimal.[123] Five years later, Ferrier's successor as the head of Indian Affairs education programs, R. A. Hoey, announced the establishment of another follow-up program. It amounted to a re-announcement of the 1932 program, under which agents and missionaries were urged to oversee and direct the lives of former students. No additional funds were provided to actually assist the students in establishing themselves.[illegible]

As this chapter and the three preceding chapters make clear, the residential schools were more than simple educational facilities. They were an integral part of a joint government and church campaign to disrupt Aboriginal families and Aboriginal culture. A great deal of attention has been paid to the obvious and destructive role the schools played in separating children from their parents and suppressing Aboriginal languages. Through their missionary work, the schools, and the men and women who organized them, also devoted considerable effort to demeaning and undermining Aboriginal cultural and spiritual practices and beliefs, and to disrupting patterns of Aboriginal family formation.

CHAPTER 39

The Lytton school: 1902–1939

The St. George's Anglican school at Lytton, British Columbia, opened in the 1902–03 school year. From its opening until the end of the 1930s, the school was in a constant state of crisis. Almost every one of the problematic issues previously described in this volume was manifested at this school. For the entire forty-year period, relations between the school and the First Nations people were cool at best, and, as a result, the school had difficulty in recruiting students. Inspectors, students, and parents all raised issues about the quality of education, continually poor health, inadequate diet, sanitation, building maintenance, fire safety, discipline, truancy, sexual impropriety, and conflicts between staff members. While not unique, the problems of this school serve as an example of the inevitable outcomes of a poorly managed, underfunded, and misdirected system in action.

Like the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, St. George's was an initiative of the British-based New England Company (NEC). The school's founding principal was George Ditcham, an Anglican clergyman by training.[1] From the outset of its establishment, the Lytton school had recruiting problems. In 1905, the school, which could accommodate forty boys, had only twelve students.[2] Three years later, enrolment had increased to twenty-nine.[3] It was only by 1908 that Principal Ditcham could boast of a full enrolment, but this was achieved in part by revising the school's capacity downward to thirty-five.[4] Part of the problem might have come from Ditcham's own attitude towards Aboriginal people. In one annual report, he wrote, "There has been no serious trouble with the morality of the school and the conduct has been excellent when one considers the natural deformities of these Indians."[5] Six years later, he wrote, "Some improvement is noticeable in truthfulness and honesty, and the boys are fairly well behaved and obedient, though they need constant supervision."[6]

Parental discontent mounted through the decade. In 1919, fifty parents and band representatives met with Indian Affairs Inspector W. E. Ditchburn to express their frustration with conditions at the Lytton school. According to Ditchburn, the parents felt the students were worked too hard, did not get enough class time, were subject

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Many parents felt that the students were poorly clothed, poorly fed, and poorly treated. Inspector Barry said he believed that the first two allegations about food and clothing were not true, but that he still had to complete his investigation into the treatment of the students. But, despite his concerns about student treatment, Barry recommended that, in the face of this resistance, "all available Indian children should be forced to attend" the school. He recognized, however, that "in a few cases it may be necessary to secure convictions which would result in the sending of certain boys" to school.

At the end of October 1936, three staff members were dismissed: Marjorie Bird, the intermediate teacher; Helen Dalgleish, the laundry matron; and Alfred Batchelor, the boys' supervisor. In a letter to Indian Affairs, Bird complained that she was being let go without cause, adding, "Because the Indians are agitating to get rid of Mr. Lett he tries to pacify them by telling them all that he is dismissing the old staff and making a clean sweep of the school. It will do no good if we are all dismissed, as long as he remains." Deputy Minister McGill backed Lett's decision, describing him as "a very capable administrator."

Health conditions at the school were disastrous in the winter of 1936–37. In that year, 152 students were sick with a combination of measles and whooping cough. This was followed by an influenza attack that affected 170 students, 11 staff members, and 4 emergency nurses. Thirteen children died. In a letter to the parents of the children who died, Lett wrote, "Your children are just gone before and are patiently waiting for you and as their arms were flung around your neck and shoulders here, so they will greet you in your last and everlasting home. Do not fail them. Remember their joys and smiles and ask God to give you grace to go to them."

According to school inspector Barry, the high death rate left the school with a "very bad name among the Indians." In 1938, Barry recommended that Lett be dismissed because of his inability to control the students or regain the respect of the parents. However, Indian Commissioner D. M. MacKay concluded that Lett had made sufficient improvement to justify his being allowed to continue in office. It was another mistaken decision.

In January 1941, Barry prepared a summary of his reports on the Lytton school since 1927. He had called the washrooms "filthy" (twice in 1927) and had described them as "swimming in water" (1930), had found the floors "very dirty" (1930), and had recommended "more attention be paid to the daily cleaning of the school" (1940). The door from the "intermediate boys' dormitory to the fire escape was locked," and the key kept in a place "where smoke and possibly flames might be expected to be with the draft involved" (1931). The heating of two of the primary classrooms was so poor, he thought it would be "the cause of illness" (1927) and remained "very unsatisfactory" (1930). In 1927, Barry concluded that Principal Lett viewed the local Indian agent as being "perfectly useless," and the agent, Mr. Strang, held a similar view of Lett. In that year. Barry also commented that the principal did not spend enough time recruiting students for the school, although he noted that he was "not popular with the Indians." Barry also thought the Indian agent did not visit the school frequently enough, and the principal felt that the agent was neglecting to enrol at least twenty children at the school. The conflicts went unresolved for years.

Some of Barry's harshest criticisms were reserved for Lett's treatment of the staff. In 1938, he wrote, the principal

> engages the most unsuitable persons as supervisors, particularly on the girls' side of the school. Sooner or later there is a row of some sort and the girl leaves and later seeks an interview with either the Indian Commissioner or myself. It is impossible to get discontented ex-members of the staff of the St. George's school to put their complaints in writing. If they would only do this we could deal with the matters complained of at the school.

Barry believed that older students were not getting enough class work, and that runaways were not always reported to the local Indian agent. He also said the boys were out of control, the principal was too often absent, and the boys' supervisor might have been making "too great a use of corporal punishment." It was, he added, "most difficult to regulate the punishment of children in a school where the Principal fails in the general administration and control of his own staff."

Not surprisingly, from 1937 onward, Barry called for a change of principal. In light of some improvement in 1940, he relented and said he was not prepared to insist on a change "at the present time." But, conditions soon deteriorated further. Barry ended his 1941 report with the note that "Mr. Lett is not professionally qualified to supervise the actual subject matter taught to the children."[18] Lett was not replaced until 1942. The newly appointed principal, C. F. Hives, wrote to Ottawa about the challenges he faced, warning, "After years and years of mal-administration, please don't look for definite results too quickly from St. George's."[19]

The fact that the federal government was prepared to accept four decades of "mal-administration" of the Lytton school is emblematic of the residential school system's failings during this period. The Lytton school, it should be emphasized, was not a remote, hastily constructed mission school that operated without scrutiny. It was built in the early twentieth century, and a new school was constructed in the 1920s. Senior Indian Affairs officials received regular reports on the problems with the operation of the school, which the department owned after 1928. Throughout this period, parents, with very good reason, were unwilling to send their children to this school. The government used coercion to get the children into the school—and then failed to protect them from neglect, disease, overwork, and abuse. This was the residential school system in operation.

CHAPTER 30

Parents respond and resist: 1867–1939

An earlier chapter in this part of the history described the way in which parental opposition to industrial schools contributed to the failure of the industrial school initiative. It is important to recognize that Aboriginal parents and communities never ceased to speak out and act on behalf of their children. This resistance took numerous forms. Parents might refuse to enrol students, refuse to return runaways, or they might refuse to return students to school at the end of the summer holidays. They also called on the government to increase school funding, establish day schools, and improve the quality of education, food, and clothing. In taking these measures, they often put themselves at risk of legal reprisals. Various acts of opposition have been chronicled in chapters on such topics as discipline, food, work, truancy, and abuse.

Almost invariably, the system declined to accept parental and student criticisms as being valid. Parental influences were judged to be negative and retrograde, if not simply "evil," to use the missionaries' word. Once parents came to be viewed as the 'enemy,' their criticisms, no matter what their validity, could be discounted. This colonialist attitude made it impossible for the schools to generate the sort of parental support and involvement any education system needs to succeed.

Principals often claimed that parents were too quick to believe their children's complaints about life in the school. For example, in 1889, Qu'Appelle principal Joseph Hugonnard reported, "Several of the boys ran away but they all came back except two. The excuse they make to their parents for doing this is, that they have too much work to do and not enough school, and the parents are generally ready to believe it."[1]

Less than two months after receiving a report that conditions at the Elkhorn, Manitoba, school were good, the Indian Affairs office received a message from the local Indian agent that the majority of parents would not be returning their children to school at the end of the summer of 1926. According to the parents, the children were not well fed, the older boys compelled the younger boys to steal, and all were poorly clothed. The agent said that a physician had examined eleven children on their return to their home community and informed him that seven were in poor health and should be under the doctor's care."[2] In response, departmental secretary J. D. McLean said he thought the parents' complaints were baseless. "As you are aware," he wrote, "it is quite common for Indian parents, who do not wish their children to remain at residential school to do everything possible to delay their return after the expiration of the holiday period." The parents were to be told that "their children must be returned" to the school.[3]

Parents often had a very clear understanding of the failings of the schools, and proposed realistic and effective solutions to those problems. In 1905, parents of children attending the Roman Catholic boarding school in Squamish, British Columbia, petitioned to have the school converted into an industrial school. Such a change would have led to a significant increase in the school's per capita grant. According to British Columbia Superintendent of Indian Affairs A. W. Vowell, the parents realized that the "amount paid for the support of their children at the boarding school is not sufficient to admit of anything but the bare necessities in the line of food and clothing being furnished by the Management."[4]

In the same vein, in 1907, Indian Commissioner David Laird wrote that he had received

> complaints from parents in regard to the lack of proficiency attained by their children in class work, and believe that in some few cases they were justified. It is quite natural that the schools should profit by the outside work of the boys, the older ones at least, as well as the various occupations of the girls at housekeeping, butter-making, clothes-mending, &c.; but this may be overdone in certain quarters.[5]

When their complaints went unaddressed, parents often simply removed their children from the schools. Roman Catholic Bishop Vital Grandin asked the Indian commissioner in 1897 to help him stop parents from taking their children out of the Lac La Biche school in what is now Alberta.

> Would it be too much to ask the Department to instruct their Agent to use his influence with his Indians in order to bring the parents to leave their children at school until we are satisfied that they know enough to be benefitted by their stay with us. This is our greatest difficulty just now. After three or four years, and even some times after only two years in the School, parents must take their children away, to have their help in their work. Good advice from the Agent or [farm] Instructor at such time would induce some of the parents, if not all, to leave their children with us and it would be a great help to us.[6]

In 1904, a husband and wife attempted to remove their daughter from the Kuper Island, British Columbia, school. When Principal G. Donckele informed them that when they signed the admission form, they had given the government the right to determine when their daughter would be discharged, the father said, "I am the father of this child and I do not care for what you and the government have to say about it." After being told that he could be prosecuted, the father left, accompanied by his daughter.[7]

Even when both government and church officials recognized the validity of parental complaints, they could not bring themselves to tell parents that they agreed with them. This reluctance was underscored by the handling of problems at the Presbyterian school in Shoal Lake, Ontario, in 1917. That year, Inspector John Semmens reported that the conditions at the school were, from the government's point of view, far from satisfactory.

> The Indian language is still used by pupils to an undesirable extent. The Indian parents visit the school frequently and remain for meals and talk a grat [sic] deal with the children. Worse than this it is feared that they encourage their children in disobedience and they resent every form of punishment. Complaints of the pupils are too readily believed by their guardians and the Principal finds that their interference makes his work doubly hard.[8]

The Chiefs of the Shoal Lake Bands had gone so far as to demand the dismissal of Principal F. T. Dodds in the spring of 1917, arguing that he was "incapable" of running the school.[9] Indian Affairs had reached a similar conclusion: a few days after the petition was written, departmental secretary J. D. McLean wrote to the Presbyterian Church with a recommendation that Dodds be replaced.[10] Instead, the church appointed a younger man to serve as Dodds's assistant.[11] Indian Affairs recommended that Dodds discourage "too frequent" parental visits and stop feeding parents who visited the school.

Dodds carried out these instructions, along with an additional recommendation that he "deal firmly with those who transgress the rules."[12] The policies backfired. In 1917, three boys, who had been strapped for secretly meeting with girls at a location away from the school, ran away. They reached their homes, and the principal, having "learned that they suffered no ill effects from their journey," simply struck them off the school list. Another "clever boy, who was a favourite with the teachers," began acting up and was strapped. When he ran away, no effort was made to bring him back. On another occasion, eleven girls, who had previously "shown no spirit of insubordination," ran away.[13] At the end of August 1917, parents refused to return their children to school.[14] Dodds resigned in February, but his departure was delayed until the end of the school year. The Presbyterians believed that Dodds's immediate removal "would be construed by the Indians as the direct result of their appeal to the Department and a victory on their part."[15] Once again, the government and the churches went out of their way to downplay the legitimacy of First Nations' complaints.

Chief Napahkesit of the Pine Creek Band in Manitoba told the local Indian agent in 1917 that he was sorry he had ever supported the construction of the Pine Creek school. According to the agent, the chief felt "the children know less when they come out than they did when they went in." When they left the school, the boys were all "liars, thieves and do nothing but run after the girls, when the girls get out they are all liars, thieves, and do nothing but run after the boys." Whenever he wanted a letter written or read for him, "none of the children that come out of the school can read or write for him." What was needed, the chief said, was a day school.[16]

Indian Affairs explicitly excluded parents from the operation of the schools. Chief William Mann of the Fort Alexander Band in Manitoba, along with two band councilors, wrote to the federal government in 1923, inquiring if the "Band of this Reserve has any rights to see if the schools are well conducted by the Teachers or the Principal."[17] The response from department secretary J. D. McLean was categorical: "as these schools are conducted under the auspices of the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches, respectively, in co-operation with this Department, you have no authority in directing the policy in regard to the educational work being carried on." If they had complaints, they should take them to the Indian agent. They were reminded, "It is the duty of yourself and the councilors to assist the principal and the teachers in any way you can in encouraging the Indian parents to send their children to school."[18]

Some parents felt it was their duty to their children to withdraw them from residential school. In January 1922, Andrew Saunders, a Cree man from Missanabie, Ontario, completed a statutory declaration saying he wanted to withdraw his two children from the Chapleau, Ontario, school and place them in a day school, because "they are not being properly taught and have too much work." He said that when they came home for the holidays, they were "both lousy and dirty."[19]

Mohawk writer Pauline Johnson's sister, Evelyn, drew attention to the failings of the system in 1923. In a letter in the Toronto *Sunday World*, Johnson asked why the government did not "turn the Mohawk Institution into a first-class educational school, teaching trades, farming and domestic science by qualified teachers of these subjects, turning out boys and girls fitted to make their way in the life even if they do not wish or cannot afford to take up higher education?"[20]

Evelyn's father, George Johnson, born in 1816, had been a member of the Six Nations. He attended the Mohawk Institute, where his facility with language and his strong Anglican belief led to his becoming an assistant to the missionaries who ran the school. He went on to become an interpreter for the Anglican Church and, later, for the superintendent general of Indian affairs. He was, in effect, the senior government official on the Six Nations Reserve.[21] Evelyn's brother, Allen, also attended the Mohawk Institute, and once ran away from the school. Evelyn and Pauline were educated by governesses, and later attended private boarding schools.[22] Two weeks before Johnson's letter was published, a provincial inspector provided the department with a highly critical assessment of the school, which upheld Johnson's criticisms. According to the inspector, the school had no "provision for systematic instruction in the principles, either of household science, manual training or agriculture. It would, I think, be most desirable in a school of this kind if the heads of the various industrial departments were also qualified to teach the principles of these subjects." He added that in the "junior division teachers have changed too frequently to admit steady progress."[23]

Chief Kejick of the Shoal Lake Band told Indian Affairs officials in 1928 that the students from his reserve "did not know how to make a living when they left school and would like trades taught."[24] Eight years later, Charlie Shingoose of the Waywayseecappo Band sought to have his fifteen-year-old son, Charlie Junior, discharged from the Birtle, Manitoba, school. His reasoning was straightforward: the boy was making no progress at school, and if he were at home, his father thought, he could "teach him how to work, trap, etc." After ten years in the Birtle school, Charlie Junior was still in Grade Three. The principal agreed that while he was "fairly industrious," the boy's "classroom work was poor." Indian agent A. G. Smith observed, "I think that the Father is right in some respects, and that he would teach the boy how to earn a living in the Indian way, which would benefit this boy more than the school training."

However, he thought it would be unfair to the school to discharge a student midway through the school year, presumably because of the revenue that the school would lose. Even though he recognized that the boy would "not learn much which will be of practical value to him," he recommended he be kept in the school until summer.[25] Philip Phelan, the chief of the training division, disagreed, and allowed him to leave almost immediately.[26]

In the first year of the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school's operation, Chief Dan Francis wrote the following letter to Indian Affairs [spelling in original]:

> I am writing you a few lines to tell you about that Indian Shool at Shubenacadie. I thought that School was build for Indian Childrens to Learn Read and write not for Slave and Prisoner like jail also get worse [illegible word] now one Indian boy of this Reserve so beated by Father Mackie he was laid up for 7 Days also young girls do scrubing the floor on Sunday for one young girl give me report wich there had to Sent her Back here got Sick no wonder she get Sick for those young Indian girl never don any hard work So now when Indian agent come over told there Parents there children will not See hard time only shooling also cloths them and feed them and there Boy there do not have enough eat so I think that shool not for childrens to work like Country home that shool was build for Bording School now you see all while Children go Bording Shool don have to work and I understood those childrens at this Reserve should be all Sent Back and there can go shool here and they can help there parents also learn how to make baskets for there Living for these childrens are not orphans they got fathers and mothers and they would like to see there children be use [illegible word] and I do not Blame them for every one love their children I had childrens and got Learning with-out that kind of shool so hoping to hear from you soon.[27]

When Indian Affairs investigated, Chief Francis told the Indian agent of one girl who had been sent home from the school due to illness and who complained that she had not been well fed while at school. Another student was homesick; a parent wished to have her child returned to her; and parents had visited their children at the school and found them poorly cared-for and overworked. There were reports that parents visiting the school found "children's heads lousy."[illegible] Departmental secretary A. F. MacKenzie dismissed these complaints, saying the children were well treated and he did not believe the school staff would "permit any uncleanliness or vermin on the children under their charge."[illegible]

Residential schools also came under criticism from early First Nations organizations. Former Mohawk Institute student F. O. Loft founded the League of Indians of Canada. The creation of the league was one of the first attempts in the twentieth century to create a national political organization for Aboriginal peoples. The league met with considerable opposition from the federal government, and unsuccessful efforts were made to discredit Loft.[illegible] At its meeting in Saddle Lake, Alberta, in 1931, which attracted over 1,300 delegates, a resolution was approved that called for the construction of more day schools to augment residential schools.[illegible] The league became known as the League of Indians of Western Canada. Among its early leaders were Edward Ahenakew and John Tootoosis. By 1932, Tootoosis, who was the league's Saskatchewan president, was calling for the closure of boarding schools.[illegible] In 1933, the organization asked that only qualified teachers be hired to work at residential schools, that medical examinations be given to students before they were sent to the schools, and that the half-day system be reduced to allow for greater class time.[illegible]

Despite their position as a colonized people, afflicted with serious health and economic issues, Aboriginal people in this period expressed their opposition to residential schooling both collectively and individually. Their views were generally discounted, and their right to play a role in the education of their children was dismissed. The churches and the government officials all continued to believe that they knew better than parents.

CHAPTER 31

The staff experience: 1867–1939

Nicholas Flood Davin's 1879 report to the federal government on the future of residential schooling in Canada recommended the creation of a system of church-run schools. He described the existing church-operated schools as "monuments of religious zeal and heroic self-sacrifice." He believed that because the religious schools were staffed mostly by missionaries, the government would gain access to a low-cost and highly effective labour force. In his mind, each school employee would be "an enthusiastic person, with, therefore, a motive power beyond anything pecuniary remuneration could supply."[1]

The government accepted his advice. As a result, the story of the people who worked in the residential schools from 1867 to 1939 cannot be separated from that of the religious organizations for which they worked. At one point during this period, four distinct churches operated schools in Canada. These schools were administered by a variety of missionary organizations, and, in the case of the Roman Catholics, the schools were staffed by the members of several, different, Catholic religious orders.

Each school was a miniature society, often with more than twenty employees. In addition to teachers, there were cooks, seamstresses, housekeepers, matrons, disciplinarians, farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, engineers (to operate the heating and electrical generators), shoemakers, and even bandmasters. In 1930, there were eighty schools in operation. Although many of the school staff stayed for decades, complaints of high staff turnover were common. It is clear that thousands of people worked at residential schools during this period. They came for a variety of reasons, many staying for only a short time, while others lived the rest of their lives in the schools. Given all these variations, it is possible to present only a sketch of the staff of these schools.

This chapter opens with a description of the various motivations that drew people to work in residential schools, and is followed by a discussion of the Protestant and Roman Catholic missionary organizations that recruited and supported the residential school staff. The chapter pays particular attention to the role that women played in the history of these organizations, and attempts to give some sense of the experience of working in a residential school. Life in close quarters both generated tensions and served as the basis for long-lasting relationships, not only among different members of the staff, but also between staff members and students. The chapter also profiles some of the Aboriginal people who worked in the schools, and concludes with a survey of the critiques of residential schooling that were developed by some of the people who were involved in operating the system.

Motivations

A discussion of residential school staff has to begin with an understanding of the schools' religious mission. At any given time during this period, almost all the schools were run under the auspices of one of four Canadian churches. While the government had the right to approve or reject the appointment of school principals, the churches had the right to nominate the principals. The churches also usually had responsibility for hiring all additional staff (this was not necessarily the case in the early industrial schools). Each church sought to employ only members of its own faith. For example, at the Anglican schools, every staff member was expected, "so far as circumstances will admit," to be a member of the Church of England and to attend daily prayer services.

It is not surprising, then, that most of the early school staff members believed they were participating in a moral crusade. In her history of the McDougall Orphanage, the predecessor of the Morley school in Alberta, Mrs. J. McDougall recalled that during the twelve years her husband managed the institution, he was often "greatly worried and the financial burden upon him was heavy and we as a family underwent many times great sacrifice." She described the work of the mission and orphanage as "going out after the wild and ignorant and bringing them into a Christian home and blessing the body, culturing the mind and trying to raise spiritual vision." She felt the work justified the sacrifice. It was, she felt, "good work and surely it must be blest." Given the health conditions that prevailed in many communities and schools, the missionaries assured themselves that even if they could not save lives, they could save souls. Writing of her time as a matron at the Anglican school in Fort George, Québec, Louise Topping recalled how "many a night she stayed up to watch a child with feverish hands and head as they clung to her and she counted the last dieing [sic] breaths. Even in death they were wonderful Christians and would say Jesus was waiting for them and say they were glad to go to him."

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was a common belief among Protestant leaders that the Canadian nation could serve as the basis for God's kingdom on earth. This nation was ideally white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant. They also believed that the character of this nation was under threat from French-speaking Catholics in Québec, and from European immigrants. If Canada were to achieve its mission, these people, along with Aboriginal people, had to accept the benefits of European civilization and become assimilated. For such European men and women, devoting oneself to residential school work was a way of helping Canada fulfill a divinely ordained mission.

Some believed it would be possible to evangelize the world in a generation. The completion of this task of conversion would be the prelude, they expected, to the day of final judgment. Victoria Roman Catholic Bishop Charles Seghers believed the Inuit of Alaska were the last people on earth who had not heard the Christian message. He expected that their conversion to Christianity would usher in the second coming of Christ. In order to bring about this conversion, Seghers undertook a poorly planned and poorly provisioned expedition to Alaska. It did not result in the second coming, but rather in his own tragic death.

Most missionaries had more mundane motives. Alarmed by deteriorating health conditions in many Aboriginal communities in the late nineteenth century, they believed that without their assistance, Aboriginal peoples could not survive the disease, poverty, and dislocation that followed upon their contact with European societies. As W. H. Withrow, the editor of the *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, wrote in 1875, although the supplanting of a weaker race by a stronger one was "a step towards a higher and nobler human development," the incoming Europeans had assumed new responsibilities, having become "trustees to those weak and dying races."

Although these views may have been based on "good intentions," those intentions were forged in Europe and implemented without any consultation with Aboriginal people. Such a strong belief in the rightness of their intentions and the divine nature of their mission suggests that the missionaries—and, by extension, the people who founded and operated residential schools—were convinced of their own cultural and, often, racial superiority.

As a young man, T. B. R. Westgate had worked as a missionary in both Paraguay and German East Africa. Of his experiences in Africa, Westgate wrote that "the vanity and impudence of the educated nigger … passes comprehension. There is no more contemptible or despicable production under the sun." Westgate went on to play a leading role in the operation of the Anglican residential schools in Canada from 1920 to the 1930s.

One finds echoes of these racially laced thoughts in the writings of prominent school officials well into the early twentieth century. Brandon, Manitoba, principal T. Ferrier in 1903; Mount Elgin, Ontario, principal S. R. McVitty in 1913; and Kuper Island, British Columbia, principal W. Lemmens in 1915—all used the word "evil" in describing tendencies in Aboriginal culture. Aboriginal people were also seen as being essentially lazy. In 1877, the superintendent of the Wawanosh Home near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, a Miss Capelle, complained:

> They are in general very lazy, even more so than the negroes, who have a great heat as their excuse but the Indians living in the most healthy climate of the

> [illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

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[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

25¢ worth of anything, she would take it." On the evening of August 27, she said she was ill and took a large drink of alcohol from the school's medicine cupboard. She disappeared from the school that evening. When her absence was noted the following morning, the principal had the school building searched and then notified the police. It was not until two days later that the principal, under pressure from the staff, conducted a fruitless search of the brush around the school. In the opinion of a police officer who conducted a later investigation, the principal's efforts were too little, too late.

Six days after the matron had gone missing, an unknown man approached the school. When the school farmer, Mr. Owens, asked the man for his name, he turned and ran. Owens, believing the man was connected to Waldbrooke's disappearance, got a revolver from the school and fired a shot at the man, reportedly aiming over his head. According to Owens, the man turned, returned fire, and fled into the bush. Three months later, an unknown person broke into the principal's home but, despite the opportunity, did not steal any valuables. Shortly thereafter, a man was seen lurking around the school stable one morning. Owens chased him off. However, as he escaped, the man fired three gunshots at the farmer. In mid-December, evidence was found that suggested someone had been peering in the dormitory and staff-room windows. The mysterious events culminated with the destruction by fire of the pig barn. A police investigation concluded, however, that the fire was not arson. A police investigator also doubted there was any connection among the various events that followed Waldbrooke's disappearance.[38]

Waldbrooke's family came to help look for her, but she was never found. The family members believed that the father of a student she had reprimanded had killed her, but police officials believed the disappearance was, in all likelihood, suicide.[39] The mystery of what became of her was never resolved.

In 1929, the staff of the Dawson Hostel for Aboriginal students in the Yukon included a so-called mystery woman. According to director C. F. Johnson, she was "a Polish peasant woman who walked all the way from Telegraph Creek to Dawson arriving here just as winter was setting in." The hostel took her in after she had lost several other jobs. Johnson said she was "uncouth, proud and ignorant and of uncertain temper and there is very little she can do. However she irons and sews after a fashion so that she earns her board. Every little bit that she does is a real help and relieves the others just that much."[40] However, by spring, "the girls got on her nerves and she 'ran amuck' amongst them," so Johnson let her go.[41]

The missionary societies

In recruiting staff, there was a major distinction between the Roman Catholic and Protestant missionary organizations. The Roman Catholic schools during this period could draw staff from a number of Catholic religious orders, most of whose members had made explicit vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity. In the spirit of those vows, they would be obliged to go where they were sent, would not expect payment, and would have no families to support. The vast majority of Protestant principals were male clergy. They too often were assigned their posting by missionary societies. Unlike the Roman Catholic principals, however, the Protestant principals often were married men with families to support. Protestant school staff members were not violating sacred vows if they accumulated personal savings, refused postings, or resigned. The Catholics and Protestants also differed in that each Protestant church developed a single national entity to oversee its Aboriginal missionary work in Canada. Typically, this agency had responsibility for residential schools. Within the Roman Catholic Church, responsibility was more diffused. The order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate was responsible for the majority of the residential schools, but the order was slow in developing a national body that would represent it in its dealings with Ottawa. Furthermore, the Oblates could not claim to speak or act for the Roman Catholic Church as a whole.

Although the Roman Catholics operated most of the residential schools, the church, often with good reason, viewed itself as an embattled minority in Canada. In 1871, Roman Catholics accounted for 40% of the Canadian population; Methodists, 16%; Presbyterians, 15%; Anglicans, 13%; and Baptists, 7%. In 1921, the share was virtually the same.[30] In 1941, at the end of the period under review in this chapter, Roman Catholics accounted for 43% of the population; the United Church (formerly Methodist and some Presbyterians), 19%; Presbyterians, 7%; and Anglicans, 15%. Yet, while the Catholic Church may have been the largest Christian denomination in Canada, 60% of their adherents lived in one province: Québec.[31] Table 31.1 shows the distribution of residential schools by religious denomination in the 1930–31 school year. That year, there were eighty schools, the highest number to operate at one time during this period (from 1867 to 1939).

Table 31.1. Residential schools by religious denomination, 1930–31.

Church	Number of schools	% of total number of schools
Roman Catholic	44	55
Church of England	21	26.25
United Church	13	16.25
Presbyterian	2	2.5

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1931*, 15.

From these figures and the chart above, it is clear that the number of schools allotted to each church was not a reflection of that denomination's share of the general population. Rather, the number of schools was the product of each church's history of missionary work. Roman Catholic and Anglican dominance was the outcome of the work that Roman Catholic Oblate missionaries and the Anglican Church Missionary Society missionaries carried out in the Canadian Northwest in the nineteenth century. Although staff life in Protestant and Catholic residential boarding schools had much in common, it should be recognized that there also were significant differences, arising from the central role that male and female religious orders played in the Roman Catholic schools. (That role is discussed in more detail below.)

The Anglican missionary societies

For most of the nineteenth century, Anglican missionary work in British North America was funded and directed by the British-based Church Missionary Society (CMS). (The history and work of this society are outlined earlier in this volume.) This began to change in the 1880s with the establishment of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Province of Canada of the Church of England (DFMS). Because the more evangelical Anglicans viewed the DFMS as being too bureaucratic and ineffective, they established a second, competing, organization in 1894: the Canadian Church Missionary Association. The two organizations merged in 1902 to create the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada (MSCC).[40] The new body's founding principles held that "it is the first duty of the church to evangelize the world."[41] In 1903, the British CMS announced it was going to gradually withdraw from work among Canadian Aboriginal people. By 1920, all aid was to cease.[42] The prospect of the loss of funding from Britain, coupled with reports on ill health at residential schools, led prominent Anglican evangelical Samuel Blake to mount his campaign to reduce Anglican involvement in residential schooling. That campaign failed. Instead, the Canadian MSCC took over responsibility for most of the Anglican residential schools in Canada, which quickly became the society's largest expenditure. The exceptions in this period were the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario; the St. George's school in Lytton, British Columbia (which had been founded by the British-based New England Company); and the Gordon's Reserve school near Punnichy, Saskatchewan. The MSCC was not directly responsible for these three schools.[43]

In 1920, the MSCC formally assumed responsibility for "Indian and Eskimo work in the Dominion of Canada."[44] By the following year, it had established an Indian and Eskimo Commission to direct its Aboriginal residential schools.[45] Sidney Gould became the general secretary of the MSCC in 1910. Born in England, he and his family immigrated to Canada in 1883 when he was fifteen. Gould attended Wycliffe College in Toronto, where he pledged, "It is my purpose, God permitting, to become a foreign missionary." After receiving his medical degree, he carried out missionary work in Palestine before returning to Canada. As head of the MSCC, he played a central role in transferring responsibility for Anglican work with Aboriginal people from the

British Church Missionary Society to the MSCC.[46] He continued in his position with the MSCC until his death in 1938.[47] From its creation in the 1920s until the mid-1940s, the Indian and Eskimo Commission's field secretary was T. B. R. Westgate of Winnipeg.[48] Westgate had joined the Church Missionary Society in German East Africa in 1902. He was imprisoned by the Germans during the First World War and returned to Canada after his release. He also conducted missionary work in Paraguay.[49]

The Methodist missionary societies

From the late 1870s onward, the Methodist missionary work in Canada was carried out by the Methodist Church's Board of Missions under the direction of Alexander Sutherland. In 1906, the Board of Missions was split into two organizations: one with responsibility for missionary work in Canada; and one with responsibility for foreign work, which also had responsibility for work with Aboriginal people. Sutherland became the head of the Foreign Missions Board. He was succeeded in this by Egerton Shore and, later, James Endicott.[50] James Woodsworth was the director of western missions for the Methodist Church from 1886 to 1915.[51] One of his sons, J. F. Woodsworth, served as principal of both the Red Deer and Edmonton residential schools. (James Woodsworth was also the father of J. S. Woodsworth, the founder of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, a forerunner of today's New Democratic Party.)[52]

At the time of the creation of the United Church of Canada in 1925, the Methodist Church of Canada operated three residential schools in British Columbia (Chilliwack, Kitamaat, and Port Simpson), two in Alberta (Edmonton and Morley, which was operated as a semi-residential school until 1926, when a new residential facility was built), two in Manitoba (Brandon and Norway House), and one in Ontario (Mount Elgin at Muncey). After amalgamation, the United Church assumed responsibility for all these schools.[53]

The Presbyterian missionary organization

While most of the Presbyterian Church's missionary efforts were devoted to overseas missions, the Presbyterian Foreign Mission Committee (FMC) was responsible for all Presbyterian Church work with Aboriginal, Jewish, and Chinese peoples in Canada until 1912.[54] The FMC's full-time secretary, R. P. MacKay, played a central role in determining and implementing Presbyterian Church missionary policy from 1892 to 1925.[55] The Home Mission Committee (Western Section) handled all other mission work in Canada west of the Maritimes. In 1912, the commission was renamed the Board of Home Missions (Western Section). This body took on responsibility for work with Aboriginal and Jewish peoples, while the Foreign Mission Committee retained responsibility for work with Chinese people in Canada. James Robertson, the superintendent of missions for the West, oversaw much of the Presbyterian missionary work in western Canada until his death in 1902.[56] The Presbyterians were relatively late in establishing residential schools. They established two in British Columbia (at Ahousaht and Alberni), four in Saskatchewan (Kamsack, File Hills, Regina, and Round Lake), two in Manitoba (Birtle and Portage la Prairie), and one in northwestern Ontario (originally near Shoal Lake, later in Kenora). After the creation of the United Church in 1925, the Presbyterian Church in Canada retained responsibility for just two schools: Birtle and the school in northwestern Ontario. The rest of the schools that were still open were transferred to the United Church.[57] (The Regina school had closed in 1910; the Kamsack school, in 1915.)[58]

The United Church missionary organization

After the church union in 1925, the United Church created its Board of Home Missions,[59] with C. E. Manning and J. H. Edmison as the board's joint secretaries.[60] Along with responsibility for work with French Canadians and with immigrants, the Board of Home Missions had responsibility for residential schools.[61] In 1927, the United Church operated thirteen schools with 1,227 students. The total cost of operating the schools was $215,727. Of this amount, $181,000 came from the federal government, and $34,727 came from the United Church, of which the United Church Women's Missionary Society (WMS) raised $21,157.[62] The fact that such a large portion of the church contribution came from the WMS underscores the significant role that women played in funding, organizing, and staffing residential schools.

There was a measure of co-operation among the Protestant missionary organizations. They had an informal agreement by which they would not compete for converts within the same geographic region.[63] As a result, for example, there were no Presbyterian schools in Alberta, or any Methodist schools in Saskatchewan. The foreign mission boards of the Anglican, Congregational, Methodist, and Presbyterian churches co-operated in 1921 to establish a Canadian School of Missions in Toronto.[64]

The Protestant women's organization

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, women began to have a more significant presence in public life in Europe, the United States, and Canada. This was linked to the growth of a feminist consciousness and the teaching of the Social Gospel, which argued that there were specific female values that women could contribute to campaigns for social reform. While many restrictions still applied to their participation in church life, women did come to play an important role in supporting, directing, and carrying out church missionary work.[65]

Austin McKitrick, the principal of the Presbyterian school at Shoal Lake in northwestern Ontario, acknowledged this when he wrote in 1901, "I think if we men were to put ourselves in the places of some overworked, tired-out women, we would perhaps not stand it so patiently as they often do."[66] Presbyterian school principal W. W. McLaren worried that female staff members often were worked to exhaustion. In 1912, he wrote of the need to require

> a medical examination for the lady workers in particular and a means of superannuation of ladyworkers [sic] whose strength is no longer equal to the strain and who are yet dependent upon their salaries for maintenance. None but strong active sound [illegible, possibly "nerved"] women are suitable for this work. Many of the difficulties and misunderstandings that arise are due almost entirely to the neurotic condition of some of the workers.[67]

One missionary wrote that, knowing what he did about what was expected of female missionaries, he would discourage any daughter of his from working for the Methodist Women's Missionary Society.[68]

Protestant women's organizations raised funds and sponsored school operations. These organizations also recruited, trained, and supported female school workers.[69] Many women who felt a call to do missionary work married missionaries, and found themselves taking on a central—and sometimes unpaid—position in running residential schools.[70]

One of the first organizations founded by Christian lay women to promote missionary work was the United Baptist Missionary Union, established in the Maritimes in the 1870s. It was followed in 1876 by the Women's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society of Eastern Ontario and Québec.[71] The Women's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada was established in 1876.[72] The merger of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Church in Canada in 1881 led to the creation of the Canadian Methodist Women's Missionary Society (MWMS).[73] The society operated until 1925, when the United Church was created. During its forty-four-year history, the MWMS employed more than 300 women at missions in Japan, China, and Canada. Many of them came from small towns in Ontario and the Maritimes. They were often daughters of ministers, merchants, and professionals. Many had training as teachers, nurses, or doctors; they were usually sent overseas. The less-qualified missionaries were placed in home missions, working with recent immigrants and Aboriginal peoples. Some women spent their working lives in the missionary field; two-thirds of them, however, left after two or three years.[74]

Initially, the society was intended to raise money to support specific elements of the Methodist Church's general missionary society.[75] The Methodist Women's Missionary

Society was particularly charged with funding Thomas Crosby's work with Aboriginal people in Port Simpson, British Columbia. In its first year of operation, the society raised $200 to support Crosby's work.[76] The MWMS also supported the McDougall Orphanage for Aboriginal children in Morleyville in what is now Alberta, and helped fund work among Roman Catholics in Montréal, as well as a female missionary in Japan.[77] The society contributed funds to support the establishment of the Coqualeetza Institute in Chilliwack, British Columbia, in 1885. It recruited four women who served as matrons at the school during its first fifteen years of operation. From 1889 on, the society also supported a girls' home in Kitamaat, British Columbia.[78] Over a four-decade history, the MWMS raised $6.5 million.[79]

In recruiting missionaries, the MWMS sought to set a high standard. A candidate for mission work was to "believe herself divinely called to the work" and to have experienced "salvation through the atonement of Jesus Christ our Lord."[80] Successful candidates were expected to make a five-year commitment and to remain single during that period. Those who did not live up to those commitments were expected to pay back all or a portion of the cost of transporting them to the mission and establishing them there.[81]

One of the first Methodist female missionaries sent to work with Aboriginal people was Kezia Hendrie, a dressmaker from Brantford. She was hired in 1882 to work as the matron of the Port Simpson girls' school. Although she underwent what she described as a "spiritual salvation" at the school, she found the supervision of the girls to be difficult. After three years on the job, she resigned to marry another Methodist missionary, Edward Nicholas.[82] Her replacement, Agnes Knight, was proud of the regimentation she imposed on the school, and recorded, "We have bed-room, dining-room, kitchen and washroom rules, also general rules, or a timetable giving the hour for everything, from the rising-bell to bed-time."[83]

With the coming of the creation of the United Church, the MWMS ceased to exist. It was replaced by the United Church Women's Missionary Society, with a million-dollar budget that supported 400 mission workers.[84]

In 1885, Anglican women organized a women's auxiliary. One of the organization's early tasks was to collect and send clothes to missions.[85] In 1912, the Anglican Women's Auxiliary (WA) and the Anglican Missionary Society of the Church in England reached an agreement: the WA was to do "all the work among women and children in the Foreign Fields of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in the Dominion of Canada."[86] While women were to remain on the fringes of Anglican Church government, the Women's Auxiliary constituted a parallel operation. By 1923, it was raising 43% of the Canadian church's missionary budget (for both Canadian and foreign missions).[87] The Women's Auxiliary was the source of many of the nurses in Anglican residential schools. In 1920, the auxiliary put out a call for women "preferably but not necessarily between 30 and 40 years of age possessing sound health, adaptability to unusual conditions, capacity for co-operating harmoniously with fellow workers and ability to live contentedly in a small community with little opportunity for social pleasures.”[illegible]

The Presbyterian Women’s Foreign Missionary Society (PWFMS) was formed in 1876. Among its early leading figures were Marjory McLaren, the wife of the convenor of the church’s Foreign Missionary Society, and Catherine Ewart, a sister-in-law of Ontario premier Oliver Mowat.[illegible] Initially, it supported the work of women working in India, and it was not until 1885 that it began working in Canada.[illegible] The move into Canadian work was, in part, a response to reports of the success of Roman Catholic missionaries working among Aboriginal people.[illegible] All its work focused on the conversion of women and children.[illegible] By 1902, the PWFMS was funding all the Presbyterian work among Aboriginal peoples in British Columbia, and providing half the budget for work in Manitoba and what is now Saskatchewan and Alberta.[illegible] In explaining why a “foreign” mission society was doing so much work in Canada, PWMFS official Elizabeth Harvie wrote that work with Aboriginal people was “work among the heathen.”[illegible] In 1914, the Presbyterians merged their women’s foreign missionary organization with the women’s domestic missionary organization to create the Women’s Missionary Society.[illegible] A Presbyterian society in Scotland also sponsored the higher education of graduates of the Presbyterian residential schools.[illegible]

In some cases, local women’s committees led the way in establishing residential schools. Presbyterian women in Portage la Prairie were distressed by conditions in a nearby First Nations community in 1886. When local church leaders turned down their request for support, the women established their own missionary society and opened a day school for First Nations children, and provided the students with a daily lunch. The school was eventually turned over to the PWFMS, which converted it into a boarding school.[illegible]

Although the Protestant churches did not have female religious orders, they did have deaconesses. These were women who had undergone religious and practical training with the intent of a career of church service. The deaconess movement first emerged in Germany in the 1830s.[illegible] Starting in the 1860s, institutions were established in England to provide training for female Protestant missionaries. Deaconess training included religious studies, cooking, nursing, and accounting. Although a deaconess had a title and specific training, the position of a deaconess was not formally defined until well into the twentieth century. Like the Roman Catholic nun, the deaconess was expected to provide assistance to the male missionary. But, while it was a subservient position, it did allow women an opportunity to step outside the domestic sphere to which society sought to limit them in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[illegible]

Several training programs developed in Canada for deaconesses. The Anglicans opened a deaconess training school in Toronto in 1892. A Methodist facility was established in Toronto in 1894.[illegible] The two-year training program was divided into nursing and non-nursing sections, and the school was an important training ground for female missionaries.[illegible] The Presbyterian Women's Foreign Missionary Society established the Ewart Training Home in Toronto in 1897. In 1908, the Presbyterians established a formal order of deaconesses, leading to the creation of the Presbyterian Deaconess and Missionary Training Home.[illegible] Although the Ewart Training Home initially provided a six-month training course that included both religious and practical training, by 1908, the training period had been extended to two years.[illegible] After church union, the United Church established its own United Church Training School.[illegible] The Presbyterian Church continued to operate Ewart College.[illegible]

The Oblates of Mary Immaculate

The Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI) was the dominant Roman Catholic organization involved in the operation of residential schools. The OMI was not the only male Roman Catholic order in charge of residential schools in Canada. For example, priests from the local Catholic diocese founded the school at Kuper Island, which was later taken over by the Montfort Fathers.[illegible] Similarly, the Christie school on the west side of Vancouver Island was founded by a chapter of the Order of St. Benedict in 1899.[illegible] The Jesuits operated the residential school at Wikwemikong, Ontario, that was later transferred to Spanish, Ontario.[illegible] However, the vast majority of the Roman Catholic schools were operated by Oblates, in large measure as a result of the work they had undertaken among Aboriginal peoples in the Canadian Northwest in the nineteenth century.

The general administrative headquarters for the Oblates was in France until 1905, when it relocated to Rome. The Oblate order was divided into geographical jurisdictions called "provinces" and missionary vicariates.[illegible] An "apostolic vicariate" was a territory under evangelization by missionaries. The expectation was that, over time, it would be transformed into a regular church diocese.[illegible] In western Canada, the OMI was designated as a vicariate of missions until 1926. As such, it was under the direct authority of the order's superior general in either France or Rome.[illegible] Several Oblates became bishops, and successfully used their position to lobby the federal government for support for their residential school policy. However, the Oblates, who tended to view the federal government as a hostile, Protestant-dominated institution, were slow to develop a national body to co-ordinate activities with the federal government. Father Joseph Guy was appointed as an informal representative of the order in Ottawa in 1920.[illegible] In 1924, the Oblate school principals began to hold regular meetings.[illegible] An Oblate province of St. Peter's was created in 1926. It extended from the Quebec border west to the Pacific Ocean, with headquarters in Ottawa. In January 1936, the first meeting of the Commission Oblate des Oeuvres Indiennes was held in Lebret, Saskatchewan.[illegible] Oblate Omer Plourde became the new association's representative in Ottawa in 1936 (even though he lived and worked in Winnipeg until 1941).[illegible] While this served to co-ordinate Oblate activities, it did not co-ordinate all Roman Catholic activities: the Jesuits in charge of the school in Spanish were unaware of Plourde's role until 1941. They also discovered that the federal government had thought, mistakenly, that the Oblates had been representing the Jesuits at annual meetings between government and church officials.[illegible]

The centrality of female labour in the Roman Catholic schools

The Roman Catholics relied heavily on female religious orders to staff and operate the residential schools, orders such as the Sisters of Charity (the Grey Nuns), the Sisters of Providence, the Sisters of Saint Ann, the Missionary Oblate Sisters, the Sisters of Assumption, the Benedictine Sisters, the Daughters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, and the Sisters of Notre Dame in Québec.[illegible] These orders not only supplied much of the workforce for the schools, but they also provided it at an extraordinarily low cost. Access to such a low-cost labour supply was one of the main reasons why the Roman Catholic Church was able to operate so many schools.

To take just one example from the 1890s, although the Oblate order was formally charged with the operation of the school at St. Boniface, Manitoba, all staff in 1900 were members of the Sisters of Charity (Grey Nuns) except for the chaplain, carpenter, shoemaker, blacksmith, and farmer.[illegible] An Indian Affairs survey from the 1930s indicates that at five Roman Catholic schools in the West, members of female religious orders accounted for 50% of the school staff.[illegible]

Reports from the 1930s made it clear that members of female orders made up a large portion of the workforce at Roman Catholic schools, and also that they were poorly paid in comparison with other school employees. According to an Indian Affairs audit, in 1934, the Delmas, Saskatchewan, school employed one principal, fourteen sisters, one teacher, and one farmer. The principal was paid $1,200 a year; the sisters, $300 a year each; the teacher, $900; and the farmer, $720.[illegible] In the following year at the Fort Alexander, Manitoba, school, the male principal, assistant principal, and engineer were all in religious orders. The principal was paid $1,800, the assistant principal was paid $1,200, and the engineer was paid $900. The school also employed five laymen: a night watchman, two farmers, and two labourers. Each of these employees was paid $240 a year. The rest of the work was done by ten Oblate Sisters, who were paid $120 each per year.[illegible] A similar situation prevailed at the school at Lestock, Saskatchewan. There, the principal, vice-principal, shoemaker, and gardener were all members of male religious orders. They were paid annual salaries of $[illegible], $[illegible], $[illegible], and $[illegible], respectively. The school farmer and engineer were both laymen and were paid $[illegible] a year, and the assistant farmer was paid $[illegible] a year. There were also eleven sisters, each of whom was paid $[illegible] a year.[illegible] In [illegible], the Kamloops school had eighteen employees. The salaries for the principal, the assistant principal, the boys' attendant, and the gardener, all members of male religious orders, were $[illegible], $[illegible], $[illegible], and $[illegible], respectively. The eight members of the Sisters of Saint Ann at the school were paid $[illegible] a year each.[illegible]

The discussion of wages at Roman Catholic residential schools is complicated by the fact that, in most cases, these wages were not paid to the individual member of the religious order who worked for a specific school. Instead, they were paid to the order to which the priest, nun, or brother belonged. Indian Affairs was aware of this practice, but it was not understood by all federal government employees. In [illegible], [illegible] Rayner, a federal government auditor, noted that the Sandy Bay, Manitoba, school was making quarterly payments to the Winnipeg-based treasurer of the Oblate order. When asked about this by Rayner, the school principal said that the payments were "an assessment or tax made by the order." The funds went to [illegible] schools in the Oblates' jurisdiction. Rayner estimated that the tax worked out to [illegible] of the school's annual grant.[illegible] The following year, Rayner noted that [illegible] the salary accounts of the Oblates working at the school were being sent to the Oblates in Winnipeg, and the salaries for the sisters were sent to the [illegible] in Quebec.[illegible] Indian Affairs officials told the auditor that the department was aware of the policy of some religious orders of paying a portion of the staff's salary to their order. The superintendent of Indian Education, Russell T. Ferrier, said that paying the salaries directly to the workers would be a mistake, since "defections would then occur more frequently than in the past."[illegible]

Similarly, the Jesuit school at Spanish sent money from the government's per capita grant to the Jesuit Province as compensation for each priest and brother at the school. The principal, [illegible], wrote in [illegible] to Jesuit Provincial [illegible] that "every year a large amount, sometimes very large, was sent to the province." (In this case, province refers to the Jesuit Province, not the Ontario government.) The principal congratulated himself on the fact that, unlike many Catholic-run schools, the Spanish school was not "bleeding the children to feed the mother house," but he said that, given the recent cuts to the per capita grant, it would no longer be possible to pay the expected levy.[illegible] [illegible]'s charge that other schools—which were almost all Oblate-run—were "bleeding the children to feed the mother house" is very serious. He did not, however, provide any supporting evidence for the allegation. Although some Catholics may have used money from the per capita grant to fund other missionary activities, it is also the case that they provided staff at well below market rates.

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

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Name	Duties
Rev. Sister St. Thomas	Seamstress
Rev. Sister Lamothe	In charge of boys' infirmary, boys' clothing and laundry
Rev. Sister St. Adèle	In charge of girls' infirmary, dormitory, clothing and laundry
Rev. Sister St. Armand	Supervises the housemaids, their work in the dining-rooms, and the ironing of all linen.
Doctor Seymour	Medical Superintendent

Source: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1895,* 179.

Table 31.3. Staff, Qu'Appelle Industrial School, 1918.

Name	Duties	Hours Required
Rev. A. J. A. Dugas	Principal	Not limited
Rev. Kalmes	In charge of boys	Not limited
Rev. M. Mercure	Farm Instructor	Not limited
Rev. E. Gauthier	Engineer & Plumber	Not limited
Geo. J. Harrison	Accountant & Band Instructor	Office 9 A.M. to 4 P.M.
H. Town	Senior Teacher	9 A.M. to 4 P.M.
A. McLennan	Junior Teacher	9 A.M. to 4 P.M.
J. Z. Lafleur	Baker & Butcher	Until work complete
W. Salomon	Shoemaker	7 A.M. to 6 P.M.
James Condon	Assistant Shoemaker	7 A.M. to 6 P.M.
Baptiste Blondeau	Assistant Farmer	7 A.M. to 6 P.M.
Reverend Sister Bastien	Matron	Not limited
Reverend Sister Charlier	Senior Teacher	9 A.M. to 4 P.M.
Reverend Sister St. Alfred	3rd Division	9 A.M. to 4 P.M.
Reverend Sister Gregoire	4th Division	9 A.M. to 4 P.M.
Reverend Sister Daoust	Infirmarian	Not limited
Reverend Sister Lamontagne	In charge of senior girls	Not limited
Reverend Sister Delormier	In charge of junior girls	Not limited
Reverend Sister Sauve	In charge of junior girls	Not limited
Reverend Sister Holy Name	In charge of kitchen	Not limited
Reverend Sister Ledoux	In charge of dining room	Not limited
Reverend Sister St. Amour	Charge of boy's sewing room	Not limited
Reverend Sister Champagne	Assistant boy's sewing room	Not limited

Source: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6327, file 660-1, part 1, "Industrial School Qu'Appelle, List of Staff and Duties Assigned," 1918. [PLD-007309-0001]

In addition to teachers and administrators, the Qu'Appelle school had farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, bakers, matrons, laundresses, cooks, seamstresses, engineers, and band instructors. Table 31.3, which gives the names and duties of the staff members, also outlines their required hours of work. Teachers appear to have had the shortest working day, from 9:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m., but they would also be obliged to spend additional time making preparations for the next day. The tradesmen were expected to work eleven hours a day, and the butcher, who doubled as the baker, was to work "until work complete." Work-shift limits applied only to those who were not members of religious orders. For those who were, with the exception of the members who taught, there was no limit to the length of the working day.

Heavy workloads were common in Protestant schools, as well. In 1889, John Ashby, the assistant principal at the Battleford school, wrote to complain about his wife's situation. He gave the following description of her summer routine at the school:

> To be in charge of girls every alternate week from 6:00 to 6:45 when they are transferred to the officer in charge of the dining room.
>
> 7:15 prayers.
>
> To be in charge of the girls doing housework such as from 8:30 to 9:45 a.m. and to inspect the work done by the girls between 7:30 and 8:30 under the charge of a monitor for the above supervision to be responsible.
>
> From 9:45 to 12:15 to prepare girls for school and take classes and transfer them in proper order to the officer in charge of the dining room.
>
> From 12:15 to 1:45 off duty.
>
> From 1:45 to 2:00, preparation for school, and 2:00 to 4:00 to take classes.
>
> From 4:00 to 5:00 p.m. in charge of girls recreation.
>
> From 5:00 to 5:15 to prepare girls for tea and hand them over to the dining room officer.
>
> From 5:15 to 5:45 to supervise girls laying table in Principal's dining room.
>
> From 5:45 to 6:30 off duty.
>
> From 6:30 p.m. to 7:00. In charge of recreation.
>
> From 7:00 to 8:00. To take class during study excepting on Fridays. Each alternate Friday to take charge of girls whilst bathing. [illegible] this duty does not fall to the teacher, she is to be off duty. Alternate weeks to take girls after prayers until after retiring.[118]

Four years after Ashby registered this complaint, the Indian Affairs annual report printed the following summaries of the workloads of two teachers at the Middlechurch school.

> Mr. Williams, first teacher, besides teaching in the regular school hours, has these duties: Every morning he rises with the boys [at 6 a.m.] and goes to their

> dormitories; he sees that they wash and dress themselves properly, calls the roll, (reads prayers when the principal is not present). After school he has a general oversight of the boys, conducts evening prayers [at 8:15]. Saturday night he has a collect class [a "collect" is a form of prayer]; he has a half holiday every Wednesday and Saturday. On Thursday he attends the boys' bathing; in summer time he teaches the boys cricket and other out-of-door sports.[142]
>
> Miss Willith, teacher of the junior classes, rises with the children, attends the dressing of the girls, calls the roll, attends with them at prayers and marches them into breakfast. Her school closes at 3 p.m., then she has the girls for sewing, darning, mending, knitting, etc., until 4 o'clock; she then takes them for a walk till five, marches them into tea 5.45, after tea has a 'King's Daughters' Class' twice a week, takes them into prayers and attends the junior girls in their preparation and getting into bed. She takes alternate Sundays with Mrs. Burman [in] charge of the girls for the whole day. On Saturday she has general charge of all the girls and bathing of the junior girls.[143]

Winnipeg physician George Orton noted the impact that caring for a school of sick children could have on staff. In 1895, many students at the Middlechurch school suffered from pneumonia, bronchitis, and typhoid fever. By then, John Ashby was principal of the Middlechurch school, and his wife was the matron. In Orton's opinion, the Ashbys were overworked: "Mrs. Ashby, as well as Mr. Ashby, was indefatigable in her efforts, as also the staff, in attention to nursing and caring for the sick. Poor Mrs. Ashby was terribly run down in health, as a consequence, and should even yet be given a short leave of absence to recruit her health before the winter."[144]

The seven-day week was the norm for many employees. The policy at the Anglican schools into the 1920s was to allow "one full day off duty each month."[145]

Indian Affairs did not produce detailed job descriptions for the various job positions at the schools. However, over time, the churches developed their own list of expectations and responsibilities.

In the Anglican schools, the school matron was "responsible for the management of all the domestic affairs of the Institution." In this position, she was expected to:

- Take charge of all the food supplies.
- See that the school menu was adhered to.
- Take charge of the children's clothing, and all linens at the school.
- Record the date of receipt of all clothing and food supplies as well as the date of their distribution.
- Provide the principal with copies of the records and a list of items that needed to be ordered.
- Supervise all the female staff and female students, seeing that "the work assigned to each is performed in accordance with instructions given."

- "Report to the principal any inefficiency on the part of any member of the staff, or any disobedience or misconduct on the part of any of the pupils."
- Assist the principal in selecting students to be given special instruction in different school departments.
- Arrange for the care of sick children in the absence of a nurse.
- Take on the duties of sick or absent staff or arrange to have other staff take on these duties.[146]

The Anglican farm instructor had responsibility for "all the outside work of the Institution, including the buildings, land, fences, live stock, machinery implements, vehicles, etc." With the assistance of the students, he was expected to:

- Operate the farm "upon a paying basis."
- Maintain a full list of needed supplies.
- Raise "a plentiful supply of vegetables" for the staff, students, and livestock.
- Sell surplus produce on the open market.
- Transport all needed provisions to the school.
- Secure a sufficient supply of hay, preferably from the school land.
- Maintain the grounds.
- Instruct students in the best methods of horticulture, agriculture, and the care of livestock.
- Maintain the water, heating, and lighting systems.
- Provide the principal with regular reports, including reports on sickness and misconduct.[147]

The cooks at the Anglican schools were expected to:

- Prepare all meals for the pupils and the staff.
- Give instructions in cooking, making bread, making butter, etc.
- Ensure the cleanliness of the kitchen, pantry, dining room, and cupboards.
- Bake all bread required.
- Be responsible for all milk brought in from the farm.
- "Exercise careful and judicious economy in the use of food."
- Oversee students assigned to the kitchen.
- Insist that students under her charge speak English.
- Report any disobedience to the principal.
- Engage in the moral and spiritual education of the students.[148]

The list of teacher responsibilities the Anglican Church developed during the 1920s set out the following:

- Be punctual in attendance.
- Keep "an accurate record of the names of the pupils and the time spent by each under instruction."

- Follow the Indian Affairs course of instruction along with "any additional subjects which may be suggested by the [Anglican] Indian and Eskimo Commission."
- Pay "strict attention to the instruction of the pupils, in Biblical knowledge, Church History and Doctrine, devoting not less than fifteen minutes to this purpose daily, and using such Text-books as may be sanctioned by the Indian and Eskimo Commission."
- Report cases of "gross misconduct" to the principal.
- Supervise the children's play.
- Supervise the sweeping, ventilating, and cleaning of the classroom.
- Inform the principal of any equipment that had been destroyed or was lacking.

In keeping with the school's religious mission, the overall direction was to ensure that the children

> should be made to feel that the Schools do not exist so much for the purpose of teaching them how to make the most money, or how to get the most pleasure out of life, as to how they may be able to render the greatest assistance as spiritual and educational forces in the uplifting of their own race.[149]

As previously noted, one of the main reasons for the federal government's decision to enter into partnership with church organizations to run the residential schools was the expectation that the churches would provide a low-cost labour force. Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed embraced the idea, writing in 1895 that

> as the work is of a denominational, and therefore necessarily of a missionary or philanthropic character, and the churches have facilities for obtaining through various societies men and women to whom remuneration for such work is a minor consideration, it seems only reasonable that a lower, rather than a higher rate, as compared with other service, should obtain.[150]

In fact, as early as 1889, the federal government had ordered the church-managed industrial schools to cut staff wages. Qu'Appelle principal Joseph Hugonnard described those salary reductions as arbitrary and "odious." He said that many of the staff had been at the school for several years and had legitimately expected a salary increase.[151] When his salary was cut in 1889, Battleford school assistant principal John B. Ashby wrote to Hayter Reed to express his "disappointment that my services have been so little appreciated by the department." After two years of "faithful and hard service," he thought, his value to the department should be increased, not decreased.[152]

Alexander Sutherland of the Methodist Church was particularly outspoken about the link between low wages and the difficulties the schools had in recruiting staff. In 1887, he wrote to the minister of Indian Affairs about the "difficulty of obtaining efficient and properly qualified teachers, on account of the meagre salaries paid."[153] Six years later, he described the salaries as "insulting." Those who accepted them would be deemed as "inferior or incompetent men."[154]

In a strange boast made in 1894, Mount Elgin principal W. W. Shepherd argued that the fact that three former pupils, all of whom had teachers' certificates, were working as farm labourers was a demonstration of the school's success "in making the farm boys competent workmen." In reality, the young men were all working as farm labourers because that work paid better than teaching in Indian schools.[155]

In 1903, Red Deer principal C. E. Somerset noted:

> One of the great difficulties in connection with schools of this class is to obtain the services of persons whose interest is greater than the wage they receive; this difficulty increases as the years go. The nature of the duties is very trying and the better class of assistants cannot be obtained. This institute has suffered in the past very greatly because trained assistants were not to be obtained.[156]

Pay was not only low, but, in some cases, it was also uncertain. In his 1904 report, Metlakatla principal John Scott noted that Miss Davies, who was in charge of the girls' division, had "given her services for more than two years without any salary or other reward."[157] In 1921, the staff at the Lytton school had not been paid for six months.[158]

There was a considerable difference in salaries from one industrial school to the next. Table 31.4 sets out the staff positions and monthly salaries at four prairie industrial schools in 1894. The federal government imposed the salaries at these schools. The Elkhorn school was operated by the Anglican Church, the Regina school was operated by the Presbyterian Church, and the Qu'Appelle and High River schools were operated by the Roman Catholic Church.[159]

Table 31.4. Annual salaries for the Elkhorn, Regina, Qu'Appelle, and High River industrial schools, 1894.

Position	Elkhorn	Regina	Qu'Appelle	High River
Superintendent/Principal	900	1,000	1,200	1,000
Assistant Principal		300	242	480
Clerk			480	
Matron	150	300	300	300
Assistant Matron				144
Superintendent Boys' Home	252			
Superintendent Girls' Home	144			
Governess		216		
First Teacher/Lady Teacher	240	400	420	360
Second Teacher			300	
Additional Teacher (3 at Qu'Appelle)			144	144
Cook	204	192		216
Laundress	216	168		
Seamstress	120	168		144

Position	Elkhorn	Regina	Qu'Appelle	High River
Tailoress (2 at Qu'Appelle)	120		120	
Printer	480			
Carpenter	624*	420	480	480
Shoemaker/Boot maker	804*	420	420	480
Farmer		960	480	420
Blacksmith			420	
Furnaceman			900	
Baker				240
Bandmaster	180			

Source: Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3958, file 121/607, "List of Officers at following Industrial Schools showing salaries as proposed to be reduced by the Department." [PLD-008587] (In the original table, the wages were presented as monthly figures.)

* No food rations were provided to the boot maker or the carpenter at the Elkhorn school.

The table shows considerable variation in the wages for certain jobs. For example, the matrons at the Regina, Qu'Appelle, and High River schools were all paid twice as much as the Elkhorn matron. Teachers' wages could range from $144 to $420. Skilled trades workers generally were paid more than teachers. At only one school was the farmer paid less than the teacher, and the carpenters, printers, shoemakers, and blacksmiths always were paid at least as much as the teachers and, in most cases, considerably more than the teachers were paid. Cooks, seamstresses, tailoresses, and laundresses—positions held by women—were paid less than teachers. In general, the matron, who was charged with managing the domestic operations of the schools, was paid less than teachers, as were the staff members who supervised children when they were not in class.[100] These general patterns were in keeping with those in the larger, general Canadian economy.[101]

Table 31.5 shows staff salaries at the Brandon school in 1935, and at the Kuper Island, Kamloops, and Edmonton schools in 1936. The Kuper Island and Kamloops schools were operated by the Roman Catholic Church; the Brandon and Edmonton schools were operated by the United Church. (It is not possible to prepare a direct comparison with the figures in Table 31.5 because, by 1936, the Regina and High River schools were closed. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has been unable to locate audited statements for the Elkhorn and Qu'Appelle schools from this period.)

Table 31.5. Staff salaries at schools at Brandon, Manitoba (1935); and at Kuper Island, British Columbia; Kamloops, British Columbia; and Edmonton, Alberta (1936).

Position	Brandon 1935	Kuper Island 1936	Kamloops 1936	Edmonton 1936
Principal	1,200	1,200	2,110	1,500
Vice Principal/Assistant Principal Disciplinarian		600	1,200	
Senior Teacher	660	900	600	
Junior Teacher	600		500	
Teacher	700			550–585
Reverend Sisters*			300	
Stores and Teacher	450			
Matron	660	300		504
Boys' Matron	450			
Boys' Monitor				420
Boys' Attendant and First Aid			900	
Boys' Supervisor				360
Girls' Supervisor				360
Cook/Kitchen	450			360
Assistant Cook				300
Engineer/Mechanic	540	720		900
Farmer/Farm Manager**	700	480	600	900
Assistant Farmer	330		600	702
Gardener			900	
Bandmaster and Coach			600	
Manual Training Instructor		720	600	
Seamstress	450	300		432
Domestic Service/Laundry	450	300		432
Handyman		480		
Nurse and Housework		300		

Source: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8845, file 903/16-2, part 1, Kuper Island Residential School, Roman Catholic, Kuper Island, Cost of Operations August 1, 1935 to July 31, 1936. [KUP-003285-0004] RG10, volume 8845, file 903/16-2, part 1, July 3, 1936, Re: Kamloops Residential School, Roman Catholic; [KAM-002000] RG10, volume 8840, file 511/16-2-015, Statement No. 2, Re: Brandon Residential School, Cost of Operations and Salaries, 1936; [BRS-000427-0005] RG10, volume 8845, file 709/16-2-001, part 1, Re: Edmonton Residential School, (United) Alberta [cover page torn] 20 March 1936. [EDM-000258]

*The Kamloops school had eight Sisters of Saint Ann on staff for a total cost of $2,400 a year.

** At Kamloops, the position is called "Farm Ass't. & Boiler Eng'r."

In comparing wages paid in the mid-1930s with those paid in the mid-1890s, it is apparent that the salaries paid to principals remained relatively static during this period. The one exception is the Kamloops principal, who was paid nearly double the wage of other principals. This may be explained by the fact that Kamloops was the largest school in the system. By the 1930s, teachers' wages ranged between $300 and $700, with a higher rate prevailing at the Protestant schools. The only trades instructor left was the farmer: by the 1930s, none of these schools employed people to teach printing, carpentry, or boot- and shoemaking. Where, in the 1890s, the wage paid to the farm instructor ranged between $300 and $480, in the 1930s, it ranged from $400 to $900, again with the higher rates prevailing in the Protestant schools (although the lone gardener employed by the Catholic school in Kamloops was paid $900). At three schools, the farmer was paid more than the highest-paid teacher, while at Kamloops, the farmer received the same wage as the highest-paid teacher. At each school, the matron's wage was equivalent to a teacher's wage. The cooks and the staff charged with caring for the students were still at the bottom of the pay structure.[illegible]

Pay rates during this period varied considerably. In 1933, the boarding school at Morley, Alberta, employed eight people: a principal, a matron, two teachers, a seamstress, a laundress, a cook, and a farmer. The principal's annual pay was $1,500; the matron's was $550; the two teachers were paid a combined total of $1,250; the seamstress and laundress were each paid $300; the cook was paid $540; and the farmer was paid $480.[illegible] A 1935 report from the small Crosby Girls' Home in Port Simpson, British Columbia, showed a staff of only three. The principal was paid $850 a year, while the two teachers were each paid $743.75.[illegible] In 1935, the Squamish school in British Columbia had eight employees: a principal, a vice-principal, a senior teacher, a junior teacher, a beginners' teacher, a matron, a cook, and a gardener. Each of them was paid $300 a year, except for the gardener, whose annual salary was $180.[illegible] Again, the wage rates at the two United Church schools (Morley and Port Simpson) were generally higher than those at the Roman Catholic school at Squamish.

Table 33.6 presents comparative information on salaries in public and religious schools in Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, the five provinces that operated residential schools extensively throughout this period. These figures, provided by Statistics Canada, are averages, except for Manitoba. The Manitoba figures are the median, which means that 50% of the salaries were below that level. The Northwest Territories and Yukon did not have a public school system during this period, so salary comparisons with religious schools there cannot be made.

Table [illegible]. Average annual salaries of schoolteachers, by provinces, [illegible]. (Figures for Manitoba represent the median, all others represent the average.)

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Ontario			
Public (elementary) schools	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Separate (elementary) schools	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Manitoba			
All schools (median)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
One-room schools (median)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Saskatchewan			
Urban elementary	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rural elementary	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Alberta			
All teachers	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
First class teachers	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Second class teachers	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
British Columbia			
All schools	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Elementary schools	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Source: [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

residential school in 1930 [illegible] was considerably below the average [illegible] public school salary for that year [illegible]. The average public school salary [illegible] was more than double the highest salary paid at the [illegible] residential school [illegible]. [illegible] schools, whose wages would have been at the high end of the [illegible] scale [illegible] schools [illegible].

Initially, room and board at the [illegible] deducted from staff salaries, but, from [illegible] onwards, [illegible] difficult to calculate the value of the housing that was [illegible] was, in fact, a matter of ongoing complaint. [illegible] the principal of the [illegible] school [illegible]

> [illegible]

Finding accommodation for married staff was an ongoing problem. [illegible]

Privacy was also a rare commodity within the schools. [illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

Louise Topping, who worked at schools in what is now Alberta, British Columbia, Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and northern Québec, wrote a lightly fictionalized memoir of her years at the schools, entitled "Hope." The protagonist, a young woman named Hope, worked in the same locations in which Topping worked. The events in the story follow closely on the events of Topping's own life. In the early 1920s, Hope worked briefly at an Anglican school in southern Alberta. Rapidly promoted to school matron, she was overwhelmed by the work. Eventually, she collapsed.

> She had worked too hard and her own health suffered. She was sent for a month's rest to Gleichen [in Alberta] where it was thought the work might prove easier, however her health had suffered too much, and after a few month's [sic] gland trouble developed, her tonsils were removed and she was given six months away from so much TB and infection.[illegible]

She recovered, took three years of training as a deaconess in Toronto, and then was dispatched to the Anglican school at Alert Bay in British Columbia. From there, she went to the school at Carcross in the Yukon, where, once more, she worked as matron. Her health broke down one more time and she returned to Toronto for surgery. After her recovery, she went to the Northwest Territories to work at the Anglican hospital in Aklavik and then transferred to the school at Hay River.[illegible]

The isolation, coupled with the pressures that accumulated in a small, restricted society, was often stressful. According to her daughter Ruth, Elizabeth Matheson, whose husband was the principal of the Anglican school in Onion Lake, drove "herself until she was alarmingly thin and tired; quite unable to cope patiently with any problem." During her fourth pregnancy, Elizabeth Matheson was so depressed that she considered suicide.[illegible]

An Indian agent, F. J. C. Ball, gave the following summary of the workload of one employee at the Lytton school in 1922:

> There is a man of sixty three, Mr. Hooper, acting as teacher, minister, janitor and general handy man around the School. He also has charge of the boys [sic] dormitory at night. This man is certainly overworked and is conscientiously trying to do more than his strength will stand and his work should be divided, which I expect the new Principal, when appointed, will attend to. I watched this man rather closely and am inclined to think he is heading for a nervous breakdown.[illegible]

From letters and reports, it appears that physical strength and the ability to dominate a class were considered necessary qualifications for teachers. In 1915, Birtle school principal Rev. David Iverach wrote that he intended to dismiss a female teacher, saying he had "never been satisfied with the results of her teaching larger pupils." His preference for a replacement was "a good male teacher," and he noted that if "that was not possible a good strong woman would do."[illegible] A 1924 inspection report described the need for "a male principal to handle the larger boys" at the Kootenay school.[205] In 1928, Indian agent J. Waddy wrote of the Anglican school in The Pas:

> The Indian people here in the north respect size in a person much more than they do knowledge contained in a smaller person. Four of the staff at this school are very small and very young for this work, though they are well equiped [sic] for the work otherwise. The Children really do not respect them at all. I would not suggest replacing them with matrons from a jail or rough people of any sort, but in future it would be well to supply good husky ladies for this school, a light weight one is out of place there.[206]

A show of weakness could devastate a teacher's career. At the Anglican school in The Pas, a female in the junior class refused to be disciplined in 1933. According to Inspector A. G. Hamilton, the result was that the teacher suffered a nervous breakdown and resigned.[207]

People often had little control over when their careers ended. Duncan Campbell Scott recommended that Shingwauk Home matron Lulu Botterell be retired in 1931. She had "given splendid service for many years," but, since she was now blind, "her usefulness at an Indian residential school is largely ended."[208] Alice Davies, one of the teachers at the school, came to Botterell's defence, pointing out that her sight had not diminished in quality over the past eight years. She thought the principal, Benjamin Fuller, had deceived the department as to the quality of service that Botterell could still offer. In a passage that highlights the sorts of passions that could develop in the insular environment of a residential school, Davies described Fuller as "a self-deluded warped man with the most unreasonable jealous, unfair mind at times, and cunning enough to appear one thing and act another."[209] In response, Indian Affairs allowed Botterell to continue in her position as matron.[210] Her sight continued to deteriorate and she eventually retired, then died in 1938. In noting her death, the Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission commented that, in all her work, "she was governed solely by considerations of Christian duty."[211] When the seventy-three-year-old matron of the Ahousaht school in British Columbia retired in 1929, the principal, W. M. Woods, recommended that she be given an honorarium of a month's salary as appreciation for her years of service. Woods noted that she was "retiring with very limited means."[212]

In the early 1930s, Indian agent W. G. Tweddell had concluded that at the Anglican school in The Pas, there were "two (aged) ladies who I consider should be superannuated." He also thought the school engineer should be retired.[213] In the case of the two elderly staff members, Anglican official T. B. R. Westgate wrote that the church was

> not convinced that these ladies are unable to control the girls, and to dismiss them at short notice, at a time like this when there is so much unemployment throughout this country, and they would be both obliged to return to England,

> would be to inflict a great hardship upon them, and one which existing conditions do not appear to justify.

Westgate said the women could be kept on until the middle of the following summer.[214]

Low pay rates, difficult working conditions, and limited benefits made it difficult for schools to recruit qualified staff. According to one study, only two of the fifty-four women the Methodists employed in the Aboriginal missions had university training. One of them had been sent originally to Japan, but found that posting too difficult. Only seven had experience as teachers, and only five of the fifty-four had gone to a Methodist training school.[215]

Nevertheless, it is important to recognize that there were many qualified and experienced people working in the schools. Bessie Quirt, who taught in Shingle Point, was a graduate of normal school and had taught public school for four years. Louise Topping, who worked throughout the North, had trained as both a teacher and a nurse. Adelaide Butler had taught for nine years in England before going to work in northern Canada. Mabel Jones, who also taught in the North, had a degree in theology, and Margaret Peck, who worked in Aklavik in the Northwest Territories, had a degree from Oxford—a distinction that she preferred to keep private.[216] Miss Asson, the matron at the Kitamaat school in 1930, was a graduate of the Ensworth Deaconess Hospital in St. Joseph, Missouri. She had also trained as a deaconess in Toronto, and worked in China from 1909 to 1927. Ill health obliged her to return to Canada.[217] The matron at the Anglican Wabasca, Alberta, school in 1933 was a nurse.[218]

Among the staff at the Norway House school in the early twentieth century were the sisters Charlotte Amelia and Lilian Yeomans. Charlotte had trained as a nurse, and Lilian was one of the first women in Canada to qualify as a doctor. Because no Canadian medical school accepted women at the time, she had taken her training in the United States and then opened a practice in Winnipeg in the 1880s.[219] During the course of her practice, she became addicted to morphine.[220] She claimed to have overcome her addiction in 1898 with the assistance of a Chicago faith healer, John Alexander Dowie, and returned to Canada with the intention of giving up medical practice and working as a missionary.[221] In 1900, Charlotte Amelia took a position as the matron of the Norway House residential school.[222] Lilian joined her the following year, working as a teacher.[223] Despite her desire not to resume her medical practice, as the only doctor for hundreds of kilometres, she was pressed into service.[224] Both sisters apparently adopted children when they were working at Norway House.[225] Charlotte moved to Calgary in 1904, and Lilian joined her there two years later.[226] Lilian later moved to the United States and became an associate of the evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson.[227]

In the circumstances of the low pay and poor working and living conditions, high turnover rates were not uncommon. From 1882 to 1894, there was what amounted to an annual turnover of teachers at the Fort Simpson (later Port Simpson) school. At one point, all the teaching was being done by local Methodist missionary Thomas Crosby, his wife, Emma, and the school matron.[228] Twenty-three of the fifty-four women whom the Methodists assigned to work in the Aboriginal missions prior to church union in 1925 resigned in less than three years, and only seventeen served for more than five years. The frequent changes in staff meant there was little camaraderie; meanwhile, the work wore them out. Lavinia Clarke, who had said there was no place in the missions for idlers, was so overcome with work that she resigned from her position at Port Simpson in 1902 and died two years later. Her death was attributed to the long years of work she had devoted to the Women's Missionary Society.[229]

In 1907, the Metlakatla principal in British Columbia reported that both the matron and her replacement had resigned. As a result, the teacher was taking on the roles of matron and teacher. Furthermore, the cook had resigned and could not be replaced "on account of the great increase asked in wages."[230] A 1929 report on the Carcross school in the Yukon noted:

> The Staff appear to be unsettled, the Principal and the teacher have both tendered their resignations to the Indian and Eskimo School Commission, up to date neither of these resignations have been accepted. Miss Ostergarde, R.N. recently arrived to fill the position of head matron and girl's [sic] supervisor has resigned and will be married in August to the Missionary at Carmacks. Miss Bertram, the kitchen matron is compelled to resign through a complete breakdown in health.[231]

The Presbyterian school in Kamsack underwent a period of constant staff turmoil in the early twentieth century. Two days into her first week of teaching at the school in 1901, the new teacher, Miss Downing, informed Principal Neil Gilmour that, "on account of the children not being very healthy, the atmosphere of the class-room will not be such that she can stand it."[232] A week later, the matron, Miss Wright, also resigned. Gilmour strongly recommended that Wright's resignation be accepted, since "she is certainly not the right person for the work."[233] Gilmour hoped to replace her with his cousin, a Miss Gilmour, who, in the past, had worked at both the Kamsack and Regina schools. However, Miss Gilmour initially turned the job down, saying she was glad to be rid of the "endless task of telling the same thing over and over again until my head used to get dizzy, and I would think, how much easier to do the work myself."[234] Gilmour was dismayed to learn that a former matron at the Regina industrial school, a Miss Nicoll, had been appointed as the new matron. He wrote that at Regina, "they have a cook, a baker, a laundress, a seamstress, and an assistant matron." Therefore, the duties of a matron at Regina were those of a manager. At Kamsack, Nicoll not only would have to "understand how to make bread, but that she must do a larger share of the kneading of dough for 72 loaves of bread." Does she know, he wrote, that "this is not merely an issuing of orders regarding the meals but doing the cooking herself and so with all the work?"[235]

It appears that Gilmour succeeded in discouraging Nicoll from taking the position. He also managed to convince his cousin to reconsider her initial rejection of the position, and she became matron at the end of 1901.[236] It was Principal Gilmour who resigned by the end of 1902. Miss Gilmour, however, stayed.[237] By 1911, she was acting principal. She appears to have been viewed as having made a positive contribution to an often-troubled school. In 1914, after she had retired, Indian agent W. G. Blewett wrote of the Presbyterian school in Kamsack, "Dormitories fair, play rooms dirty, water closets dirty. Many pupils dirty and poorly clad. Miss Gilmour's retirement seems to have started it on the down grade."[238] Whether or not this was an accurate assessment, it is clear that a school's success or failure was regularly laid at the principal's door.

The principal: "Responsible to the Church and the Department for every phase of the activity"

In 1933, the Anglican Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada offered Reverend K. L. Sandercock $80 a month, plus room and board for him and his wife, if he would take on the position of acting principal of the Wabasca, Alberta, school. The church also agreed to pay half their transportation costs from their current residence in Saskatchewan to the end of the rail line, plus all their transportation costs from there to the school. This money would have to be refunded if he did not stay in the position for five years. At the end of that period, he would be allowed a paid leave of six months. In its offer, the church made it clear that it assumed no responsibility for "any medical treatment which may be required" while he was in its employ. If he accepted the offer, Sandercock would be supplied with a furnished log house, 183 metres from the school. The house was "lined with beaver board, has two bed rooms, and a living room upstairs, with office, dining-room, kitchen, etc. below." He would remain as the acting principal until his appointment was confirmed by the federal government, and, he was warned, it was government policy to "never advance any appointee to the Principalship until some years of service have been given." In addition, he was to serve as the Anglican missionary in the district, and was expected to "visit surrounding Indian settlements, to baptize the children of Anglican Indian parents, and recruit pupils for the school." He could expect "keenest competition and opposition" from the Roman Catholic boarding school, which was located ten kilometres from the Anglican school. Effective recruiting was essential to the school's survival—it had a pupilage of thirty, but, even with full enrolment, "the revenue does not balance the operating cost."[239] Sandercock accepted the offer and remained at the school for five years.[240]

The terms and conditions of Sandercock's employment were fairly standard for the Protestant-run schools. Trevor Jones was attending the Anglican Wycliffe College in 1932 when he was recruited to become the founding principal of the Anglican school at Fort George, Québec. His fellow students tried to discourage him from taking the job, warning him, "If I went to Fort George, I would probably find myself working with native peoples for the rest of my life. Obviously, this was seen as a fate worse than death."

Jones agreed to work for five years for $60 a month plus travel and room and board. Before heading north, he married Hilda Lewis, his fiancée of three years. The two of them were then sent to two different residential schools, where they underwent a few weeks of training. It was only after he was hired that Jones discovered that the church had reduced all salaries by 7% to help cover the impact of church-investment losses at the outset of the Great Depression.[241] He fulfilled his five years and then went on to become head of the Anglican mission at Aklavik.[242]

The principal's job was all-encompassing and poorly defined. In 1926, newly appointed Gordon's school principal J. K. Irwin discovered upon taking office that he could not find any "laid down regulations as to the duties and powers of a Principal of an Indian Boarding School." He asked Indian Affairs for a copy of such regulations, since he wanted to know "exactly what I am to do and what powers I have."[243] Departmental secretary J. D. McLean informed him that "there are no printed regulations concerning the duties and powers of the principal of an Indian residential school." Irwin was told he was "responsible to the Church and the Department for every phase of the activity" at the school. If he had any specific questions, he should refer them to Indian Affairs.[244]

Since he was an Anglican, Irwin could, at least, turn to a pamphlet produced by the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, which provided an overview of a principal's duties. These included the following:

- Supervise "every department of the work, paying particular attention to the welfare of the children, the efficient discharge of their respective duties by members of the staff, and the proper conduct of the School as a whole."
- Draw up timetables and menus for the operation of the school, allocate students to the proper departments, and ensure that "each pupil is under instruction in the class-room at least half the full time set apart for this purpose daily."
- Ensure that each pupil had daily religious instruction.
- Maintain "as economical an administration of all departments of the work as may be compatible with safety and efficiency."
- Correspond with the Anglican Church and forward budget estimates in a timely fashion.
- Prepare annual estimates of the amount of clothing needed at the school.
- Provide itemized lists of the contents of the bales of clothing received.

- Provide quarterly returns to Indian Affairs.
- Maintain accounts and forward copies of accounts to the Anglican Church.
- Report "any inefficiency or improper conduct which may come to his notice."
- Co-operate fully with Indian Affairs.[245]

In addition to these tasks, many of the principals were missionaries as well as school administrators. File Hills school principal Kate Gillespie preached every Sunday in the neighbouring reserves.[246] Norway House principal Joseph Lousley was also a missionary to the general community. In his memoir, he noted how he depended on the school carpenter to take care of the school "while I was away visiting camps and other reserves, and into Winnipeg to buy supplies."[247]

Principals also had to spend much of their summer and fall recruiting students. John Semmens, principal at the Brandon school, used to take "one or two trips every summer looking for more pupils going as far north as Gods Lake [Manitoba] and bringing the children as far south as Norway House in canoe and then by open boat or steamer to Selkirk and by CPR to Brandon."[248] On the trip back to the school, he had to care for up to thirty-five children. Of one steamer trip, he wrote, "I was up from ten to twenty times every night with sickness restlessness fear and thirst. A lamp was kept burning. The small children were troublesome & I was father mother physician and nurse cook servant companion and master."[249] Semmens believed the students could suffer in the absence of the principal, noting that, at Brandon, "the officers left in charge were not always wise or kind in their dealings with the children so that disagreements and misunderstandings arose which had serious consequences of a wide reaching character."[250]

The principals were usually churchmen, but some, like Onion Lake principal John Matheson, had a rough-and-ready background. Matheson was born in Red River, and grew up with knowledge of Cree and Gaelic, as well as English and French. After a brief time as schoolteacher, he headed west at the age of twenty, finding work as a mail carrier, freighter, and trader.[251] He had a strong sympathy for the Métis and was reputed to have lent Métis military leader Gabriel Dumont a rifle in 1885.[252] When he was in his forties, he underwent a religious conversion. After a time as a revival preacher in Vancouver, he agreed to take over the Anglican mission at Onion Lake in 1892. The appointment was somewhat unusual, since Matheson had been raised as a Presbyterian and had been recently seeking a mission appointment from the Methodists.[253] At Onion Lake, Matheson not only served as missionary and principal, but he also ranched, farmed, and traded, often using income from his business enterprises to support the school.[254]

As the Anglican missionary and principal at Fort George, Trevor Jones found that he also had to become a trader, since any labourers the school hired wished to be paid in supplies. He "had to spend three or four hours daily during the busy season weighing out small quantities of flour, beef tallow, baking powder, tea and sugar to as many as twenty-five men."[275] Other principals also felt obliged to take on extra work. In addition to the $750 a year that A. J. Vale made as a principal of the Hay River school in the Northwest Territories, he was paid $200 a year as a weather observer.[276] On occasion, some principals tried to exploit their position. In 1929, Duncan Campbell Scott asked for the resignation of B. Rogers, the principal of the Mohawk Institute. That summer, Rogers, without informing Indian Affairs, had purchased a farm next to the school with the intention of opening a riding school. According to Scott, Rogers had used "the labour of pupils of the Institute and the staff on the farm."[277]

Although staff turnover in the schools was high, many principals put in decades of service. The members of Roman Catholic orders were expected to accept the assignments they were given. Oblate Father Paul Bousquet, for example, had a lengthy and varied career within the Roman Catholic schools of western Canada. In 1903, he was principal of the Pine Creek school in Manitoba,[278] and, by 1906, he was principal of the Catholic school in Kenora, Ontario.[279] He was appointed principal of the Sandy Bay, Manitoba, school in 1912.[280] He was put in charge of the Fort Alexander school in 1914.[281] There, he became discouraged by the number of runaways. He attempted to resign his position in both 1919 and 1921, saying he no longer wished to work in First Nations education.[282] However, the Oblates did not accept the resignation, and he remained in office until he became seriously ill and had to be replaced in 1927.[283] By 1933, he was principal of the Fort Frances, Ontario, school.[284] Three years later, he was back to where he began, as principal of the Pine Creek school in Manitoba.[285] He left that school in 1937.[286] In all, he had worked for at least thirty-four years at five different schools. Sherman Shepherd, who travelled from Toronto to Shingle Point on the Arctic Ocean in 1929, eventually served at the Anglican schools in Aklavik (Northwest Territories), Fort George (Québec), and Moose Factory (Ontario), resigning in 1954 after twenty-five years of service in northern Canada.[287]

Sometimes, a career could end on a bitter note. John Semmens, the founding principal of the Brandon school, felt he was forced out of his position because he refused to agree to a planned spending cut of five cents per day per student.

> I had filled the school with pupils, had put the farm in good shape, had increased the stock from one cow to thirty head of cattle and horses, had gathered one crop of wheat and planted another one over a larger area, had constructed a number of buildings, had provided sufficient farm machinery, had erected three windmills, one for pumping water, one for clearing the sewage and one for chopping feed. After all this it seemed a small thing that the Church should quarrel with me over five cents of difference on each pupil's cost per day.[288]

Women also served as school principals. The 1906 Indian Affairs annual report listed eleven female principals. All worked at boarding schools, as opposed to industrial schools. Seven of them were Roman Catholic, two were Anglican, one was Methodist, and one was Presbyterian.[289] One of these principals was Kate Gillespie.

Born in Ontario in 1866, she moved to the Qu'Appelle Valley along with her parents in 1889. She worked as a rural schoolteacher, and her contact with some Aboriginal students led her to volunteer for missionary work in Canada. After teaching at day schools on reserves near Kamsack and Prince Albert, she was appointed principal of the File Hills school in 1901, a position she held until her marriage in 1908. Her sister Janet came to work at the school as matron, and her father became the farm instructor.[170] Between 1901 and 1904, Kate and Janet Gillespie together contributed a third of their combined income to the school.[171] Principal Gillespie was highly regarded. In 1911, when her successor resigned, Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham wrote that the school in recent years "had fallen away very much." When Gillespie had been principal, "the pupils who were turned out had a thorough training in all lines of farm work." Graham pointed out that the last farm instructor (who had been "sent up from Toronto") "had no discipline or authority and besides was sickly and complained about the hours."[172]

The principals faced an almost impossible task. Underfunding forced them to rely increasingly on the school farms and student labour. Once parents concluded that their children were being underfed and overworked, they might stop sending them to school. When this happened, the deficit increased and the principal was pronounced a failure. The next principal might institute a more lenient regime, but, in the end, the impact of underfunding was unavoidable. This cycle played itself out at the Red Deer school in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. One after another of the school's first four principals was forced out of office. The first, John Nelson, was judged to be too arbitrary in his treatment of staff and students.[173] The second, C. E. Somerset, was dismissed after it was concluded that, due to his leniency, he had lost control over the school.[174] Somerset believed he had not been fairly treated and claimed that the investigation into his operation of the school had not given him a proper hearing.[175] His successor, James Rice, imposed stricter discipline and, in an effort to make the school financially self-sustaining, dramatically increased the size of the school's farm operation. Parents objected to the harsh discipline and hard labour, and soon they refused to send their children to the school.[176] His successor, Arthur Barner, abolished corporal punishment, placed a greater focus on education, instituted holidays, raised staff pay, and improved health conditions at the school.[177] The school's finances were still heavily dependent on the farm operation. When crops failed four years in a row, the school had a $3,000 deficit in 1913. Indian Affairs concluded that Barner had failed to exercise proper control of the school budget. In the face of this negative assessment, Barner resigned.[178] While each man undoubtedly had his limitations, one likely conclusion from a review of the careers of these four men (which spans the twenty-year period from 1893 to 1913) is that success was impossible: successive principals were dismissed for exerting too much discipline or too little discipline, for focusing too much attention on the school farm and financial initiatives, or for being too attentive to student and parent concerns.

Some staff members believed that principals were too dictatorial. In 1903, teacher Wesley Harris complained that Regina school principal J. A. Sinclair would not let staff visit town, would not serve them vegetables, and had hit him on the neck.[illegible] In other cases, principals had difficulty exerting their authority. In investigating complaints against Red Deer principal John Nelson in 1895, Alex Sutherland of the Methodist Missionary Society acknowledged that Nelson may "have been too arbitrary alike with the pupils and the employees." But, he also said, some of the employees, particularly the carpenter (who was the brother of Senator James Lougheed), had acted as if they were "virtually independent of the Principal."[illegible] When the Brandon school opened in 1895, Indian Affairs appointed all the staff except the principal. The incoming principal, John Semmens, who was appointed by the Methodist Church, said, "This arrangement was not altogether satisfactory because they owed no distinct loyalty to me or to the Church which I represented. They felt secure because they were politically assigned to their positions and the power of dismissal for any cause did not rest with me."[illegible]

In 1913, the Birtle school had a problem with frequent turnover. Indian agent G. H. Wheatley believed the problem would be solved by the appointment of a new principal "who had the authority to discharge any member of the staff who failed to faithfully fulfill their duties."[illegible]

Given these conditions, many principals found the work very stressful. Rev. E. F. Wilson, founding principal of the Shingwauk Home, had to close the school temporarily when he suffered "nervous affection of the heart and extreme exhaustion" in 1880.[illegible] Four years later, he considered giving up his career:

> It is a question also whether if I were to give up this work, I am particularly well fitted for any other. Whether I could get employment elsewhere suited to my nature, tastes, and capabilities and at any better remuneration than I at present receive. I think if I did this, the oversight of some school or schools somewhere would perhaps suit me best but I would like to have less responsibility as I think it is this perhaps more than anything else that is wearing me out. I don't think anyone knows what a constant strain it is upon me. I have really no time to myself, no time for reading, hardly any time for reading the newspapers. Everything from the least to the greatest connected with these Homes falls on myself.[illegible]

In 1891, when he was attempting to open a new school in Elkhorn, Manitoba, and a day school in Medicine Hat, in what is now Alberta, Wilson once more felt overwhelmed: "I have devoted my life entirely to this Indian work &, while I have life and strength, hope if God will to continue in it. But at present I feel, with such insufficient

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

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> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Life in close quarters: The Protestant experience

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[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Indian Affairs inspector G. Barry thought they were all overpaid, recommending that the total family income of $3,305 be reduced to $2,600. He also thought that Pitts was not doing a good job, and said that his administration of the school was "very weak."

Other reports raised questions about the effectiveness of the spouses who were employed in the schools. Mrs. Menzies was the wife of the principal at the Presbyterian school in northwestern Ontario, and she also served as school matron. Shortly after her arrival in 1924, Indian agent Frank Edwards concluded that she "does not care for Indians and has very little sympathy with them, and she is not liked by the staff." An unsigned report from later that year stated that although she appeared to be "the actual head of the institution," she had "no sympathy for the work" and could not "handle the staff." In 1927, Menzies came into conflict with staff over the treatment of children and Aboriginal families. When Miss Brodie, a teacher at the school, asked Menzies's permission to give some bread from the school kitchen to "an old dying woman," the matron refused. Brodie was allowed, however, to buy a loaf from the school to give to the woman. When the school nurse, Miss Reid, asked to have eggs added to the diets of sick children, that request was also denied. The nurse, similarly, purchased the eggs out of her own salary and provided them to the students.

In 1925, an Indian Affairs official questioned whether the wife of the Gleichen, Alberta, school principal could "satisfactorily undertake the full duties of Matron-in-charge on account of her own three small children." While the Anglican Church Missionary Society defended the matron's ability to discharge her responsibilities, it agreed to consider hiring additional staff members. However, it was pointed out that this could not be done until a new residence was constructed for the principal. In other situations, it was thought the wife was providing better service than the husband. Dr. Peter Bryce wrote of the Gleichen principal in 1907, "The Principal is a delicate man, epileptic, and though good-intentioned, is physically unsuited for such a position. His wife, however, seems to be a most capable woman, and keeps things together, with the assistance of Canon Stocken of the Mission Church, who lives but a short distance away."

In many Protestant schools, an adversarial relationship could develop that set the staff against both the principal and his wife, particularly if the wife was also the school matron. If they were not to become disruptive, differences had to be repressed. Anna Phillips went to work at the Anglican mission and school at Onion Lake in 1895. Born in England, she had started work as a house servant as a child, and worked for Manitoba Lieutenant Governor John Schultz before going north to Onion Lake. She served as matron when the Onion Lake principal's wife, Elizabeth Matheson, went east to resume her training to become a medical doctor. After Elizabeth's return, the two women often clashed. Elizabeth felt her position in the school had been usurped. Furthermore, her husband, the school principal, made her aware that he was ashamed of her impatience. Phillips stayed at the mission for nine years, leaving only when she married another missionary. As her wagon started rolling away, Principal Matheson said to his wife, "Thank God, that woman's gone."[illegible]

Shingle Point, Yukon, school employee Adelaide Butler was not happy when the school principal, Sherman Shepherd, married a former teacher. She thought they claimed more than their share of the scarce resources devoted to the school. In a letter, she complained:

> They have their own house just south of the church, and more has been spent on that one little dwelling than on all the rest of the residences put together. Mrs. S is one who gets as much stuff around her as she possibly can, and the place is just chockfull of stuff, she went round here grabbing everything she could lay hands on, and she would even have taken some of my own personal things if I had not held on tightly. She behaves as if she were Queen of Shingle Point and we were just her subjects.[illegible]

In another, despairing, letter home, she wrote, "There is nothing else to do, I cannot get away! I sometimes wonder why I came, and if I am going to survive, and now there is a chance that I shall be here for another year after this one."[illegible]

Butler thought she could last her full five-year commitment if two other staff members were replaced. But, she warned, "I am not going to lie down under it tamely, someone is going to hear something, and on this mail too."[illegible]

In other schools, relations may have been more harmonious. Romances often developed between staff members that led to marriages. While Adelaide Butler was deeply unhappy at Shingle Point, Bessie Quirt, another of the school's early employees, maintained lifelong friendships with the staff and students she met at the school. In 1979, she was the last of the school's original staff still alive. She wrote, "The writer is the only one living of the original five and she misses the friendship and fellowship of the others who have passed on."[illegible] Of the Hay River school in the 1930s, Louise Topping wrote that, to amuse themselves, the staff members "had a social evening, with 2 different members each week in charge. They would put on Shakespeare plays, musical evenings or stunt nights."[illegible] In addition, she had very strong and fond memories of the staff recreations:

> Often too they held skating parties and wiener roasts. One night walking 2 miles up the river with a party, and there having a bean supper, and it was good in the tent sitting on boughs, with a fire in the centre of the camp, with steaming coffee over it. Those are the times one loves the north. Then we had our ping pong games and the dark days when lights were used almost continually passed and the days lengthened in Jan and Feb one still found much to take up their time and with the brighter days even of lower temperatures one had glorious walks and often dog team rides.[illegible]

Relations between the Roman Catholic male and female orders

The relations between the male and female Roman Catholic orders were not always free from conflict. In most cases, the position of school principal was held by a priest, usually an Oblate. Despite the dominant role usually played by members of the male religious orders in the operation of the schools, there were sometimes surprising acts of self-assertion from the nuns who worked there. The leaders of the female orders sought to protect their order's independence and autonomy while still fulfilling their responsibilities. This led to conflict over pay, housing, access to appropriate religious officials, and recognition of what the church viewed as the proper relationship between men and women. There are examples of these conflicts from British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan.

The Sisters of Saint Ann, for example, believed that it was not morally appropriate for them to be overseeing the daily lives of young boys. They generally required that the Oblates agree to hire young women, usually of Aboriginal ancestry, to take care of the younger boys. If the Oblates refused to do this, the Sisters of Saint Ann refused to provide staff. They also objected to the Oblates' attempts to place sisters in charge of the supervision of male dormitories.[332] The Sisters of Saint Ann initially provided staff at the Kamloops school in 1890. They withdrew their services from the school because the Oblates had not appointed a Roman Catholic priest as principal. The sisters demanded a priest-principal and an on-site chapel. They returned in 1892, after a priest was hired to serve as principal.[333] Because Indian Affairs refused to fund Métis children who were attending the Mission school, in the early 1890s, Vancouver Bishop Paul Durieu called on the order to send the Métis children there to an orphanage. The sister in charge of the school refused to do so, feeling that she was bound to honour a commitment to educate the children locally. In response, Durieu had her transferred.[334]

Indian Affairs official R. H. Cairns wrote in 1924 that for the previous two years at the Cranbrook, British Columbia, school, there had been "more or less discord among the staff." This discord had increased with the appointment of a new principal, Father J. M. Smith. In response to the "entire lack of harmony" that had developed, the Oblates withdrew the principal. According to Cairns, the nuns were working well together, but, he concluded, "conditions will not be normal till a strong efficient man is found who will bring about harmony."[335]

The correspondence among the principal of the Kamloops school, Father James McGuire, the provincial superior of the British Columbia Sisters of Saint Ann, Sister Mary Gabriel, and Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott sheds light both on the conflicts that could arise within the Catholic religious orders and on the lives of residential school employees. In 1926, Father McGuire was not pleased with the performance of Sister Mary Monica, who was the senior Sister of Saint Ann at the Kamloops school. He had opposed her appointment and believed her work to be "detrimental to the progress of the girls in class and very expensive to me."[336] Sister Mary Gabriel disagreed completely. In her mind, the problem lay with McGuire. She wrote to Scott:

> Father McGuire is a well-educated man and might fit wonderfully in a university, but the bedrock of the school, its very elements, he cannot conceive. He can run the farm; the plant, and all the outside work, but the inside drudgery of the cooking, mending, sewing, laundry work, taking care of the sick and a thousand other details do not register with him. To tell you plainly, Father McGuire is a sick man; the worry and work of that institution is too much for him in his physical condition. He is a wreck.

Sister Mary Gabriel went on to say that it would be difficult to find Sisters of Saint Ann "physically strong enough to cope with the conditions" at the school. Father McGuire had requested that he be supplied with teachers who had teaching qualifications. However, Sister Mary Gabriel said, "These girls—now Sisters—educated in Victoria, Vancouver, or elsewhere, never could succeed with the slow, indolent, uncultured child in an Indian school." They were needed to teach in Catholic high schools and academies, and she "could not spare them to teach in an Indian school." She noted that the twenty Sisters of Saint Ann who were working at residential schools in British Columbia were receiving a salary of $16 a month. She compared this to the $7,000 a year plus room and board that the order was obliged to pay better qualified lay teachers to work in some of the schools it operated for non-Aboriginal students. As a result, she said, the order would not be providing any more staff to the Kamloops school. "We cannot afford to place a Sister there whose education is worth a salary of Sixty dollars ($60) per month for the [$16] pittance allowed. We simply cannot submit to it."[337]

Sister Mary Gabriel's tactics bore some fruit. By February 1927, the sisters at the Kamloops school were receiving $30 a month.[338] (In the 1930s, this amount was reduced to $25 a month.)[339] In the face of ongoing pressure from Indian Affairs, the Oblates granted Father McGuire a leave of absence. Sister Mary Gabriel was much more conciliatory in her assessment of McGuire by the time of his departure, saying that while he "may have been persistent and probably dictatorial in his manner of expressing his views," he had

> labored here ten years and not one cent of salary did he accept; all was turned into the common fund for the betterment of the Indians. He has hardly a suit of clothes to his name and leaves in a condition which no ordinary man, save one who has dedicated his life to missionary work, would possibly endure.

She also was prepared to acknowledge that Sister Mary Monica—whom she had previously defended—had proved to be less than satisfactory, since "she was somewhat deaf and did not speak English very well."[340]

By then, Sister Mary Gabriel had turned her attention to conditions at the Mission school. She informed the Oblate provincial superior that it would be impossible to continue to provide seven sisters to the school at the rate of $16 a month. She also drew attention to the "dilapidated state of the house, the cold and other inconveniences," all of which, she said, were "prejudicial to the health of the sisters."[341] Her efforts to improve salaries at the Mission school had little success. She had asked that the Sisters of Saint Ann be paid $30 a month; the Oblates offered to pay $250 a year ($20.83 a month). She called this "a trifle" more than their current rate of $16 a month, particularly in light of the "absolutely detrimental" living conditions and the fourteen-hour days the sisters were required to work.[342] She reminded the Oblate provincial superior in the summer of 1928 that the order had its own financial obligations:

> I request you to reconsider your offer of $250.00 per annum or what would be $20.83 per month and allow us the minimum wage of $1.00 per day or $30.00 per month. If you are not in a position to meet this at the end of September quarter, we will charge it up and consider it arrears until such time as you may be able to pay in full.

She concluded, "If you consider sixty years of service at $16.00 per month and the lives that have been exhausted during that period of time, there should surely be no hesitation in granting our request."[343]

However, the best she could do was win a commitment from the Oblates in the summer of 1928 that they would pay $30 a month when they "were in a position to meet their obligations." A year later, when her term of office as provincial superior of the Sisters of Saint Ann was up, the Oblates had yet to agree to her request.[344] It was not until 1939 that the salaries of the Sisters of Saint Ann at the Mission school were increased to $25 a month.[345]

At the Cranbrook school, Oblates and the Sisters of Providence clashed over matters great and small. For example, the principal took offence when a sister had the presumption to tell the school's hired man—in the principal's words, "a servant, a non-catholic"—that the priest was able to drive a car.[346] More frustrating was Father Maurice Lépine's decision to hire a farmer whom the sisters had "many reasons to complain of," and then to raise his salary, even though "the sisters could not meet their current expenses."[347] Their disagreements with the Oblates led them to leave the school in 1929.[348]

In 1893, the Sisters of Providence's superior general, Mother Marie-Godefroy, pledged to provide Bishop Émile Grouard with staff for Oblate residential schools in the Athabaska region of Alberta. She agreed that the first twenty-five sisters would work for room and board, and those who were appointed later would receive $25 a year. In exchange, the Oblates committed to taking care of the sisters' material and spiritual needs. In coming years, this commitment would be a source of contention, with the Sisters of Providence arguing for pay raises on the basis that the commitment was not intended to be perpetual.[349] Some of the members of the order felt that their concerns were not taken seriously. One sister, frustrated by the treatment she received from one Oblate when she asked about Indian Affairs policy, raised her concerns with another, more approachable, priest. He told her, "I shouldn't tell you this, but the bishop has forbidden us ever to talk business with the Sisters."[350] Despite their complaints, the original arrangement remained in place throughout this period and right up to the 1950s.[351]

At the Wabasca school in Alberta, the Sisters of Providence were short of food in the early 1920s. In November 1923, Mother Bernard du Sacré-Coeur complained to Bishop Grouard that the sisters had not had a proper food supply for a year and had been reduced to writing letters to their families to ask for money and food. Two of the sisters had become so ill that they had to be given medical treatment.[352] At the Joussard, Alberta, mission, the sisters had to work by the light of 40-watt bulbs, while the Oblates were supplied with 100-watt bulbs. Another complaint centred on Oblate unwillingness to purchase baking ovens for the missions, which would have relieved the sisters from staying up all night to bake bread for the Oblates and the residential school students.[353]

At the Cluny, Alberta, school in 1908, the Oblate principal, Father Jean-Louis Le Vern, forbade social conversations between the Oblates and the sisters.[354] Prior to 1934, the Sisters of Providence had been administering the Cluny school. In that year, they were obliged to turn it over to the Oblates. Under a new financial agreement, the sisters were expected to work for $15 a month. The Oblates claimed that this was all the school could afford, but the sisters, who were familiar with the school's finances from the years they had spent running it, were not convinced.[355]

At times, the Oblates must have felt that the female orders had the upper hand. In the 1920s in Saskatchewan, Indian Affairs pressured the Oblates to establish a farm at the Delmas school on which boys could be taught farming skills. Father A. Naessens explained to Deputy Minister Scott that

> in this School, the Rev. Sisters have practically the administration and the running of the Institution, they have been frequently told about the wishes of the Department with regards the training of the older boys in farming; but they seem to have objections towards complying with these instructions in that respect.

Naessens said they would probably establish a farm if Indian Affairs directly instructed them to do so.[356] The principal also wrote to explain that the sisters would be arranging the farming instruction, adding that he had no responsibility in the matter. Scott responded that the principal ought to have control of his school, and that a prairie school that did not provide instruction in farming was not likely to "remain a factor in our educational programme."[357] One Oblate, J. B. Beys, explained to Scott that "by special arrangement of our Bishops, in the early days the Sisters had the full management of the Schools. Little by little this has been changed in most Schools, but still prevails in the Schools of Delmas, Onion Lake and Hobbema." He added that the Delmas school lacked the funds to purchase the needed farm equipment.[358] By the early 1930s, however, the school had a small farm operation with sixteen hectares under cultivation.[359]

The personal relations between priests and nuns (or sisters) were very closely controlled. In 1890, Bishop Vital Grandin wrote the Reverend Mother Ste. Marie, the general mother of the Sisters of the Assumption in Nicolet, Québec, about the rules that should apply to nuns being sent to the Onion Lake school. He warned that the government recognized only one person as a teacher at the school and the grant for that teacher would be $300—"which is not sufficient." In addition to teaching, the nuns were expected to wash and mend the church linens and the male missionaries' clothing, prepare meals for themselves and the missionaries, and clean the churches and rectories. Contact between the missionaries and nuns would have to be closely regulated. Although the missionaries were to eat their meals in the nuns' residence, they were to eat in a room that was completely separated from the rest of the building. The food was to be passed to the missionaries through a hatch. Nuns were to make their confessions to priests through a screen, never at night, and should not prolong these encounters by dwelling on minutiae. If it was necessary for a nun to speak to a priest, she should ensure that she was accompanied by another sister, or by a child—one who could not understand what was being said, but could serve as a witness to what was done. Illness particularly could give rise to temptations, since "it could happen that a patient who is normally very modest and scrupulous will request that we offer very delicate favours." The concern was with both appearances and reality. Grandin noted that the sisters would be surrounded by people who did not believe in their virtue. He said it should be recognized that since both the missionaries and nuns were alone and isolated, the mutual favour and consolation they provided each other "could create certain dangers between the children of God, as saintly and perfect as they may be."[360]

Aboriginal staff

Aboriginal people presented a potential source of employees for the schools. However, during this period, attitudes of racial superiority, coupled with distrust of older Aboriginal people, meant that, in some cases, schools consciously chose not to hire Aboriginal staff. Such attitudes also made it difficult for the schools to keep any

Aboriginal staff members who were hired. As early as 1884, Indian Affairs inspector T. P. Wadsworth opposed the practice of employing Aboriginal women to work as cleaners in the schools and the practice of hiring Aboriginal men to do casual labour at the Battleford school. Although it was economical, he said, it attracted Aboriginal adults to come to the school in hopes of getting employment, and also allowed the students the chance of "surreptitiously communicating with their friends." He preferred to see "a sufficient number of white servants" permanently employed at the schools.[illegible]

Alex Sutherland of the Methodist Church reported in 1886:

> Our efforts to develop native helpers in our Indian work has not been encouraging, but if we find some young men of good promise it might be well to do what we can to aid them; but these are cases in which we need to move with caution lest we find ourselves with men upon our hands for whom we have no appointment.[illegible]

Clifford Tobias, a former Mohawk Institute student, was considered for a position as a teacher in an Indian day school in Ontario in 1918. An unnamed Indian Affairs official opposed his appointment, not because of his age or limited training, but because he was Aboriginal. Based on his experience, the official wrote, he

> would not advise putting any Indian in charge of an Indian School. These children require to have the 'Indian' educated out of them, which only a white teacher can help to do.
>
> It would be much better to select a white, returned soldier of equal or higher attainments, and make an effort to provide a home for him on the Indian Reserve, near the school.
>
> An Indian is always and only an Indian and has not the social, moral and intellectual standing required to elevate these Indian children, who are quite capable of improvement.[illegible]

In 1914, the Anglican Church recommended that the Reverend Louis Laronde be appointed as the principal of The Pas school. Indian Affairs official Martin Benson described him as "a French half-breed, a graduate of St. John's College," with experience teaching in day schools. Benson acknowledged that Laronde was fully qualified, but, in correspondence with Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott, he noted, "I think our past experience goes to show that we would be taking great risks in putting a school of this class in charge of a half-breed."[illegible] Indian Affairs informed Bishop Jervois Newnham that it would not approve Laronde's appointment. However, the Anglican Church appointed him.[illegible] Rev. Laronde served as principal of residential schools in The Pas and in Lytton, British Columbia.[illegible]

Despite these prejudices, some Aboriginal people were employed in various regions of the system throughout this period. The most successful ones taught in eastern Canada. The Mohawk Institute hired former student Isaac Barefoot to work as a teacher in 1869. Barefoot went on to serve as acting principal. He later became ordained as an Anglican minister.[167] Susan Hardie had a very long and successful history at the Mohawk Institute. A former student of the school, she started working at the institute shortly after she obtained her teaching certificate in 1886.[168] She was the school governess as early as 1894, and was paid $200 a year.[169] By 1915, she was the senior teacher at the school, and was placed in charge of the school during the absence of the principal in 1920. Her salary by then was $600 a year.[170] She was highly regarded: according to a local Indian Affairs official, she passed "from 4 to 6 pupils into the High School every year." In addition, he wrote, "a large part of her time is taken up after school hours in other duties pertaining to her over sight of the girls." By 1920, she reportedly had been teaching for thirty-four years.[171] In 1921, she obtained a testimonial letter from Ontario school inspector T. W. Standing, who said that she was a "duly qualified teacher, having been trained in the Toronto Normal School." He thought her to be an "excellent disciplinarian," able to secure "the affection as well as the respect of her pupils."[172] She retired at the beginning of the 1936–37 school year, and was given a pension of $30 a month.[173] Martha Hill, who attended the Mohawk Institute from 1912 to 1918, recalled Hardie as a very strict disciplinarian, and described an incident in which Hill refused to put out her hand to allow Hardie to administer a strapping. According to Hill, Hardie gave her a shove. "I tripped on the radiator and I fell, and I laid there. By the scruff of the neck she shoved me in the seat."[174] Raymond Hill, who was at the school from 1929 to 1937, recalled Hardie as a capable teacher, adding, "We got a good education."[175]

In 1903, Regina principal J. A. Sinclair could boast that one of his teachers, Miss Cornelius, was

> a full-blooded Oneida Indian girl, and was trained in Hampton Agricultural and Normal Institute, Virginia. She has more than sustained the good record she made last year, and the presence among our pupils of an Indian girl, with all the refinement and capacity of the best white ladies, has been a great inspiration.[176]

Miss Cornelius left the following year, lured away to a better paying school in the United States. In making a plea for money to keep her at the school, Sinclair wrote, "Her loss will be little less than a calamity to the school, and indeed to our whole Indian work, as she is the most forcible answer possible to the common pessimism regarding Indian education."[177]

In the early 1930s, the Brandon school hired former student Lulu Ironstar as a teacher.[178] According to one teaching evaluation, she had "made a fine beginning" and was "thoughtful and effective in teaching."[179] After a few years, however, her name disappears from the record.

Many former students also took positions as trades instructors at the schools. For example, in 1894, Isaiah Badger, a former student from the Battleford school, was running the shoe shop at the Middlechurch school in Manitoba.[illegible] Louise Moine, who attended the Qu'Appelle school in the early twentieth century, recalled:

> There was one little nun who was a full-blooded Indian. She was gifted and talented and did most of the oil painting required in the school. I remember the roses and rosebuds she painted on the wide white ribbons that we wore as "Children of Mary." It was a delicate work of art. She also did all types of handwork and taught handicrafts to the girls such as crocheting, embroidery and beadwork.[illegible]

At the Anglican school at Fort George, a young Cree woman named Charlotte was hired in the 1930s to make parkas and moccasins for the children. According to the principal, Trevor Jones, she "also taught them how to make bear paw snowshoes. She became, in fact, our childcare supervisor, with many of the matron's duties."[illegible]

There were also marriages between staff and Aboriginal students. After attending the Birtle school in 1910, Susette Blackbird took a year of training at the Presbyterian Missionary and Deaconess Training Home. She then returned to Birtle, where she married the school principal, W. W. McLaren. The mixed-race couple was not allowed to use a room in the school as their living area. Some teachers did not like the fact that Susette spoke to the children in Aboriginal languages, not because this was forbidden, but because it created a bond between them that did not include the other teachers. It was also felt that McLaren would not be able to maintain the requisite distance and dignity from the students if he were living in the school.[illegible] In a letter to Indian Affairs, Presbyterian Church official R. P. MacKay wrote, "Mr. MacLaren's [sic] marriage to one of the Indian pupils has embarrassed very much." MacKay thought it might be necessary to dispense with McLaren's services entirely.[illegible]

A deeply hurt McLaren wrote, "It is a poor lookout for the future of our church and our Dominion when the union of Christian people of different races is made a ground of offence."[illegible]

McLaren had good reason to believe that he and his wife had been let down by a system that claimed to be struggling to eliminate barriers between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people. Nonetheless, one of the McLarens' children, Elsie, was educated at the Brandon residential school. Her experiences of the school were positive and led her to go on to university. There, she met her future husband, Harry Meadows. He had taught at the Norway House residential school, where he worked to develop a curriculum that was more suited to the students' needs, having concluded that the provincial curriculum was "impractical and almost useless." Eventually, Harry and Elsie taught at the Norway House school.[illegible]

Challenges to the dominant values

The men and women who came to work in residential schools believed that they were bringing Aboriginal people spiritual salvation and the benefits of a superior civilization. To most of them, Aboriginal people were seen to be inferior, and judged to be heathen and savage; their spiritual beliefs were considered to be little more than superstitions, and their way of life was believed to be barbaric. In the minds of many staff members at residential schools, Aboriginal parents had nothing to contribute to the education of their children. These harsh judgements were based on a sense of cultural and racial superiority. Such notions dominated the operation of the schools throughout this period and contributed to the ongoing conflict that raised between the schools and Aboriginal communities. Coupled with the federal government's ongoing underfunding of residential schools, this colonial approach to education devalued the students' cultures, excluded their parents, breached the Treaties, and was imposed without consultation. It ensured that most students' experiences at residential school were harsh and alienating.

Yet, it is important to recognize that, within the schools, many positive relationships did develop. In some cases, staff developed ongoing interests in Aboriginal life and culture. There were staff members who began to question the very underpinnings of the residential school approach. These were a minority and their impact was limited. But the impact and record that they have left make it clear that not all residential school conversations were one-way affairs; there were staff members who listened, learned, and attempted to change.

Cree Chief Piapot and Qu'Appelle principal Joseph Hugonnard clashed at many points during their lives. Piapot, for example, was jailed for organizing a ceremonial dance. Hugonnard had been a strong advocate of laws suppressing such dances and had raised protests when he felt the government was not enforcing those laws.[illegible] Yet, the two men developed a relationship that allowed them to converse regularly despite their differences. When Hugonnard advised Piapot to convert to Catholicism, the chief replied:

> You want to teach me your religion. Do you know the Great Spirit made that country where you came from and planted you there and gave you this religion. The Great Spirit gave you a land over there and people who grew up there got this religion. Then something got into your head to come to this country—my country—the God gave me this country, and all these Indians.

When Hugonnard cautioned him that a refusal to convert could send him to hell, Piapot said he knew of no such place in his religion, suggesting the priest would have to show him the way to such a place, if it existed.[illegible] A less combative relationship developed between former Mission school student [illegible] and former school principal [illegible]. When [illegible] was an adult, he and [illegible] became

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

> [illegible]
>
> [illegible]

> have their own centre of Government—their own Ottawa, so to speak, their own Lieutenant Governor and their own Parliament?"[illegible]

As a Christian missionary, Wilson could not abandon the goal of religious conversion. But he had come to question whether it was necessary for Aboriginal people to 'Canadianize.' Despite these changes in his thinking, Wilson had not abandoned his support for residential schooling. He remained as principal of the Shingwauk Home until his retirement in 1893, and, as late as 1892, he was writing positively of the residential school system's potential.[illegible]

Others began to speak of the system's failure to respect Aboriginal parents and communities. In 1909, Red Deer principal Arthur Barner wrote of how parents "would like to have something to say about the education of their children and I believe more will be accomplished by confidence and cooperation than by any kind of compulsion."[illegible] Former Regina school principal R. B. Heron made a similar point in 1923, when he observed that parents have "no voice" in teacher selection, curriculum, or hours of school attendance.[illegible]

The Indian Workers Association of the Presbyterian Church for Saskatchewan and Manitoba in 1911 adopted a resolution calling for the education of First Nations children "in public schools, situated upon the reserves, or in school districts adjacent to them." Where this was not feasible, the association members favoured small boarding schools in which boys and girls could "mingle freely and naturally under careful supervision." This, they felt, was preferable to the "large industrial school with its institutional government, its rigid separation of the sexes, its atmosphere of suspicion on the part of the teachers." Older attitudes were hard to discard, though. It was, for example, difficult for the Presbyterians to cast off the idea that children who had been educated needed to be separated from their home communities. Even as the Presbyterians called for reserve-based education, they also supported the creation of colonies where former students would be "protected from the parasitic habits of their worthless friends."[illegible]

At the senior level, there was recognition within the Oblate order that the emphasis on assimilation was ultimately undermining the schools' effectiveness. In his 1936 report, Oblate Superior General Théodore Labouré questioned whether "the zeal for bestowing the benefits of civilization on the Indian was carried too far." It was, he wrote, excellent to seek to substitute "education for ignorance" and "work for idleness," but was it necessary, he asked, to attempt "to make everything that is Indian in our Indian races disappear?"[illegible] In the Northwest Territories, Roman Catholic Archbishop Gabriel Breynat sought to slow the pace of assimilation. He wrote in 1935 that he thought it would be best to "introduce Native languages in the Indian school together with courses in syllabic characters" to make sure the languages did not disappear.[illegible] In 1939, he recommended that there be programs training students in how to hunt and fish.[illegible] That same year, in an article in the Toronto *Star Weekly*, he wrote, "The story of the white man's invasion of the Canadian Northwest may be named by future historians as one of the blackest blots on the pages of Canadian history."[illegible] He was also critical of his own Oblate order. In 1940, he resigned from the Oblate Indian Welfare and Training Commission, saying it had been ineffective in its efforts to protect Aboriginal people and advance their interests.[illegible] Despite these criticisms, the Oblates remained firmly committed to residential schooling.[illegible]

At Fort George, Anglican principal Trevor Jones came to be an admirer of the Aboriginal culture. He observed, "The peace and harmony and satisfaction they derived from their way of life was such that I envied them. No doubt this influenced my determination in later years to work towards pursuing the churches and the Governments to recognize aboriginal land titles and self-government in Canada."

When he left Fort George in 1937, he said, 700 people turned up to say goodbye to him and his wife.[illegible] As he left, he questioned the mission legacy. He knew he was leaving behind "buildings and furnishings and a management schedule which would make it easier for our successors to follow an established routine." But, he had come to recognize that Aboriginal culture had values and that he had been part of a process that put those values at risk. "In particular, I was concerned that their traditional beliefs and practices should not be tampered with, but that they should continue to be encouraged to preserve them and assimilate them into their Christian way of life." This, he wrote, included a belief in a creator that was "responsible for everything that exists, and in the human's responsibility to protect, conserve and live in harmony with all creation, as demonstrated by Richard Rednose feeding the mosquitos with his own blood."[illegible]

Jones's changing views would have sat in uneasy contradiction with his commitments as a Christian missionary and educator. Such changes reflect the impact of the determination of Aboriginal peoples to maintain their own identities throughout this period. The adherence of Aboriginal people to their culture was powerful enough to lead missionaries such as Jones to re-evaluate their own views and attitudes. In such cases, it was the students and their parents who reshaped the staff, and not the other way around.

Notes

Introduction

1. For coercion, see: Ray, *Illustrated History*, 151–152. For fraud, see: Upton, "Origins of Canadian Indian Policy," 56. For failure to implement Treaties, see: Sprague, *Canada's Treaties with Aboriginal People*, 13. For taking land without Treaty, see: Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*.
2. See: Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 222.
3. Barron, "Indian Pass System."
4. For an example, see: *An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1880, chapter 28, section 72, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 75.
5. *An Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1869, chapter 42, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 11.
6. For an example, see: *An Act further to amend "The Indian Act, 1880,"* Statutes of Canada 1884, chapter 27, section 3, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 93.
7. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6810, file 470-2-3, volume 7, Evidence of D. C. Scott to the Special Committee of the House of Commons Investigating the Indian Act amendments of 1920, (L-2)(N-3).
8. Canada, "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy," page 20 of 24-page portable document format file.
9. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1931*, 60.
10. Indian Residential Schools Settlement – Official Court Website, http://www.residentialschoolsettlement.ca/schools.html (accessed 5 February 2015).
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Colonialism in the Age of Empire

1. TRC, AVS, Shirley Flowers, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Goose Bay, Newfoundland and Labrador, 20 September 2011, Statement Number: SP025.
2. "The Most Northerly Residential School in the British Empire," *Northern Lights*, (February 1933): 8, quoted in Rutherdale, *Women and White Man's God*, xx.
3. Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 78–83; Pagden, *Peoples and Empires*, 56.

4. Howe, *Empire*, 62–63.
5. Howe, *Empire*, 21–22.
6. Howe, *Empire*, 57.
7. Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 16–40.
8. *The Guardian*, http://www.guardian.co.uk/world (accessed 26 February 2012). These examples follow a similar argument presented by Howe, *Empire*.
9. Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 440. For Canada, see: Miller, *Skyscrapers*; Ray, *An Illustrated History*; Dickason and Calder, *A Concise History*.
10. Howe, *Empire*, 13.
11. Howe, *Empire*, 13.
12. Wood, *Empire of Capital*, 33.
13. Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 14, 15, 20, 22–23.
14. Wood, *Empire of Capital*, 33.
15. Howe, *Empire*, 14–16.
16. Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 435.
17. Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 434–435.
18. Hobsbawm, *On Empire*, 67.
19. Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*, 6–28, 37, 134–144; Lovell, *Opium War*, 1–16.
20. Wood, *Empire of Capital*, 74–87.
21. Williams, *American Indian*, 121–147.
22. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 394.
23. Howe, *Empire*, 78.
24. Coates, *Canada's Colonies*, 9–10.
25. Curtin, *World and the West*, 1.
26. Hobsbawm, *On Empire*, 10.
27. Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*, 23–25.
28. Gott, *Britain's Empire*, 2.
29. Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 440.
30. Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 441.
31. Howe, *Empire*, 70.
32. Waldram, Herring, and Young, *Aboriginal Health*, 48–55; Herring, "Toward a Reconsideration," 160. The devastation was so severe that one historian titled his study of impact of colonialism on the Aboriginal people of North America *American Holocaust*. Stannard, *American Holocaust*.
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34. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters*, 4.
35. Gott, *Britain's Empire*, 85.
36. Gilbert Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (London, 1868), 3–4, quoted in Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 117.
37. Duff, *Indian History*, 96.
38. Gott, *Britain's Empire*, 152.
39. Gott, *Britain's Empire*, 37–38.
40. See, for example: Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*; Francis and Morantz, *Partners in Furs*.
41. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 388.
42. McNab, "Herman Merivale," 280.

43. Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 432.
44. Bayly, *Birth of the Modern World*, 433, 439.
45. Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 388, 391, 399.
46. Howe, *Empire*, 80–81.
47. Howe, *Empire*, 62.
48. Wood, *Empire of Capital*, 40–41.
49. Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 24.
50. Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 26.
51. Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 26–27, 32.
52. Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 65–66.
53. Williams, *American Indian*, 72–73.
54. Frichner, "Preliminary Study," 7–8; Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 94–95; Pagden, *Peoples and Empires*, 54.
55. Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 152.
56. Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 152.
57. Diffie and Winius, *Foundations*, 173–174; Thomas, *Rivers of Gold*, 116–119.
58. Elliott, Empires of the Atlantic, 11, 23; Pagden, *Spanish Imperialism*, 14.
59. Wallerstein, *European Universalism*, 4–5; Williams, *American Indian*, 97–108; Wood, *Empire of Capital*, 41.
60. Pagden, *Peoples and Empires*, 54–55.
61. Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 33.
62. Pagden, *Lords of All the World*, 47.
63. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic*, 11–12; Frichner, "Preliminary Study," 11; Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, 17–18.
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68. Johnson v. M'Intosh quoted in Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land*, 11.
69. Frichner, "Preliminary Study," 19.
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93. Carnoy, "Education as Cultural Imperialism," 81–82, 90–91.
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98. Quoted in Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*, 164.
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The churches and their mission of conversion

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2. King James Version (KJV), Matthew 28:19–20.
3. Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 9.
4. For example, see: Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 21.
5. Usher, William Duncan, 41. See also: Choquette, *Oblate Assault*; Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel*; Hyam, *Britain's Imperial Century*.
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8. For example, see: A. A. den Otter, *Civilizing the West*, x. See also: Anuik, "Forming Civilization," 2.
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15. Choquette, *Canada's Religions*, 68, 70.
16. Choquette, *Canada's Religions*, 55, 97–99.
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18. Axtell, *Invasion Within*, 91–92.
19. Greer, *Jesuit Relations*, 5.
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22. Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 1–20; McCarthy, *From the Great River*, 3–5.

23. Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel*, 1–6; Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 1–20; Choquette, *Canada's Religions*, 173–176.
24. Choquette, *Canada's Religions*, 191–192, 194; see also: Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 10.
25. Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel*, 69–71; McCarthy, *From the Great River*, 164.
26. Halpérin, "French Lawyers' Fees," 217.
27. Choquette, *Canada's Religions*, 83–84, 201; Gresko, "Gender and Mission," 59–64; McCarthy, *From the Great River*, 156.
28. Bruno-Jofre, *Missionary Oblate Sisters*, 4–12, 131–139.
29. Choquette, *Canada's Religions*, 159, 164.
30. Choquette, *Canada's Religions*, 165–169.
31. Prucha, *Great Father*, 10; Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 66.
32. Szasz, *Indian Education*, 131–132.
33. Sullivan, *Macaulay*, 11; Usher, *William Duncan*.
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41. Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 74.
42. Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 121.
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Treaty making and betrayal: The roots of Canada's Aboriginal policy

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76. Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 105; Long, "Thomas Vincent," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/vincent_thomas_1835_1907_13E.html (accessed 7 December 2013); Long,"John Horden," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/horden_john_12E.html (accessed 7 December 2013).
77. William Cockran, *Journal*, 30 September 1830, Library and Archives Canada, MG 17, Class C, C1/M.2, reel 1-77, 14, quoted in Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 130.
78. John West, *The Substance of a Journal During a Residence at the Red River Colony, British North America: And Frequent Excursions Among the North-West American Indians, in the Years 1820, 1821, 1822, 1823* (London, 1824), 12, quoted in Coutts, *Road to the Rapids*, 27.
79. Church Missionary Society A77, 12, quoted in Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 221.
80. Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 225.
81. Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel*, 1–6, 84–87, 97; Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 1–20, 224.
82. Bishop Lafleche, quoted in Duchaussois, *Grey Nuns*, 57.
83. Archives Deschâtelets, HEB 6874, L88L.3, Grollier to Taché, Fort Norman, 20 July 1860, quoted in Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 145.
84. Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 153.
85. Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 175.
86. MacGregor, *Father Lacombe*, 209.
87. MacGregor, *Father Lacombe*, 210.
88. Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 178.
89. McCarthy, *From the Great River*, 54; Grant, *Moon of Wintertime*, 113.
90. Archives Soeurs Grises de Montréal, Grandin to Hainault-Deschamps, 3 May 1862, quoted in Carney, "Grey Nuns and Children," 291.
91. Methodist Missionary Society Committee Minutes, extracts, Microfilm reel A270, Box 13, Reel 13, Canada 1841–1842, Mason to Secretaries, August 11, 1841, quoted in Brooks, "British Wesleyan Methodist Missionary," 29.
92. McCarthy, *From the Great River*, 53.
93. Provincial Archives of Manitoba, MG12E1, Bompas to Schultz, 3 June 1892, quoted in McCarthy, *From the Great River*, 54.
94. Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 60–65; Hutchinson, "James Evans," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/evans_james_7E.html (accessed 17 December 2013).

95. Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 158.
96. Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel*, 103.
97. Carney, "Relations in Education," 55.
98. Choquette, *Oblate Assault*, 73.
99. McCarthy, *From the Great River*, 157.
100. McCarthy, *From the Great River*, 156–157.
101. Axelrod, *Promise of Schooling*, 40.
102. McCarthy, *From the Great River*, 168, 169.
103. Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel*, 66.
104. Carney, "Relations in Education," 54.
105. Carney, "Relations in Education," 120.
106. Erickson, "Repositioning the Missionary," 131.
107. McCarthy, *From the Great River*, 162.
108. Abel, *Drum Songs*, 110.
109. Erickson, "Bury Our Sorrows," 33.
110. Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel*, 99–104.
111. Carney, "Grey Nuns and Children," 292.
112. Erickson, "Repositioning the Missionary," 131–132.
113. Huel, *Proclaiming the Gospel*, 105–110.
114. Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 102–103; Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 106–108.
115. McNally, *Lord's Distant Vineyard*, 77.
116. Duff, *Indian History of British Columbia*, 59–60.
117. For medical treatment, see: McNally, *Lord's Distant Vineyard*, 77–78. For the goal of separating Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, see: TRC, NRA, St. Paul's Archives – Ottawa, series 2, box 22, folder 1, Family History Bishop Durieu, E. M. Bunoz, "Catholic Action and Bishop Durieu's System," unpublished manuscript, 29 January 1941, 2. [OMI-035015]
118. Augustin Demers had been appointed Bishop of Victoria Island in the 1840s, and the geographic extent of his diocese was later extended to include much of present-day British Columbia and Alaska. However, he had few missionaries at his command and enormous territory to cover. As a result, he made few converts. McNally, *Lord's Distant Vineyard*, 10–13.
119. Gresko, "Louis-Joseph d'Herbomez," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/herbomez_louis_joseph_d_11E.html (accessed 11 September 2014).
120. McNally, *Lord's Distant Vineyard*, 49–50.
121. McNally, *Lord's Distant Vineyard*, 89 (Williams Lake), 97 (Stuart Lake), 102 (the Kootenays).
122. Gresko, "Paul Durieu," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/durieu_paul_12E.html (accessed 31 August 2014).
123. McNally, *Lord's Distant Vineyard*, 58–59. For discussion of the degree to which Durieu was the originator of the system that bore his name, see: Gresko, "Paul Durieu," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/durieu_paul_12E.html (accessed 31 August 2014).
124. TRC, NRA, St. Paul's Archives – Ottawa, series 2, box 22, folder 1, Family History Bishop Durieu, E. M. Bunoz, "Catholic Action and Bishop Durieu's System," unpublished manuscript, 29 January 1941. [OMI-035015]
125. McNally, *Lord's Distant Vineyard*, 135–137.
126. McNally, *Lord's Distant Vineyard*, 138–139.
127. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, volume 6470, file 890-5, part 1, E. C. Chirouse to F. Devlin, 1 July 1896; [MIS-000002] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada

- Ottawa, RG10, volume 6462, file 800-1, part 2, F. C. Chisholm to D. C. Scott, 13 August 1925. [CRS-001002]

128. Cronin, "Paul Durieu," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/durieu_paul_12E.html (accessed 31 August 2014). McNally gives the opening as 1862. McNally, *Lord's Distant Vineyard*, 67.
129. McNally, *Lord's Distant Vineyard*, 67.
130. McNally, *Lord's Distant Vineyard*, 67–69.
131. McNally, *Lord's Distant Vineyard*, 70; Jones Clark, "Saint Mary's Mission," 91–92.
132. Jones Clark, "Saint Mary's Mission," 87.
133. Jones Clark, "Saint Mary's Mission," 89.
134. McNally, *Lord's Distant Vineyard*, 71; Jones Clark, "Saint Mary's Mission," 96–97.
135. Jones Clark, "Saint Mary's Mission," 83.
136. TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, L. J. D'Herbomez to Superintendent General Indian Affairs, 5 January 1874. [OMS-000807]
137. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1874*, 9–10.
138. Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakatla*, 8–9, 36.
139. Journal of William Duncan, 7 June 1858, William Duncan Papers 1853–1916, University of British Columbia Library, Vancouver, microfilm/C2154, quoted in Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakatla*, 47.
140. Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakatla*, 38–41.
141. Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakatla*, 64.
142. Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakatla*, 65–69.
143. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1874*, 8, 100.
144. Journal of William Duncan, 19 November 1865, William Duncan Papers, 1853–1916, University of British Columbia Library, Vancouver, microfilm/C2155, quoted in Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakatla*, 77.
145. Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakatla*, 83.
146. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1874*, 8–10.
147. Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakatla*, 119–135.
148. Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian*, 26–28, 35.
149. Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian*, 37, 94.
150. Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian*, 34–35.
151. Thomas Crosby, *Among the An-ko-me-nums or Flathead Tribes of Indians of the Pacific Coast* (Toronto, 1907), 49, quoted in Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian*, 35.
152. Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian*, 47–48.
153. Hare and Barman, "Good Intentions," 182–183.
154. Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian*, 61.
155. Hare and Barman, "Good Intentions," 188.
156. Hare and Barman, "Good Intentions," 190.
157. Thomas Crosby, letter in the *Christian Guardian*, 4 November 1875 (letter dated 5 September 1875), quoted in Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian*, 63.
158. Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian*, 64.
159. Bolt, "Thomas Crosby," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/crosby_thomas_14E.html (accessed 1 September 2014).
160. Usher, *William Duncan of Metlakatla*, 124–135; Bolt, *Thomas Crosby and the Tsimshian*, 73–77.

Confederation, colonization, and resistance

1. Berger, *Sense of Power*, 105; Waite, *Canada in the European Age*, 101–103; Conrad and Finkel, *Canada*, 232–268. For discussion of "manifest destiny," see Merk and Bannister, *Manifest Destiny*.
2. McNeil, *Native Claims*, 6.
3. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant*, 150; Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools*, 10. Population figures for this period are only estimates. James Miller cites 12,000 mixed-blood people in 1870, and, in his 1879 report, Nicholas Flood Davin stated that 28,000 people were under Treaty. Miller, *Compact, Contract, Covenant*, 150; Davin, *Report on Industrial Schools*, 10.
4. House of Commons Debates from the Sixth Day of November, 1867, to the Twenty-Second Day of May, 1868, 200, cited in Milloy, *"A National Crime,"* 20.
5. *An Act for the gradual enfranchisement of Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1869, chapter 6, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 11.
6. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1876*, 6.
7. *An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1876, chapter 18, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 24.
8. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, 255.
9. *An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1876, chapter 18, section 62, subsection 4, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 41; *An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1880, chapter 28, section 72, subsection 5, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 75.
10. *An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1880, chapter 28, section 72, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 75.
11. *An Act to amend and consolidate the laws respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1880, chapter 28, section 10, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 58.
12. *An Act respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1895, chapter 35, section 3, amending *An Act respecting Indians*, Revised Statutes of Canada 1886, chapter 43, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 145.
13. *An Act to amend "The Indian Act, 1880,"* Statutes of Canada 1882, chapter 17, section 12, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 88.
14. *An Act further to amend "The Indian Act, 1880,"* Statutes of Canada 1884, chapter 27, section 5, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 93.
15. *An Act further to amend "The Indian Act, 1880,"* Statutes of Canada 1884, chapter 27, section 3, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 93.
16. *An Act further to amend "The Indian Act, 1880,"* Statutes of Canada 1884, chapter 27, section 3, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 93.
17. *An Act further to amend "The Indian Act, 1880,"* Statutes of Canada 1884, chapter 27, section 10, amending section 99 of the *Indian Act*, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 88.
18. *An Act to amend "The Indian Act,"* Statutes of Canada 1885, chapter 17, section 1, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 88.
19. *An Act respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1894, chapter 32, section 11, adding section 137 to the *Indian Act*, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 132.
20. *An Act respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1894, chapter 32, section 5, amending section 39 of the Revised Statutes of Canada 1886, chapter 43; *An Act respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1895, chapter 35, section 1, amending section 38 of the Revised Statutes of Canada 1886, chapter 43; *An Act respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1898, chapter 34, section

[illegible] amending section [illegible] of the Revised Statutes of Canada [illegible], chapter [illegible], reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, [illegible].

21. An Act respecting Indians, Statutes of Canada [illegible], chapter [illegible], section [illegible], amending section [illegible] of the Revised Statutes of Canada [illegible], chapter [illegible], reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, [illegible].
22. An Act respecting Indians, Statutes of Canada [illegible], chapter [illegible], section [illegible], amending section [illegible] of the Revised Statutes of Canada [illegible], chapter [illegible]; An Act respecting Indians, Statutes of Canada [illegible], chapter [illegible], section [illegible], amending section [illegible] of the Revised Statutes of Canada [illegible], chapter [illegible], reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, [illegible].
23. [illegible], *Aboriginal People*, [illegible].
24. [illegible], *Aboriginal People*, [illegible].
25. Canada, *A History of the Vote in Canada*, [illegible].
26. Titley, *Indian Commissioners*, [illegible].
27. Titley, *Indian Commissioners*, [illegible]; Taylor, "[illegible]," [illegible].
28. Library and Archives Canada, Department of the Secretary of State of Canada fonds, "[illegible]," [illegible].
29. Titley, *Indian Commissioners*, [illegible].
30. Leighton, "Victorian Civil Servant," [illegible].
31. Titley, *Indian Commissioners*, [illegible].
32. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, [illegible].
33. Library and Archives Canada, [illegible], quoted in Titley, "[illegible]," [illegible].
34. Leighton, "Victorian Civil Servant," [illegible].
35. Hildebrandt, *Views from Fort Battleford*, [illegible].
36. Hildebrandt, *Views from Fort Battleford*, [illegible].
37. Hildebrandt, *Views from Fort Battleford*, [illegible].
38. Ray, *Illustrated History*, [illegible]; McMillan and Yellowhorn, *First Peoples*, [illegible].
39. Ray, *Illustrated History*, [illegible]; Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens*, [illegible]; McMillan and Yellowhorn, *First Peoples*, [illegible].
40. [illegible], [illegible].
41. [illegible], [illegible].
42. Miller, [illegible].
43. [illegible], *Aboriginal People*, [illegible]; Ray, *Illustrated History*, [illegible].
44. [illegible], *Aboriginal People*, [illegible].
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46. [illegible], *Aboriginal People*, [illegible]. The Métis of Manitoba [illegible] Supreme Court of Canada [illegible]. [illegible]
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149. Glenbow Archives, Edgar Dewdney Papers, box 4, file 66, 1416–20, quoted in Stonechild and Waiser, *Loyal Till Death*, 250–251.
150. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3710, file 19, 550-3, Lawrence Vankoughnet to John A. Macdonald, 14 August 1885, quoted in Barron, "Indian Pass System," 28.
151. Library and Archives Canada, Dewdney Papers, North West Rebellion, MG 27, 2076–87, Hayter Reed to Edgar Dewdney, 16 August 1885, quoted in Barron, "Indian Pass System," 29.
152. Barron, "Indian Pass System," 30.
153. Carter, *Aboriginal People*, 163.
154. Canada, *Sessional Papers* (No. 12), 1890, 165, Reed to Superintendent General, 31 October 1889, copy at http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/databases/indianaffairs/001074-119.01-e.php?page_id_nbr=4750&PHPSESSID=[illegible] (accessed 23 January 2016).
155. Carter, *Lost Harvests*, 209–210; Pettipas, *Severing the Ties*, 76.
156. Brass, *I Walk in Two Worlds*, 35.
157. Ahenakew, *Voices of Plains Cree*, 146.
158. Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 1–23.
159. Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 22–26.
160. Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 49–50.
161. Roy and Thompson, *British Columbia*, 21–23.
162. Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 49–50, 73, 95–96, 157.
163. Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 66–68.
164. Duff, *Indian History of British Columbia*, 98–100.
165. Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 159–175.
166. Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 175–176.
167. Duff, *Indian History of British Columbia*, 93–98; Fisher, *Contact and Conflict*, 191–195.
168. Pettipas, *Severing the Ties*, 87–106.
169. Quoted in LaViolette, *Struggle for Survival*, 71.
170. "Impressions regarding missionary efforts among the Indians ...," Glenbow Archives, A.T388A, f.800, Archdeacon John William Tims papers, 1872–1953, 7, quoted in Pettipas, *Severing the Ties*, 97.
171. Titley, *Indian Commissioners*, 136–137.

National and international models for Canada's residential schools

1. Boggs, *Juvenile Delinquency*, 10–11.
2. Clifford, "His Dominion," 107; Avery, *"Dangerous Foreigners,"* 7–15; Petryshyn, *Peasants in the Promised Land*, 129–130; Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates*, 113–115.
3. Woodsworth, *Strangers Within Our Gates*.
4. Dorsey, "Affaire de mœurs."
5. Dekker, "Discipline Without Frontiers?," 272–277.
6. F. Demetz, quoted in Anonymous, *Une visite à Mettray* (Paris, 1848), quoted in Dekker, "Discipline Without Frontiers?," 277–278.
7. Dekker, "Discipline Without Frontiers?," 282.
8. Parker, *Uprooted*, 136.
9. Prucha, *Great Father*, 185.

10. Berkhofer, *Salvation and the Savage*, 14–15.
11. Peyer, *Tutor'd Mind*, 172.
12. Prucha, *Great Father*, 147, 152.
13. Prucha, *Great Father*, 151–154; for removal policy, see: Prucha, *Great Father*, 183–213.
14. Prucha, *Great Father*, 183–198.
15. Prucha, *Great Father*, 214–292.
16. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 7.
17. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 7–8.
18. Prucha, *Great Father*, 708–709.
19. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 30.
20. John Miles, quoted in Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indians, 1867–1904*, ed. Robert M. Utley (New Haven, 1964), 243, quoted in Niezen, *Spirit Wars*, 66.
21. Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 4–5.
22. Niezen, *Spirit Wars*, 55.
23. Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 6.
24. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 46–47.
25. Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 24–25.
26. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 51–52.
27. Niezen, *Spirit Wars*, 66.
28. Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 186; Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux*, 123–133.
29. Luther Standing Bear, *My People the Sioux* (Boston, 1928), 141, quoted in Niezen, *Spirit Wars*, 63.
30. Richard Henry Pratt, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867–1904*, ed. Robert M. Utley (New Haven, 1964), 283, quoted in Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 55.
31. Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 170.
32. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 56–57.
33. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 117.
34. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 115.
35. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 120.
36. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 54.
37. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 157.
38. Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 174–175.
39. White, "Carlisle Barracks Plan," *Indian Time*, http://www.indiantime.net/story/2014/04/17/reader-submission/carlisle-barracks-plans-to-restore-indian-school-farmhouse/13640.html (accessed 23 November 2014).
60. McMillan and Yellowhorn, *First Peoples in Canada*, 93–98.
61. White, "Free to be Kanien'kehaka," 29, 180–181; personal communication, Louellyn White to Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 17 November 2014.
62. For reports on such instances, see: Norton, "Father of 10 Returned"; [Father of 10 returned from residential school a stranger] Nancy Tarbell Deer, Letter to the editor, *Indian Time*, 24 February 1984. [erq-2] The records of the Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Centre also report on former Carlisle students who moved to Canada. Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource Centre, http://carlisleindian.dickinson.edu/search/node/Canada (accessed 1 December 2014).

43. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 56–57.
44. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 58.
45. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 58–59.
46. Fear-Segal, *White Man's Club*, 91.
47. Annual Report, Commissioner of Indian Affairs 1890, clii, quoted in Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 121.
48. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 63–64.
49. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 149.
50. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 150.
51. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 125.
52. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 130.
53. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 130–131.
54. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 132.
55. McConnell to the Secretary of the Interior, 31 October 1899, quoted in Child, *Boarding School Season*, 57.
56. Child, *Boarding School Season*, 63.
57. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 215–222.
58. Lake Mohonk Conference Proceeding, 1889, 16–17, quoted in Prucha, *Great Father*, 701–704.
59. Prucha, *Great Father*, 711.
60. Prucha, *Great Father*, 816–818.
61. Adams, *Education for Extinction*, 321–328; Lindsey, *Indians at Hampton Institute*.
62. Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria*, 136–142.
63. Minutes of the 1848 Gold Coast District Meeting, Cape Coast, Methodist Missionary Society Archives London, quoted in Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria*, 143.
64. Ajayi, *Christian Missions in Nigeria*, 142–159.
65. Australia, "Bringing Them Home," 26–28, 217, www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/bringing_them_home_report; Manne, "In Denial," 1–5.
66. Australia, "Bringing Them Home," 20–24, www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/bringing_them_home_report.
67. Australia, "Bringing Them Home," 25, www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/bringing_them_home_report.
68. Australia, "Bringing Them Home," 34, www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/bringing_them_home_report.
69. Australia, "Bringing Them Home," 50–51, www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/bringing_them_home_report.
70. Australia, "Bringing Them Home," 89, www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/bringing_them_home_report.
71. Australia, "Bringing Them Home," 79–80, www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/bringing_them_home_report.
72. Australia, "Bringing Them Home," 103, www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/bringing_them_home_report.
73. Manne, "In Denial," 8–9; "Australia, "Bringing Them Home," 132–192, www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/bringing_them_home_report; Read, *Stolen Generations*, 9, 12, 17, 18, 22.
74. Finkel, *Social Policy*, 43–44.
75. Bradbury, "Fragmented Family," 112–115.

76. Bennett, "Taming 'Bad Boys,'" 72; Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 95, 104–107.
77. Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 105.
78. Bennett, "Taming 'Bad Boys,'" 72.
79. Winzer, *History of Special Education*, 115–120.
80. Bennett, "Turning 'Bad Boys,'" 212.
81. Archives of Ontario, RG 22, series 15, box 1, number 33, York County Clerk of the Peace, Incorporations of Benevolent Societies, quoted in Bennett, "Turning 'Bad Boys,'" 213.
82. William H. Howland, Royal Commission on the Relation of Capital and Labour Report, 1889, quoted in Bennett, "Turning 'Bad Boys,'" 209.
83. Bennett, "Taming 'Bad Boys,'" 75–76.
84. Bennett, "Taming 'Bad Boys,'" 76, 85.
85. Bennett, "Turning 'Bad Boys,'" 215.
86. Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 100.
87. Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 104.
88. Bennett, "Taming 'Bad Boys,'" 76.
89. Bennett, "Taming 'Bad Boys,'" 88–89, 91.
90. Bennett, "Taming 'Bad Boys,'" 84, 86.
91. Bennett, "Taming 'Bad Boys,'" 91.
92. Bennett, "Taming 'Bad Boys,'" 91–92.
93. Bennett, "Turning 'Bad Boys,'" 216.
94. Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 143.
95. Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 136.
96. Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 138.
97. Parker, *Uprooted*, xiii.
98. Parker, *Uprooted*, 19–35.
99. Parker, *Uprooted*, 70–73; Bagnell, *Little Immigrants*, 141–149.
100. For a general discussion of the treatment of these children, see: Bagnell, *Little Immigrants*; Parker, *Uprooted*; Parr, *Labouring Children*.
101. Rose, *Sake of the Children*, 100–104.
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103. Parr, *Labouring Children*, 115.
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30. [illegible] "Qu'Appelle Industrial School," [illegible]; Tobias, "[illegible]," http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/[illegible] (accessed 17 July 2015).
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146. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3796, file 47269, Hayter Reed to Indian Commissioner, 5 April 1888. [RCA-000972]
147. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3813, file 65138, part 2, A. Lacombe to Hayter Reed, 4 September 1888. [MIN-010750]
148. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1892*, 218.
149. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1897*, 258.
150. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1898*, 297; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1909*, 478.
151. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3933, file 117657-1, J. D. McLean to Harry Gunn, 30 July 1917.
152. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 1629, Indian Agent to Father Naessens, 10 September 1906. [SAC-000876]
153. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3933, file 117657-1, W. J. Dilworth to Assistant Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 28 July 1917. For Nordmann's name, see: Titley, "Dunbow Indian Industrial School," 107.
154. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, PAA 71.220 B14 668, unsigned letter to J. T. McNally, 22 February 1922. [OGP-000011]
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159. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3923, file 116751-1A, J. P. Magnan to D. Laird, 10 December 1902. [NSR-001699]
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161. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3768, file 32725-2, Bishop of Rupert's Land to E. Dewdney, 23 January 1891.
162. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1900*, 329.
163. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1903*, 386.
164. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1906*, 191; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1907*, xxviii.
165. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1904*, 375.
166. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1908*, 197.
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168. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1897*, 233.
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171. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1910*, 364. For evidence of Indian Affairs dissatisfaction with the management of the Regina school, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6332, file 661-1, part 1, W. M. Graham to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 17 November 1910. [RLS-000027]
172. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1894*, 91; TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, A. Sutherland to Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 6 January 1893. [EDM-003965]
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176. United Church Archives, A. Sutherland papers, Prairie provinces, Indian missions, Red Deer Industrial Institute, 1908, A. Barner, Principal, box 133, 19 September 1908, quoted in Fox, "Failure of Red Deer Industrial School," 93.
177. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6032, file 150-40A, part 1, Headquarters – Compulsory Attendance of Pupils – Indian Schools, 1904–1933, Microfilm reel C-8149, FA 10-17, W. E. S. James to Frank Oliver, David Laird, and William Verreau, 22 February 1909. [AEMR-255255]
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179. Fox, "Failure of Red Deer Industrial School," 94.
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181. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10421, Shannon Box 450, NAC, Microfilm reel T-10075, James Seenum to C. E. Hughes, 2 February 1913. [SLA-004016] This is apparently the same James Seenum as discussed earlier in the chapter. Seenum was born in the early 1840s and died in 1917. See: Whitefish Lake First Nation, #128, "Our History," http://www.wfl128.ca/chief_history.html (accessed 17 November 2014).
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196. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3918, FA 10-13, file 116.659-1, 1892–1920, Spec. Claims Kamloops Agency: General Correspondence Pertaining to Kamloops Industrial School, J. A. Mackay to A. W. Vowell, 29 May 1892. [KAM-009637]
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198. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1893*, 124; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1894*, 158.
199. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1907*, 235.
200. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1891*, 136.
201. Coccola, *They Call Me Father*, 119.
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207. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6038, file 157-1-1, Alfred Adams and five others to Thomas Deasy, 20 January 1914.
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209. *Petites Annales des Missionaires Oblats de Marie Imaculée* (Paris, 1912), 262, cited in Nowakowski, "Indian Residential Schools," i, 81–82.
210. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10410, Shannon Box 36, 1918–1920, Untitled circular, Duncan Campbell Scott, 9 November 1914. [AEMR-200902]
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217. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, T. B. R. Westgate to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 21 October 1930.
218. *An Act respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1919–1920, chapter 50, section 1, amending Revised Statutes of Canada 1906, chapter 81, section 10, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 178–179.
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221. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1883*, xi.
222. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1893*, 22.
223. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1904*, 308.
224. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1911*, 495.
225. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, PAA 71.220 B54 2274, Hugh F. Baker to the Reverend Principal, Roman Catholic School, Stand Off, Alberta, 15 January 1919. [OGP-020790]
226. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1924*, 15.
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229. TRC, NRA, The United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, ON, Acc. No. 1979.199C, box 7, file 127, W. McWhinney to Dr. MacKay, 30 November 1909. [CRW-000197]
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231. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6438, file 878-5, part 3, George Forbes to Deputy Superintendent General, 7 March 1936. [JOE-025233]
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235. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6358, file 757-10, part 1, 1930–1942, W. B. Murray to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 5 April 1938. [MOR-071134-0000]
236. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 2064, file 265-1, part 1, D. C. Scott to A. J. Boyd, 23 April 1927. [SRS-000009]
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238. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6057, file 265-10, part 1, A. Richard to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 16 June 1937. [SRS-007670]
239. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6057, file 265-10, part 2, Charles Hudson, to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 1 September 1938. [SRS-007871-0000]
240. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6053, file 260-10, part 1, N. A. McDougall to Indian Affairs, 28 September 1939. [SRS-005074]
241. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6053, file 280-10, part 1, Chas. Hudson to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 20 November 1939. [SRS-007989-0000]
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243. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6193, file 462-10, part 2, B. Maurault to Indian Affairs, 26 August 1937. [CRS-000235]
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245. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3853, file 78880, Affidavit of Es-qua-sis, 15 April 1891; [PLD-009096-0002] Affidavit of Manitouwastotin, 24 April 1891. [PLD-009096-0003]
246. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6303, file 651-1, part 1, D. Laird to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 3 April 1902. [MRS-001381]
247. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6255, file 576-1, part 1, Martin Benson to Deputy Superintendent General, 30 March 190X (last figure not legible). [120.00219]
248. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6371, file 764-1, part 1, W. J. Dilworth to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 8 August 1914. [PUL-000900]
249. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, PAA 71.220 B54 2277, E. Ruaux to Dr. McGill, 16 January 1933; [OGP-020855] A. F. MacKenzie to E. Ruaux, 28 March 1933; [OGP-020857] E. Ruaux to A. F. MacKenzie, 3 April 1933; [OGP-020858] J. E. Pugh to E. Ruaux, 16 May 1933; [OGP-020860] Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 1544, S. H. Middleton to J. E. Pugh, 17 January 1933. [MRY-003610]
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251. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Accession No. 71.220/1325, J. H. Allard, 13 August 1935. [THR-000379]
252. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1925*, 13.
253. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7184, file 1/25-1-5-7, part 1, Russell T. Ferrier to E. Laird, 5 November 1928. [100.00395]
254. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7184, file 1/25-1-5-7, part 1, Russell T. Ferrier to C. A. Stevenson, 30 June 1927. [AEMR-120374]
255. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 2, J. D. McLean to A. D. Menzies, 23 January 1929. [CJC-001357]

256. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7184, file 1/25-1-5-7, part 1, W. M. Graham to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 14 January 1926. [NCA-014625-0000]
257. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7184, file 1/25-1-5-7, part 1, J. D. McLean to W. M. Graham, 12 February 1926. [NCA-014625-0001]
258. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7184, file 1/25-1-5-7, part 1, W. M. Graham to Secretary, 19 February 1926. [NCA-014626]
259. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6041, file 160-5, part 1, Joseph Guy to Duncan C. Scott, 26 October 1925. [SBR-001693-0000]
260. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6032, file 150-40A, part 1, Appointment of Truant Officers, D. C. Scott, 7 February 1927. [MRS-000045]
261. The following is a listing of RCMP reports from a five-year period, 1928 to 1932, dealing with the enforcement of the *Indian Act* attendance provisions: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6330, file 660-10, part 1, "RCMP report, re. Kathline Whitecloud," 18 October, 1928; [PLD-003224-0002] W. Mulhall to W. P. Lyndsay, 3 April 1929; [PLD-003231-0001] J. G. Metcalfe to NCO in Charge, RCMP Regina, 12 October 1929; [PLD-003245-0001] R. W. Greatwood to Indian Affairs, 11 April 1930; [PLD-003278-0001] RG10, volume 6196, file 464-1, part 1, D. K. Anderson to RCMP, Winnipeg, 27 October 1930; [SJS-000319-0001] RG10, volume 6323, file 658-10, part 4, "Royal Canadian Mounted Police Report, re Joe Quinney," 15 August 1931; [PAR-017103-0001] RCMP report re Joseph Antoine, 20 August 1932; [PAR-017101] RG10, volume 6278, file 584-10, part 1, RCMP report re William Beaulieu, 5 September 1932; [SBR-110541] RCMP report re Ambrose Sutherland, 8 November 1932. [SBR-110550]
262. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 1544, J. D. McLean to J. E. Pugh, 11 December 1928. [PUL-000017]
263. *An Act respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1932–33, chapter 42, section 1, amending Revised Statutes of Canada 1927, chapter 98, section 10, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 248.
264. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1931*, 12.
265. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6032, file 150-40A, part 1, Headquarters – Compulsory Attendance of Pupils – Indian Schools, 1904–1933, Microfilm reel C-8149, FA 10-17, Russell T. Ferrier to T. B. R. Westgate, 28 October 1930. [AEMR-255349]
266. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 1014, V. LeGoff to S. L. Macdonald, 21 March 1932. [THR-007124]
267. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 1014, Indian Agent to V. LeGoff, 23 March 1932. [THR-007128]
268. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 1014, Court Summons, 21 March 1932. [THR-007127]
269. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 1014, Indian Agent to George Lightfoot, 15 November 1932. [THR-007147]
270. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6337, file 663-10, part 1, R. C. Torrens, RCMP Report, 16 October 1937. [TH[illegible]00214-0001]
271. TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, R. H. Moore to L. H. Rivet, 8 April 1936. [PRC-000091]
272. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada RG10, volume 6379, file 768-10, part 1, L. Beuglet to His Excellency Bishop Guy, 20 September 1935. [MAR-071113] The correspondence is confusing in that Gambler's name is given as John Muchmaton Gambler and Jean Baptiste

Gambler. But it is clear from the names of his daughters and his Treaty number that the two names refer to the same person.

273. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6379, file 768-10, part 1, "Royal Canadian Mounted Police Report, re: John Gambler," Constable S. L. Grayson, 6 August 1935. [MAR-071104-0001]
274. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada RG10, volume 6379, file 768-10, part 1, L. Beuglet to His Excellency Bishop Guy, 29 September 1935. [MAR-071113]
275. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6379, file 768-10, part 1, M. Christianson to The Officer Commanding, RCMP, Edmonton, Alberta, 24 August 1935; M. Christianson to Jas. H McIntosh, 24 August 1935; M. Christianson to Secretary of Indian Affairs, 24 August 1935. [MAR-071104-0002, MAR-071104-0003,MAR-071104-0000]
276. Todd Lamirande, "“The Power of the Indian Agent: The story behind this 1935 letter," APTN National News, N. P. L'Heureux to J. H. McIntosh, 24 July 1935, http://aptn.ca/news/2014/10/02/power-indian-agent-story-behind-1935-letter/ (accessed 5 October 2014).
277. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6379, file 768-10, part 1, N. P. L'Heureux to Constable McKay, 1 February 1938. [MAR-071194-0003]
278. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6379, file 768-10, part 1, W. Mortimer to N. P. L'Heureux, 12 February 1938. [MAR-071194-0002]
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4. These gaps are discussed in a separate volume of this report.
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31. McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 100.
32. McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 105–105.
33. McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 61.
34. McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 45, 118.
35. McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 133.
36. McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 46–47.
37. McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 46.

38. Hader, "Effect of Tuberculosis," 132–133; McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 95, 139–140.
39. McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 87, 103.
40. McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 67.
41. McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 93.
42. McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 168–169, 177.
43. Wherrett, *Miracle of Empty Beds*, 41.
44. McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 202.
45. Finkel, *Social Policy*, 101–102.
46. Much of the following discussion draws heavily on the work of Maureen Lux's *Medicine that Walks*.
47. Waldram, Herring, and Young, *Aboriginal Health*, 48.
48. Waldram, Herring, and Young, *Aboriginal Health*, 49.
49. Dubos and Dubos, *White Plague*, 191; Ferguson, "Tuberculosis Among the Indians," 7.
50. Pepperell et al., "Dispersal of Mycobacterium," 6528.
51. Ferguson, "Some Light Thrown on Infection," 18–19; Wherrett, *Miracle of Empty Beds*, 98.
52. Dubos and Dubos, *White Plague*, 151; McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 3.
53. Ferguson, "Tuberculosis Among the Indians," 10, 12; Ferguson, "Some Light Thrown on Infection," 28.
54. Ferguson, "Some Light Thrown on Infection," 28.
55. Wherrett, *Miracle of Empty Beds*, 255.
56. Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, Treaty No. 6, http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100028710/1100100028783.
57. Morris, *The Treaties of Canada*, 185.
58. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1899*, xxxvi.
59. Hader, "Effect of Tuberculosis," 4.
60. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2973, file 851-1-9, part 1, P. E. Moore to D. G. Emerson, 31 August 1954. [AEMR-171159]
61. For an example, see: McNally, *Lord's Distant Vineyard*, 76–98.
62. Lux, *Medicine that Walks*, 142–147.
63. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3632, file 6326, R. N. Wilson to Superintendent General Indian Affairs, 3 February 1904.
64. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3867, file 254-017-1, Circular to Indian Supts. and Agents, 1 March 1902.
65. McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 16.
66. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3867, file 254-017-1.
67. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3654, file 8904, Laird to Mills, 22 May 1879, cited in Lux, *Medicine that Walks*, 35.
68. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3744, file 29506-2, Augustus Jukes to F. White, 17 October 1882.
69. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3745, file 29506-4 part 1, O. C. Edwards to MacDonald.
70. Lux, *Medicine that Walks*, 65.
71. Waldram, Herring, and Young, *Aboriginal Health*, 167–168. For an example of withholding rations, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 1629, A. J. McNeill to D. Laird, 10 December 1901. [NAR-000894]
72. Lux, *Medicine that Walks*, 88.

73. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 4048, file 360377, General instructions to newly appointed Indian agents in British Columbia, 1910; Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3086, file 279222-1, Circular to all Agents in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, from J. D. McLean, 17 December 1906; and to all Agents from J. D. McLean, 13 April 1908, quoted in Shewell, *"Enough to Keep Them Alive,"* 89–90.
74. Lux, *Medicine that Walks*, 182–183.
75. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1886*, 110.
76. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1888*, xiv.
77. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1896*, xxiv.
78. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3949, file 126345, H. Reed to A. E. Forget, 14 February 1895; F. X. Girard to Indian Commissioner, 1 April 1895; N. J. Lindsay to A. E. Forget, 31 May 1895; A. B. Stewart to A. E. Forget, 12 March 1895.
79. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1898*, xix–xx.
80. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1904*, xix–xx.
81. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3674, file 11422, E. Dewdney to Thomas Clarke, 31 July 1883. [120.06668]
82. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6452, file 884-1, part 1, Rules and Regulations, Kootenay Industrial School, 17 October 1890. [AEMR-011621A]
83. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3765, file 31161, M. M. Seymour to John A. Macdonald, received 30 September 1885; Edgar Dewdney to Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 17 October 1885.
84. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1893*, 173.
85. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3674, file 11422-5, H. Reed to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 13 May 1891.
86. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, H. J. Denovan, 1 May 1901. [EDM-009805]
87. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, D. Laird to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 17 May 1904. [EDM-009841]
88. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3927, file 116836-1A, J. A. Graham to J. A. Sinclair, 2 February 1904. [RIS-000075]
89. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1886*, 139; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1883*, 88.
90. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1885*, 137.
91. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1886*, 139.
92. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1887*, 128.
93. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1888*, 96.
94. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1887*, 128.
95. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1893*, 173.
96. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3676, file 11422-5, Indian Commissioner to Superintendent General Indian Affairs, 2 October 1884.
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98. Wasylow, "History of Battlefield Industrial School," 462.
99. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3764, file 32725-2, Bishop of Rupert's Land to E. Dewdney, 27 November 1890.
100. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3765, file 3275-3, unsigned to Indian Commissioner, received 26 January 1892.

101. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2765, file 822-1-A901, part 1, P. H. Bryce to F. Pedley, 26 March 1906. [NPC-600090]
102. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3881, file 934189, M. Begg to A. Forget, 23 February 1895.
103. Dempsey, *Amazing Death of Calf Shirt*, 190–191.
104. Dempsey, *Amazing Death of Calf Shirt*, 193.
105. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3912, file 111762, R. G. MacDonnell to Alex McGibbon, 29 May 1895.
106. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3912, file 111762, R. G. MacDonnell to Alex McGibbon, 29 May 1895.
107. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3912, file 111762, Hayter Reed to A.E. Forget, 6 April 1895.
108. Chambers, *Royal North-West Mounted Police*, 116.
109. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3912, file 111762, W. M. Baker to Alex McGibbon, 1 June 1895.
110. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3912, file 111762, John McCrea to Alex McGibbon, 31 May 1895.
111. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3912, file 111762, R. G. MacDonnell to Alex McGibbon, 29 May 1895. The name is spelled MacDonell in the original, but is actually MacDonnell. See *Lethbridge Herald*, "Death Calls One More MacLeod Pioneer," 19 March 1915.
112. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3928, file 117004-1, M. Begg to the Indian Commissioner, 2 May 1895; [OLD-008058-0001] W. M. Baker to Alex McGibbon, 6 June 1895. [OLD-008067-0002]
113. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3928, file 117004-1, Indian Commissioner to Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 27 February 1896. [OLD-008076]
114. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3928, file 117004-1, "That Blackfoot Trouble: The Missionary's Flight," Toronto *Globe*, 5 [?] July 1895. [OLD-008068-0001]
115. Pettit, "'To Christianize and Civilize,'" 302.
116. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, FA 10-1, volume 1346, Microfilm reel C-13916, Cowichan Agency – Incoming Correspondence re Kuper Island Industrial School, 1891–1907, NAC Ottawa, G. Donckele to W. R. Robertson, 25 October 1900. [KUP-022107]
117. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6205, file 468-1, part 1, Elijah Manass to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 7 April 1902. [MER-000321]
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119. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3931, file 117377-1C, A. Gordon to C. Sifton, 18 January 1902.
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121. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1893*, 91–97.
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123. Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains*, 176–177.
124. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1892*, 209.
125. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3964, file 149874, "Statement showing status of pupils discharged from Industrial Schools up to 30th June 1897." [RIS-000341]

126. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1898*, 313.
127. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1897*, 255.
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129. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6334, file 662-1, part 1, J. Decorby to Wilfrid Laurier, 15 June 1899. [SPR-001903-0001]
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131. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3957, file 140754-1, Hayter Reed to A. E. Forget, 10 July 1896.
132. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6327, file 660-1, part 1, W. R. Tucker to Department of Indian Affairs, 26 May 1904. [PLD-008659-0001]
133. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3957, file 140754-1, P. H. Bryce to F. Pedley, 5 November 1909.
134. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6328, file 660-5, part 1, David Laird to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 16 September 1904. [PLD-007062-0000]
135. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3674, file 11422-5, H. Reed to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 13 May 1891.
136. Wasylow, "History of Battleford Industrial School," 453.
137. Wasylow, "History of Battleford Industrial School," 475.
138. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1908*, 429.
139. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1905*, 384.
140. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1906*, 473.
141. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3733, file 27089, Hayter Reed to Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 6 June 1887. [PLD-009609-0000]
142. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3917, file 116575-5, M. M. Seymour, M.D. to Indian Commissioner, 17 September 1895.
143. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3917, file 116575-5, Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs to Indian Commissioner, 14 November 1895.
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145. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3927, file 116836-1A, Martin Benson to Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 11 May 1903. [RIS-000045]
146. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3917, file 116575-5, M. M. Seymour, M.D. to Indian Commissioner, 17 September 1895.
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152. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1899*, 208.
153. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1900*, 330.
154. Meijer Drees, "Reserve Hospitals," 149–176.

155. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3909, file 107557, J. D. Lafferty to Clifford Sifton; [OLD-008886-0001] Lux, *Medicine that Walks*, 114.
156. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3909, file 107557, "Memorandum: Mr. Smart," 29 December 1899. [OLD-008210]
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164. TRC, RBS, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3930, file 117377-1A, "Third Annual Report of the Rupert's Land Industrial School for the Year Ending 30 September 1892." [2058143]
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173. T. S. Sproule, in Canada, House of Commons Debates (1903), 6591, quoted in Brown and Cook, *Canada*, 73.
174. Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice*, 28.
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202. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 4037, file 317021, W. R. Haynes to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 23 November 1907. [RCA-000314]
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234. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6371, file 764-5, part 1, O. I. Grain to D. C. Scott, 28 September 1916. [PLR-001012]
235. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6027, file 117-1-1, part 1, O. I. Grain to D. C. Scott, 3 November 1914. [CRM-000226]
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237. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6305, file 763-1, part 1, J. I. Gillespie to E. H. Yeomans, 22 January 1913. [CYP-002020-0001]
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239. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6305, file 763-1, part 1, [Illegible], Inspector of Indian Agencies to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 26 March 1913. [CYP-005814]
240. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6305, file 763-1, part 1, J. D. McLean to H. A. Gunn, 28 January 1918; [CYP-005844] J. D. McLean to J. W. Tims, 22 April 1918. [CYP-005863]
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243. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6002, file 546808, W. M. Graham to D. C. Scott, 7 December 1920. [RCA-000510-0002]
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248. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6201, file 462-1, part 1, Extract from Inspector's Report on Chapleau Boarding School, 3 May 1915. [CRS-000983]
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497. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6203, file 467-1, part 1, H. N. Awrey to D. C. Scott, 25 August 1919; [MFI-000170W] Rachlam to Duncan Campbell Scott, 13 October 1919. [MFI-000176-0000]

498. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6203, file 467-1, part 1, A. J. MacKenzie to W. Haythornthwaite, 6 September 1919. [MFI-000172]
499. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6203, file 467-1, part 1, W. Haythornthwaite to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 13 October 1919. [MFI-000175]
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Building and maintaining the schools: 1867–1939

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2. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG11, volume 3914 [No file number], 1890, "Specification of the Several Works and Materials required in the erection and completion

of Industrial School buildings at Red Deer, N.W.T., according to the accompanying Drawings prepared by the Department of Public Works, Ottawa," December 1890. [RDD-002391]

3. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6205, file 468-1, part 1, M. Benson to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 28 November 1902. [MER-000120]
4. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3764, file 32725-1, Bishop of Rupert's Land to E. Dewdney, 24 March 1890.
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6. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6133, file 462-9, part 1, Duncan C. Scott to T. J. Godfrey, 25 June 1919; [CRS-000008] RG10, volume 6268, file 577-5, part 1, H. E. Matthews to J. D. McLean, 24 April 1913; [NHR-000546] RG10, volume 6334, file 662-1, part 1, J. D. McLean to Chas. Cahill, 17 November 1911. [SPR-001049]
7. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 4, 1926–1933, Microfilm reel C-8768, D. C. Scott to A. Meighen, 2 June 1920. [LEJ-004351]
8. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6445, file 881-5, part 8, 1920–1924, Microfilm reel C-8768, D. C. Scott to W. Foran, 29 March 1921. [LEJ-002845]
9. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6443, file 881-1, part 1, R. T. Ferrier, Fraser Lake Industrial School, 1 September 1922. [LEJ-000999]
10. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6350, file 753-5, part 1, J. F. Woodsworth to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 2 March 1925. [EDM-000553]
11. TRC, NRA Library and Archives Canada, RG22M, Acc. 912016, Item 985, National Map Collection, 178648, "Plan of Indian Residential School, Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia," Gurney E. Orr, 1928; [SRS-006527] RG10, volume 6055, file 265-5, part 1, Gurney Orr to Dr. Scott, 20 March 1928; [SRS-000662] RG10, volume 6055, file 265-5, part 2, Gurney Orr to Dr. Scott, 23 April 1929. [SRS-000705]
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13. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6055, file 265-5, part 3, J. P. Mackey to Unknown, Indian Affairs, 30 July 1932. [SRS-001388-0000]
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21. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6456, file 885-5, part 4, Microfilm reel C-8777, H. Graham to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 11 February 1935. [KUP-004131]
22. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, volume 12333, box 19, part 4, 1936–1939, A. F. MacKenzie to H. Graham, 20 February 1936. [KUP-004276]
23. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 4041, file 334503, F. H. Paget to Frank Pedley, 25 November 1908, 11. [RCA-000208]
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32. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6027, file 117-1-1, part 1, Benson to Scott, 11 November 1914. [CRW-000057]
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35. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6300, file 769-5, part 1, T. B. R. Westgate to Russell T. Ferrier, 22 November 1923. [MFL-000028]
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60. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, [illegible]
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63. [illegible]
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21. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume [illegible], file [illegible], part 1, A. [illegible] MacKenzie to J. [illegible], [illegible] August 19[illegible]. [illegible]
22. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume [illegible], file [illegible]-5, part 2, 19[illegible]–19[illegible], W. [illegible] to Duncan C. Scott, 17 September 19[illegible]. [illegible]
23. [illegible], "[illegible] Resistance," 1[illegible].
24. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG[illegible], Perm volume [illegible], file [illegible], part 2, Shingle Point Anglican School 19[illegible], [illegible], A. L. Fleming to Chairman, Dominion Lands Board, 19 January 19[illegible]. [illegible]
25. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume [illegible], file [illegible]-5, part 5, T. B. R. Westgate to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 20 March 19[illegible]. [illegible]
26. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume [illegible], file [illegible]-5, part [illegible], P. G. Lazenby to Secretary Indian Affairs, 23 April 19[illegible]. [illegible]
27. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, volume [illegible], file [illegible]-5, part [illegible], A. F. MacKenzie to G. A. [illegible], 17 March 19[illegible]. [illegible]
28. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume [illegible], file [illegible]-5, part 5, 19[illegible]–19[illegible], Microfilm reel C-[illegible], R. H. Moore to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 21 October 19[illegible]. [illegible]
29. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume [illegible], file [illegible]-5, part 1, G. Breynat to H. McGill, 19 January 19[illegible]. [illegible]
30. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume [illegible], file [illegible]-5, part 1, Extract from Radiotelegram from Dr. Bourget, Resolution, N.W.T., 27 December 19[illegible]. [illegible]
31. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume [illegible], file [illegible]-5, part 1, J. O. Plourde, 2 November 19[illegible]. [illegible]
32. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume [illegible], file [illegible]-5, part 7, Frank Edwards to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 20 December 19[illegible]. [illegible]
33. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume [illegible], file [illegible]-5, part 7, J. T. Hill to Secretary Indian Affairs, 28 February 19[illegible]. [illegible]
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Table 10.2. Additional reported fires that did not destroy buildings

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2. Shanahan, *Jesuit Residential School*, [illegible].
3. E. F. Wilson, Autobiographical Journal, [illegible], quoted in [illegible], "Anglican Church," [illegible].
4. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, [illegible]–[illegible].
5. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 18[illegible], [illegible].
6. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 18[illegible], [illegible].
7. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume [illegible], file [illegible], Public Archives, David Laird to Secretary, Indian Affairs, [illegible] December 18[illegible]. [illegible]; RG18, volume [illegible], file [illegible], 19[illegible]–19[illegible], NWMP, J. [illegible] to Officer Commanding, [illegible] July 19[illegible]. [illegible]
8. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume [illegible], file [illegible]-1, part 1, G. H. Wheatley to David Laird, 11 March 19[illegible]. [illegible]
9. Titley, "Industrial Education," [illegible]–[illegible].
10. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume [illegible], file [illegible]-5, part 2, T. T. George to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 20 June 19[illegible]. [illegible]

11. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3925, file 116823-1A, Principal Wilson to David Laird, 19 March 1908. [ELK-000217]
12. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6206, file 468-5, part 2, Secretary, Indian Affairs to T. T. George, 30 January 1908. [MER-000394]
13. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6027, file 117-1-1, part 1, S. Spencer Page to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 25 March 1913. [CRW-000065]
14. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6431, file 877-1, part 1, Agent's Report for Month of November 1913, Chas. A. Cox, 3 December 1913. [AKR-000093]
15. Marcoux-Kozicki, "Onion Lake," 129.
16. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6327, file 660-1, part 1, W. M. Graham to Secretary Indian Affairs, 8 June 1914. [PLD-007452]
17. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6364, file 760-1, part 1, 1892–1936, Microfilm reel C-8717, George H. Race to the Secretary, 19 January 1917. [SAL-000088]
18. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6305, file 652-1, part 1, P. Schmidt to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 17 September 1917. [SMD-001235]
19. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6426, file 875-1, part 2, W. E. Ditchburn to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 22 January 1918. [MIK-002569]
20. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6206, file 468-5, part 4, S. R. McVitty to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 14 July 1922. [MER-000674]
21. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 2, 1922–1924, Microfilm reel C-8767, N. Coccola to McAllan, 6 August 1923. [LEJ-003744-0001]
22. TRC, NRA, English Language Summary of the Fort Resolution Chronicles, volume 1, 1903–1962, 38. [GNN-000077-0001]
23. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6426, file 875-1, part 2, J. D. McLean to W. M. Halliday, 3 October 1924. [MIK-002612]
24. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6252, file 575-5, part 2, "Extract from Agent's Report on the Birtle Residential School, for the month of February, 1925," R. C. Laurie. [BIR-000070]
25. TRC, NRA, Deschâtelets Archives, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Ottawa, file L 1027.M27L 121, Principal Cowessess Indian Residential School, to Russell T. Ferrier, 16 March 1926. [MRS-000020]
26. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6219, file 472-5, part 2, Russell Ferrier to Dr. Scott, 9 June 1927. [MCI-000213]
27. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives, Canada, RG10, volume 6355, file 757-1, part 1, 1886–1927, Indian Agent, Department of Indian Affairs, Morley to Russell T. Ferrier, 1 November 1927. [MOR-005523]
28. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6321, file 658-5, part 4, "Statement of George Poorhaw, Age 17 Years in connection with an outbreak of fire at the Anglican Indian School, Onion Lake Sask., on Friday evening at 8 o'clock p.m. Feb. 10th 1928." [PAR-017008-0001]
29. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, volume 6468, file 890-1, part 1, J. D. McLean to A. O'N. Daunt, 6 October 1928. [MIS-001505]
30. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-5, part 4, W. M. Graham to Secretary Indian Affairs, 24 December 1929. [DRS-000572-0000]
31. TRC, NRA, English Language Summary of the Fort Resolution Chronicles, volume 1, 1903–1962, 56. [GNN-000077-0001]

32. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6345, file 751-1, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8701, W. M. Graham to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 27 September 1929. [BQL-001728]
33. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6270, file 582-5, part 3, Report Re Fire at Camperville, Manitoba, Thomas Baird, 24 November 1930. [PCR-000124]
34. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6322, file 658-5, part 5, T. B. R. Westgate to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 28 August 1930. [PAR-015011-0000]
35. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, Minutes of the Meetings of Indian Residential School Commission MSCC, 01/1930–11/1932 Accession GS 75-103, series 2:15[a], box 18, "Minutes of Meeting of Indian Residential School Commission, MSCC, Held on Tuesday, April 7, 1931," 5. [AGS-000145]
36. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6346, file 751-5, part 4, 1932–1933, NAC, W. E. Gullion to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 3 December 1932. [BQL-006214-0000]
37. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6366, file 761-5, part 2, Bishop Guy to Harold W. McGill, 11 December 1933. [FVD-000726-0000]
38. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6366, file 761-5, part 2, Bishop Guy to Harold W. McGill, 11 December 1933. [FVD-000726-0000]
39. TRC, NRA, English Language Summary of the Fort Resolution Chronicles, volume 1, 1903–1942, 66. [GNN-000077-0001]
40. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10413, file Shannon Box 45, M. Christianson to G. C. Laight, 26 September 1933. [CFT-004504]
41. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6357, file 757-5 part 4, 1935–1938, NAC, [Illegible] for T. R. L. MacInnes, to M. Christianson, 15 October 1935. [MOR-004448-0000]
42. TRC, NRA, Minutes of the Meetings of Indian Residential School Commission MSCC, 02/35-05/38, pg. 1902-2256 Accession GS 75-103, series 2:15[a], box 19, Minutes of Meeting of Indian Residential School Commission, MSCC, held on Tuesday, May 14, 1935. [AGS-000529]
43. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6055, file 265-5, part 4, J. P. Mackey, 20 November 1936. [SRS-001501]
44. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6215, file 470-5, part 3, H. McGill to Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 6 October 1936. [PLK-000124]
45. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6357, file 757-5, part 4, 1935–1938, NAC, W. Barr Murray to C. Pant Schmidt, 25 July 1938. [MOR-004509-0001]
46. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 6, 1938–1941, A. R. Simpson to D. M. MacKay, 25 September 1939. [LEJ-002960-0001]
47. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, Kwawkewlth Agency – Alert Bay Residential School – Building Maintenance – Supplies and Accounts, 1937–1939, F.A. 10-17, volume 6428, file 875-5, part 6, National Archives of Canada – Ottawa, M. S. Todd to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 14 June 1938. [MIK-013732]
48. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 6, 1938–1941, Microfilm reel C-8768, J. H. F. Lacey to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 26 September 1939. [LEJ-002940]

Table 18.4. School fires that were suspected or proven to be deliberately set

1. Wilson, *Missionary work*, 130–131, 142.
2. Shanahan, *Jesuit Residential School*, 28.

3. E. F. Wilson, Autobiographical Journal, 47, quoted in Porter, "Anglican Church," 33.
4. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1896*, 386.
5. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 368–369.
6. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 368.
7. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 2771, file 154845, part 1, "Blaze at Brantford: The Mohawk Institute Totally Destroyed," in *The Globe*, story datelined 19 April 1903; [TAY-003519] Martin Benson to Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 21 April 1903. [TAY-003521]
8. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 2771, file 154845, part 1, E. D. Cameron to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 15 May 1903. [TAY-003524]
9. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 2771, file 154845, part 1, E. D. Cameron to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 22 June 1903. [TAY-003528]
10. Stanley, "Alberta's Half-Breed Reserve," 96–98.
11. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6206, file 468-5, part 2, Secretary, Indian Affairs to T. T. George, 30 January 1908. [MER-000394]
12. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6027, file 117-1-1, part 1, S. Spencer Page to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 25 March 1913. [CRW-000045]
13. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6305, file 652-1, part 1, P. Schmidt to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 17 September 1917. [SMD-001235]
14. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6426, file 875-1, part 2, W. E. Ditchburn to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 22 January 1918. [MIK-002569]
15. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6364, file 760-1, part 1, 1892–1936, Microfilm reel C-8717, George H. Race to the Secretary, 18 January 1917. [SAL-000088]
16. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6426, file 875-1, part 2, W. M. Halliday to Ditchburn, 17 January 1918. [MIK-000274]
17. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6426, file 875-1, part 2, J. D. McLean to W. M. Halliday, 3 October 1924. [MIK-002612]
18. TRC, NRA, Deschatelets Archives, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Ottawa, file L1027.M27L 121, Principal Cowessess Indian Residential School, to Russell T. Ferrier, 16 March 1926. [MRS-006020]
19. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6355, file 757-1, part 1, 1886–1927, Indian Agent, Department of Indian Affairs, Morley to Russell T. Ferrier, 1 November 1927. [MOR-005523]
20. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6321, file 658-5, part 4, "Statement of George Peechow, Age 17 Years in connection with an outbreak of fire at the Anglican Indian School, Onion Lake Sask., on Friday evening at 8 o'clock p.m. Feb. 10th 1928." [PAR-017008-0001]
21. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, volume 6468, file 890-1, part 1, J. D. McLean to A. O'N. Daunt, 6 October 1928. [MIS-001505]
22. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6345, file 751-1, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8701, W. M. Graham to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 27 September 1929. [BQL-001728]
23. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6270, file 582-5, part 3, "Report Re Fire at Camperville, Manitoba," Thomas Baird, 24 November 1930. [PCR-000124]
24. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6260, file 577-1, part 1, J. L. Fuller to A. MacNamara, 8 March 1930; [CLD-000933-0000] William Gordon to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 10 March 1930; [CLD-000934] RG10, volume 6260, file 577-1, part 1,

"Crime Report: Re: [name redacted], Treaty Indian Cross Lake, Man. Arson, 28 October 1931." [CLD-004089]

25. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10413, file Shannon Box 45, M. Christianson to G. C. Laight, 26 September 1933. [CFT-004504]
26. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6357, file 757-5 part 4, 1935–1938, NAC, [Illegible] for T. R. L. MacInnes, to M. Christianson, 15 October 1935. [MOR-004448-0000]

Fire, a deadly hazard: 1867–1939

1. Wilson, *Missionary work,* 129, 130–131.
2. Wilson, *Missionary work,* 136.
3. Wilson, *Missionary work,* 142.
4. Porter, "Anglican Church," 32.
5. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1908,* 417.
6. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6328, file 660-5, part 1, Martin Benson to Deputy Superintendent General, 28 January 1904. [PLD-000673]
7. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6328, file 660-5, part 3, H. W. McGill to Thomas G. Murphy, 18 November 1932. [PLD-000027]
8. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6453, file 884-5, part 5, 1936–1941, Kootenay Agency – Kootenay Residential School – Building Maintenance – Supplies – Accounts, FA 10-17, Microfilm reel C-8775, NAC Ottawa, "Inspection of the St. Mary's Indian School, Mission, Cranbrook, British Columbia," Adams, P., 25 October 1938. [EGN-004990]
9. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6055, file 265-5, part 4, J. P. Mackey, 20 November 1936. [SRS-001501]
10. Manore, "Vision of Trust," 7; Pettit, "'Christianize and Civilize,'" 54; Harrington, "Shingwauk School," 24.
11. Stanley, "Alberta's Half-Breed Reserve," 96–98.
12. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6300, file 650-1, part 1, O. Charlebois to Duncan Scott, 21 September 1927; [BVL-000874] Louis Mederic Adam to Indian Affairs, 22 September 1927. [BVL-000879]
13. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6260, file 577-1, part 1, J. L. Fuller to A. McNamara, 8 March 1930; [CLD-000933-0000] William Gordon to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 10 March 1930. [CLD-000934]
14. TRC, RBS, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3930, file 117377-1A, J. Ashby to E. McColl, 21 October 1895; J. Ashby to E. McColl, 22 October 1895; E. McColl to T. Mayne Daly, 30 October 1895. [2058143]
15. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6300, file 650-1, part 1, Harry J. Thompson, to Officer Commanding, Royal North West Mounted Police, Prince Albert, 8 November 1909. [BVL-000766]
16. TRC, NRA, English Language Summary of the Fort Resolution Chronicles, volume 1, 1903–1942, 43, 44. [GNN-000077-0001]
17. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, file 876-1, part 1, West Coast Agency – Ahousaht Residential School – General Administration, 1901–1931, F.A. 10-17, Perm. volume 6430, Microfilm reel C-8759, Indian Agent, West Coast Indian Agency to Secretary,

Department of Indian Affairs, 6 April 1915; [AST-200025] Assistant Deputy and Secretary to Charles Cox, 25 April 1916. [AST-200026]

18. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6378, file 767-5, part 1, Martin Benson to Deputy Superintendent General, 4 February 1904; [JON-000079] David Laird, to the Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, page 1 of 1, 26 January 1904. [JON-000077]
19. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6446, file 882-1, part 2, Sister Mary Gabriel to D. Scott, 26 October 1927. [KAM-000186]
20. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6328, file 660-5, part 3, H. W. McGill to Thomas G. Murphy, 18 November 1932. [PLD-000027]
21. André, "Fire Escapes," 38, 52.
22. André, "Fire Escapes," 53.
23. André, "Fire Escapes," 54; "The Collinwood School Fire," *The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History*, http://ech.case.edu/ech-cgi/article.pl?id=CSF (accessed 13 January 2013).
24. André, "Fire Escapes," 56.
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28. Maines, *Asbestos and Fire*, 132.
29. Le musée interactif du Montréal juif, "Montreal Hebrew Orphan's Home," http://mimj.ca/location/1049 (accessed 15 January 2014).
30. Maines, *Asbestos and Fire*, 132.
31. *Observer*, "Brothers' Heroism Revealed: Gave Lives in Canadian School Fire," 27 January 1938, http://obs.stparchive.com/Archive/OBS/OBS01271938p01.php.
32. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6012, file 1-1-5A, part 2, R. A. Hoey to Dr. McGill, 31 May 1940. [BIR-000248]
33. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6251, file 575-1, part 1, G. H. Wheatley to David Laird, 13 March 1901. [BIR-000015]
34. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG 10, volume 6252, file 575-5, part 2, W. Murison to W. Graham, 17 November 1927. [BIR-000093]
35. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 675/23-5-018, volume 1, J. G. McKechnie to Bishop of Qu'Appelle, 8 June 1918. [GDC-011275-0001]
36. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6350, file 753-5, part 2, 1925–1929, Microfilm reel C-8707, W. M. Graham to D. C. Scott, 14 October 1927. [EDM-007410]
37. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, file 153/6-1-890, volume 2, St. Mary's Ind. Res. School General, Jan/55–Feb 24/64, F.A. 10-333, Acc. 78-C-18, Parc Box 308320, Temp Box 28, National Archives of Canada – Burnaby, A. O'N. Daunt to D. C. Scott, 7 March 1928. [MIS-010279]
38. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6212, file 469-5, part 3, W. J. Phillips to A. S. McCaig, 26 October 1929. [SWK-001252]
39. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6378, file 767-5, part 2, T. B. R. Westgate, to The Secretary, Indian Affairs, 18 January 1934. [JON-000270]

40. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6328, file 660-5, part 3, Extract from Inspector Hamilton's Report regarding his inspection of the Qu'Appelle Indian Residential school on 7 and 8 March 1932. [PLD-008542]
41. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6328, file 660-5, part 3, H. W. McGill to Thomas G. Murphy, 18 November 1932. [PLD-000027]
42. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6328, file 660-5, part 3, J. Sutherland to Dr. McGill, 14 October 1933. [PLD-008580]
43. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6453, file 884-5, part 5, 1936–1941, Kootenay Agency – Kootenay Residential School – Building Maintenance – Supplies – Accounts, FA 10-17, Microfilm reel C-8775, NAC Ottawa, "Inspection of the St. Mary's Indian School, Mission, Cranbrook, British Columbia," 25 October 1938. [EGN-004990]
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45. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 2, 1922–1924, Microfilm reel C-8767, "Extract from Inspector's Report on the Fraser Lake Residential School," 23 April 1923. [LEJ-003751]
46. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 2, 1922–1924, Microfilm reel C-8767, W. J. McAllan to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 7 June 1923. [LEJ-003706]
47. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 2, 1922–1924, N. Coccola to McAllan, 6 August 1923. [LEJ-003744-0001]
48. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 2, 1922–1924, Microfilm reel C-8767, Acting Deputy Superintendent General to Charles Stewart, 10 September 1923. [LEJ-003761]
49. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, School Files, volume 6358, file 758-1, part 1, P. H. Gentleman to Dr. Westgate, 2 April 1921. [OLD-000468]
50. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6273, file 583-5, part 4, M. Christianson to Indian Affairs, 1 December 1927. [PLP-000874-0001] For positive assessment of the Portage school, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6273, file 583-5, part 4, "Portage la Prairie Residential School," M. Christianson, 25 June 1927. [PLP-000866]
51. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, School Files, volume 6350, file 753-5, part 1, NAC, W. M. Graham to D. C. Scott, 3 April 1924. [EDM-003806]
52. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6350, file 753-5, part 1, J. F. Woodsworth to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 4 May 1925. [EDM-00115]
53. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-5, part 4, Joseph Hamilton Inspection Report, not dated, 5. [DRS-000570]
54. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 2, Williams Lake Agency – Cariboo Industrial School – General Administration, 1913–1937 F.A. 10-17, Microfilm reel C-8762, G. Forbes to A. F. MacKenzie, 13 December 1932. [JOE-201925-0001]
55. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6265, file 579-5, part 6, S. Perrault to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 1 June 1934. [FAR-002747]
56. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6430, file 876-5, part 3, West Coast Agency – Ahousaht Residential School – Building Maintenance – Supplies – Accounts 1931–1938, F.A. 10-17, Microfilm reel C-8759, "West Coast Agency Inspection Report, No. 9," Geo. S. Pragnell, 18 August 1937. [AST-200097]

57. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6431, file 876-6, part 1, West Coast Agency – Ahousaht Residential School – Inspectors' Reports, 1933–1948, F.A. 10-17, Microfilm reel C-8759, "Inspector's Report on Ahousaht Indian Residential School," Gerald H. Barry, 4 April 1939. [AST-200078-0003]
58. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6430, file 876-5, part 4, West Coast Agency – Ahousaht Residential School – General Administration – Supplies – Accounts 1938–1944, F.A. 10-17, Microfilm reel C-8758, "Agent's Report on West Coast Agency for January 1940," P. B. Ashbridge, 31 January 1940. [AST-200084]
59. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6456, file 885-5, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8777, Deputy Superintendent General to A. W. Vowell, 25 November 1895. [KUP-004057]
60. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 1629, J. D. McLean to A. J. McNeill, 1 May 1907. [AEMR-252036]
61. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 1629, David Laird to Principals of all Indian Boarding and Industrial Schools, 11 March 1908. [AEMR-252037]
62. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, PAA 71.220 B54 2275, Duncan Scott to Principals of Indian Residential Schools, 6 October 1927. [OGP-020848] For number of deaths in the Beauval fire, see: Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6300, file 650-1, part 1, O. Charlebois to Duncan Scott, 21 September 1927; [BVL-000874] Louis Moderic Adam to Indian Affairs, 22 September 1927. [BVL-000879]
63. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 11552, file 312-11, part 2, Russell T. Ferrier and Duncan C. Scott to Principals of Indian Residential Schools, 1 February 1932. [AEMR-177210]
64. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 2047, file 9212, part 2, W. W. Shepherd to Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 26 November 1880. [MER-001342]
65. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6206, file 468-5, part 2, J. D. McLean to S. R. McVitty, 11 March 1910. [MER-000402]
66. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6206, file 468-5, part 2, Robert Ogilvie to Indian Affairs, 30 October 1912. [MER-000435-0000]
67. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6206, file 468-5, part 5, "Extract From Inspector's Report on the Mount Elgin Residential School, June 6, 1924," J. H. Sexton. [MER-000708]
68. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6207, file 468-5, part 6, "Extract from Report of Mr. Inspector Sexton, dated December 19th, 1927, on the Mount Elgin Indian Residential School." [MER-000740]
69. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6207, file 468-5, part 6, A. F. MacKenzie to S. R. McVitty, 8 August 1928. [MER-000758]
70. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6467, file 889-5, part 1, 1900–1932, Vancouver Agency – Squamish Residential School – Building Maintenance – Supplies – Accounts, FA 10-17, Microfilm reel C-8785, NAC Ottawa, O. L. Lister to Sister Superior, 20 February 1923. [SQU-002300-0001]
71. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6479, file 890-5, part 2, A. O'N. Daunt to D. C. Scott, 15 September 1926. [MIS-000042]
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73. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6197, file 465-5, part 2, Frank Edwards to Assistant Deputy Minister and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 6 December 1927. [KNR-000838]
74. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6197, file 465-5, part 2, F. J. McDonald to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 3 May 1928. [KNR-001593]
75. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6198, file 465-5, part 6, "Excerpt from Grand Jury Inspection Report on the Kenora Residential School," 3 November 1938. [KNR-000720]
76. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6332, file 661-1, part 2, A. G. Hamilton to Mr. Graham, 11 September 1920. [ELK-000282-0001]
77. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6430, file 879-5, part 3, West Coast Agency – Christie Industrial School – Building Maintenance – Supplies – Accounts – 1932-1940, F.A. 10-17, Microfilm reel C-8763, NAC Ottawa, "Extract from Report of Inspector G. H. Barry Dated April 25, 1938, on his inspection of the Christie Indian Residential School." [CST-000046]
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79. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6316, file 656-5, part 1, Duncan C. Scott to Charles Stewart, 14 November 1923. [PAR-000605]
80. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6252, file 575-5, part 2, H. B. Currie to Indian Affairs, 12 October 1927. [RIB-000930]
81. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6273, file 583-5, part 4, W. A. Hendry to W. Graham, 5 October 1927. [PLP-000003-0001]
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83. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6386, file 769-5, part 1, T. B. R. Westgate to the Secretary, Indian Affairs, 20 July 1929. [MTL-000116]
84. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6353, file 754-5, part 2, 15, 1920-1936, Microfilm reel C-8700, W. M. Graham to Duncan C. Scott, 17 May 1930. [EDM-003837]
85. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6264, file 579-5, part 3, F. Bousquet to J. D. McLean, 23 April 1923. [FAR-002892-0000]
86. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6219, file 472-5, part 1, A. F. MacKenzie to C. Perrault, 23 September 1925. [BIC-000163]
87. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6316, file 656-5, part 4, C. F. Hives to T. B. R. Westgate, 18 October 1927. [PAR-000144]
88. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6306, file 650-1, part 1, Louis Modeste Adam to Indian Affairs, 22 September 1927. [DVL-000074]
89. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6306, file 650-1, part 1, O. Charlebois to Duncan Scott, 21 September 1927. [DVL-000074] Louis Modeste Adam to Indian Affairs, 22 September 1927. [DVL-000074]
90. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6306, file 650-1, part 1, "Beauval Mission Fire," The Standard, 20 September 1927. [DVL-000082]
91. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6268, file 577-1, part 1, J. L. Fuller to A. MacNamara, 8 March 1930. [CLD-000033-0000] William Gordon to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 10 March 1930. [CLD-000034]

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50. Graham, *Mush Hole*, 435.
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56. TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, T. M. Kennedy to Reverend Father Provincial, 2 December 1937. [OKM-000248]
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64. Graham, *Mush Hole*, 411.
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66. Baker, *Khot-La-Cha*, 30.
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70. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6327, file 660-1, part 2, J. D. McLean to G. Leonard, 12 January 1923. [PLD-000700]

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72. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6369, file 763-1, part 1, PARC, W. M. Graham to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 21 July 1925. [CYP-005124]
73. Wasylow, "History of Battleford Industrial School," 452–454.
74. Callahan, "On Our Way to Healing," 53.
75. Graham, *Mush Hole*, 446.
76. TRC, NRA, The United Church of Canada Archives, Toronto, Acc. No. 1979.199C, box 2, file 6, Andrew Baird to Hamilton Cassells, 9 January 1893. The letter discusses the shift from full funding to per capita funding, and notes that the church believes the grant should be $140; the government, $120. [RIS-000455] Acc. No. 1979.199C, box 4, file 52, A. J. McLeod to Assistant Commissioner, Regina, 13 April 1895. This letter states that the dietary scale dates from 1891. [RIS-000148-0003]
77. French, *My Name Is Masak*, 22.
78. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3927, file 116836-1A, Martin Benson to Deputy Superintendent General, 30 December 1904. [RIS-000089]
79. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 9137, file 312-11, "Staff Meals for the Month of May, 1931, Gordon's Indian Residential School"; [GDC-011802] "Children's Daily Menu for the Month of May, 1931, Gordon's Indian Residential School." [GDC-011803]
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83. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, A. G. Hamilton to Indian Affairs, 6 November 1931. [DRS-000589]
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90. Loft, "Indian and Education," 12 June 1909, 2.
91. Knockwood, *Out of the Depths*, 80–81; Manuel and Posluns, *Fourth World*, 66.

92. Elizabeth Graham's book *The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools* is an essential source of information on food at these institutions. Graham, *Mush Hole*, 455.
93. Graham, *Mush Hole*, 455.
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96. Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Transcript Disc # 182, Mary Englund interviewed by Margaret Whitehead, 31 July 1980, PABC No. 3868.
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99. Moran, *Stoney Creek Woman*, 53.
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101. Graham, *Mush Hole*, 357.
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103. Graham, *Mush Hole*, 446.
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105. Brass, *I Walk in Two Worlds*, 24.
106. Brass, *I Walk in Two Worlds*, 25–26.
107. Wasylow, "History of Battleford Industrial School," 481.
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121. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6320, file 658-1, part 1, D. C. Scott to F. C. Mears, 11 January 1924. [PAR-000960-0000]
122. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6320, file 658-1, part 1, Lang Turner to K. A. Baptiste, 21 January 1924. [PAR-000962]
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127. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, FA 10-13, volume 3918, Microfilm reel C-10161, file 116.659-1, 1892–1920, Spec. Claims Kamloops Agency: General Correspondence Pertaining to Kamloops Industrial School, A. M. Carion to A. Irwin, 16 September 1909. [KAM-009710]
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School clothing: 1867–1939

1. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3674, file 11422, E. Dewdney to Reverend Thomas Clarke, 31 July 1883. [120.06668]
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7. Gagan, *Sensitive Independence*, 194.
8. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG85, volume 793, file 6334, part 1, Shingle Point Day and Residential School, 1923–1932, Duncan C. Scott to O. S. Finnie, 14 April 1930; [SPU-000114] O. S. Finnie to R. A. Gibson, 23 April 1930. [SPU-000115]
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10. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 1, J. D. McLean to R. P. MacKay, 4 June 1908. [CJC-000813]
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12. Graham, *Mush Hole*, 439.
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15. Callahan, "On Our Way to Healing," 54.
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18. Moine, *My Life in a Residential School*, n.p.
19. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6205, file 468-1, part 1, M. Benson to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 28 November 1902. [MER-000328]
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22. Graham, *Mush Hole*, 439.
23. Graham, *Mush Hole*, 436.
24. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, A. Fraser to Secretary Indian Affairs, 26 November 1931. [DRS-000590]
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Covering up sexual abuse: 1867–1939

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Separating children from parents: 1867–1939

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2. Kennedy, *Recollections of an Assiniboine chief*, 58.
3. Mountain Horse, *My People the Bloods*, 15–16.
4. Callahan, "On Our Way to Healing," 39–40.
5. Ford, *Smoke from Their Fires*, 93–94.
6. Kennedy, *Recollections of an Assiniboine chief*, 58.
7. Calf Robe, *Siksika*, 7.
8. Rutherdale, *Women and White Man's God*, 39.
9. Butcher, *Letters of Margaret Butcher*, 51.
10. Butcher, *Letters of Margaret Butcher*, 33.
11. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1883*, 108.
12. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6358, file 863-1, part 1, G. A. Poitras to Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 20 March 1908. [STR-000138]
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15. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6027, file 117-1-1, part 1, Hayter Reed to Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 31 March 1891. [CRW-000012]
16. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1885*, 77.
17. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1903*, 306.
18. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1888*, 98.
19. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3804, file 50774-10, Alex McGibbon to Indian Commissioner, Regina, 28 February 1889. [PLD-000068]
20. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3675, file 11422-4, Hayter Reed to Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 20 May 1891. [PLD-009429]
21. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3675, file 11422-4, E. Dewdney to J. Hugonnard, 13 April 1891. [PLD-009427]
22. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3675, file 11422-4, J. Hugonnard to E. Dewdney, 5 May 1891. [PLD-009435]
23. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3675, file 11422-4, Hayter Reed to Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 20 May 1891. [PLD-009429]
24. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3676, file 11422-5, T. Clarke to the Indian Commissioner, 30 June 1891; F. J. Williams, 7 July 1891.
25. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6205, file 468-1, part 1, J. W. Jacobs to A. Macrae, 9 April 1906. [MER-000165-0001]
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27. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 1, Inspector Semmens to Indian Affairs, 22 January 1917. [CJC-000837]
28. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6455, file 885-1, part 2, Microfilm reel C-8777, E. Elliott to D. C. Scott, 20 October 1919. [KUP-003829] J. D. McLean to E. Elliott, 17 November 1919. [KUP-003832] E. Elliott, 1 December 1919. [KUP-003833]

29. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 2, Mr. Paget to Mr. Ferrier, 21 August 1928. [CRC-001354]
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44. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 2771, file 154845, part 1, Martin Benson to Deputy Superintendent General, 13 May 1904. [TAY-003533]
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47. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 2762, file 151711, C. L. D. Sims to Secretary, Indian Affairs. [AGA-001388-0000]
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49. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6332, file 661-1, part 1, S. Steward to H. McKay, 21 October 1915. [RLS-000078]
50. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6206, file 468-5, part 4, S. R. McVitty to Duncan Campbell Scott, 16 October 1922. [MER-000682]
51. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6205, file 468-1, part 2, Duncan Campbell Scott to S. R. McVitty, 10 October 1922. [MER-001368]

52. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, No document file source, no document location, Russell T. Ferrier to Church Authorities, Principals, and Department Representatives, 20 May 1925. [GMA-001254-0000]
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58. Graham, *Mush Hole*, 361.
59. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 1014, N. C. D. Dubois to Mr. Macdonald, 3 September 1930. [THR-000189]
60. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6032, file 150-37, part 1, Russell T. Ferrier to G. H. Gooderham, 26 October 1931. [SRS-000649]
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67. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6347, file 751-10, part 1, Joseph Angin to J. D. Sutherland, 25 April 1934. [NCA-013939]
68. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6347, file 751-10, part 1, J. D. Sutherland to Joseph Angin, 9 May 1934. [NCA-013940]
69. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 3:2, box 56, file 1, R. A. Hoey to Church Authorities, Principals, Department Representatives, 30 March 1937. [AAC-090379]
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73. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6057, file 265-10, part 1, George Paul to Thomas A. Crerar, 9 June 1937. [NCA-013809-0002]
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76. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6057, file 265-10, part 1, Philip Phelan to Chas. Hudson, 24 June 1937; [SRS-004003] RG10, volume 6057, file 265-10, part 2, J. P. Mackey to C. A. Spinney, 29 August 1938. [NCA-014107]
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83. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6057, file 265-10, part 2, H. S. Everett to Mr. McCutcheon, 4 September 1937. [SRS-008135-0001]
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85. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6057, file 265-10, part 2, P. Phelan to R. L. McCutcheon, 20 September 1937. [SRS-007828]
86. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6057, file 265-10, part 2, J. P. Mackey to Indian Affairs, 13 October 1937. [SRS-004240-0000]
87. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6057, file 265-10, part 2, Philip Phelan to S. E. Darres, 27 May 1938. [SRS-005532]
88. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6056, P. Phelan to C. Spinney, 21 December 1938.
89. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6053, file 260-10, part 1, C. A. Spinney to Philip Phelan, 1 January 1939. [SRS-004230]
90. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, volume 12333, box 19, part 2, 1936–1939, H. Graham to Reverend J. Geurts, 24 June 1937. [KUP-004462]
91. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, volume 12333, box 19, part 2, 1936–1939, H. Graham to Reverend J. Geurts, 28 June 1937. [KUP-004460]
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Suppressing Aboriginal languages: 1867–1939

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2. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6452, file 884-1, part 1, 8773, "Rules and Regulations, Kootenay Industrial School." [AEMR-011621A]
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11. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1884*, 24.
12. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1887*, 128.
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15. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3676, file 11422-5, Hayter Reed to Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 4 August 1890.
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31. TRC, NRA, St. Paul's Archives Acts of Canonical Visitation, 1883–1966, Stacks 2L, Acte Général de Visite des Missions Indiennes du Nord-Ouest Canadien par le T.R.P. Théodore Labouré, O.M.I., Supérieur Géneral, Rome Maison Générale, 45. [OMI-034614]
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41. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1896*, 381.
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43. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1894*, 171.
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47. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1897*, 263
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61. Wasylow, "History of Battleford Industrial School," 454.
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63. Callahan, "On Our Way to Healing," 68.
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Separating children from their traditions: 1867–1939

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Separating the sexes, arranging marriages, establishing colonies: [illegible]

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251. Buck, *Doctor Rode Side-Saddle*, 14–19.
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